

THE
INDIAN ANTIQUARY,
A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

ARCHAEOLOGY, HISTORY, LITERATURE, LANGUAGES, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, FOLKLORE,
&c., &c., &c.

EDITED BY

JAS. BURGESS, M.B.A.S., F.H.G.S.,

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ERRATA IN VOL. IX.

- p. 71b, note ², last line, for *i* read *j*
 p. 81a, l. 38, for *Sivacāśha* read *Sivacāśha*.
 p. 81b, last line, for *U* read *U*.
 " note, " " " "
 p. 87a, l. 8, for an authoritative read unauthoritative.
 p. 97, transcription l. 4, for *śāśa*, read *śāśa*.
 p. 106a, l. 22, insert a comma after *Pa li a v a*.
 p. 161, transcription l. 7, for *dēva-ku* read *dēva-kulāsa*.
 p. 118b, l. 30, for *pārapakambam* read *pārapakambam*.
 p. 119a, note ¹, l. 2, for *Bladrakāṭi* read *Bladrakāṭi*.
 " note ², l. 6, for *Dakshira* read *Dakshira*.
 p. 131a, note ², for *du(sha)kṣi*, read *du(sha)kṣi*.
 p. 145, l. 2, the Chinese letter is printed sideways; it should be thus *日*.
 p. 145a, l. 13, for *(phala)* read *(phala)*.
 p. 147a, last line, for *(kshat)* read *(kshat)*.
 p. 147b, l. 2, for *(janina)* read *(janina)*.
 " l. 8, for *(shama)* read *(shama)* or *shama*.
 p. 148b, l. 30, for *Sitarasa* read *Sitarasa*.
 " last l., for *Bravāsi* read *Bravāsi*.
 p. 149a, l. 10, for *Mahāma* read *Mahāma*.
 " l. 24, for *Mahāyoga* read *Mahāyoga*.
 p. 149b, l. 14, for *Mahākulā* read *Mahākulā*.
 p. 150a, l. 15, for *Chandasi* read *Chandasi*.
 " ll. 30 and 43 for *Lambāśa* read *Lambāśa*.
 " l. 33, for *Kampalamma* read *Kampalamma*.
 " l. 36, for *Kavāripuram* read *Kavāripuram*.
 " l. 45, for whether of the same read whether they are of the same.
 p. 150b, l. 34, for *Dindigul* read *Dindigul*.
 p. 151a, l. 34, for recent work *Tuckston*, read recent work in *Tuckston*.
 " l. 37, for *rainslown* read *rainslown*.
 p. 151b, note ², for *Taiyuanfa*, read *Tai-yuan-fu*.

- p. 153b, l. 28, for *Kouli* and *Tchikislar* read *Kōli* and *Chikislar*.
 p. 192a, l. 20, for *Massendranātha* read *Massendranātha*.
 p. 194a, l. 14, from bottom, for *Prichānāgasa*, read *Prichānāgasa*.
 " l. 6, from bot. for *Girānāyaddhavikrama* read *Girānāyaddhavikrama*.
 p. 231a, l. 2, for *Persian Gulf accumulated* read *Persian Gulf, accumulated*.
 " l. 32, for *Guptas* he regards as dated from read *Guptas*, he regards as dating from.
 " l. 34, for *Hans* whom read *Hans*, whom.
 " l. 38, for follows and read follows, and.
 " l. 41, for *Hontan* read *Hontan*.
 p. 231b, l. 47, for *Rubian* read *Rubian*.
 p. 232a, ll. 42 and 43, for trained philologist by the scientific method and—read philologist trained by the scientific method, and.
 p. 232b, l. 3, from bottom insert, after *(Gajavā)*.
 p. 233a, l. 8, for *Mādhī* read *Mādhī*.
 " l. 12, for *the* read *the*.
 p. 236a, l. 2, for known that read known, that.
 p. 251a, note ², for 18° 28' N. long. 57° 26' E. read 24° 55' N. long. 40° 11' E. (see p. 398).
 p. 286b, note ², l. 1, for *from* read *from*.
 " " l. 4, for *Just* read *Just*.
 p. 287b, note ², l. 4, for *in* read *in*.
 p. 288a, l. 7, for *pitaka* read *pitaka*.
 " l. 14, for *attakatha*, it read *attakatha*.
 p. 289a, l. 10, for *Agar* read *Agar*.
 " l. 13, for *Hehama* read *Hehama*.
 " l. 23, add commas after *Hehama* and after *Hehama*.
 " l. 36, for *applies*, as read *applies*.
 " l. 40, for *ayattara-ukha* read *ayattara-ukha*.
 p. 289b, l. 6, for *Gānka* read *Gānka*.
 p. 290a, l. 12, for *Vāśarāna* read *Vāśarāna*.
 " l. 14, for *Mahāśāha* read *Mahāśāha*.
 p. 296b, note ², l. 5, for *Amhas* read *Amhas*.

THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

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BENGALI FOLKLORE LEGENDS FROM DINAGEPORE.

BY THE LATE G. H. DAMANT, M.A.

1. *The Brâhman and the Merchant.*

IN a certain village lived a poor Brâhman who by begging all day collected half a seer of rice; whether he begged at ten houses or at one, or whether he remained at home, he still had half a seer of rice and nothing more, and he and his wife used to eat it. At the extremity of the village was a temple of Gapeśa where he used to worship Śiva and Durgā. One day Śiva and Durgā came down from heaven, and after visiting many places went to the temple of Gapeśa.

Durgā said to Śiva, "This poor Brâhman has been worshipping you for a long time, show him a little favour to-day and free him from his poverty." Śiva hearing this said, "Gapeśa, the day after to-morrow before sunset give the poor Brâhman two lakhs of rupees." Gapeśa said he would do so, but the poor Brâhman heard nothing about it. In the village lived a very wealthy man who had that day lost one of his cows, and gone to look for it; a storm of rain happened to come on, and he went into the temple of Gapeśa, and overheard everything that Śiva and Durgā said from the beginning to the end. When he came out he thought that he might as well buy the Brâhman's chance of receiving anything on the next day but one, so he went to the Brâhman's house and said, "Sir, will you sell me the chance of what you may receive the day after to-morrow?" The Brâhman considered that he only received half

a seer of rice daily and nothing more. So he agreed to sell his chance, and asked the merchant what he would give for it; the merchant said he could afford to give Re. 15,000. The Brâhman then went to consult his wife, and she told him not to take less than a lakh. He then informed the merchant, who being under the impression that he would still gain a lakh agreed to give it him. Early the next morning the merchant weighed out the rupees, and sent men with them to the Brâhman's house, and he then went to the temple of Gapeśa. The whole day passed, but he received no money, and thought, "Do Śiva and Durgā speak falsely, or is Gapeśa acting treacherously?" Thinking this he became very angry, and gave a kick at the temple door, and his foot went through, so that he could not extricate it. Some time after the merchant was caught in this way, Śiva and Durgā came, and asked Gapeśa, "Has the Brâhman we spoke of received the two lakhs of rupees; have you paid him or not?" Gapeśa answered, "One lakh has been paid him this morning, the remaining lakh has not been paid, but the defaulter's foot is held fast in the door." The merchant hearing this thought that he had already paid the Brâhman one lakh, and would be obliged to give him another, or his foot would not be released, so he ordered some of the people who lived with him to take another lakh to the Brâhman's house. His foot was then released. The Brâhman took his two lakhs of rupees, and lived in wealth and

happiness. If God wishes to give a man anything, no one can tell in what way he will give it.

2. *Adi's Wife.*

In a certain country there lived a gentleman's son named Adi; when his father died he left him a large sum of money, but Adi spent the whole of the money and sold his house. He then said to his wife, "There is nothing more left, what are we to do? I have not a single two-anna piece, I must go and take service in some country far away; as it will be mean service my relations will not see me there, and so I shall not be ashamed. I am now going to look for work, but must first tell you how you are to manage matters while I am away. In the first place you will have to buy back all the gardens, houses, and other things which belonged to my father; and in the next place a son must be born to me." With these words Adi departed.

Now Adi's father had borrowed some money from a man for the expenses of his marriage, so the man came to Adi's wife, and said, "Where is Adi? His father, who is dead, borrowed some money of me for his marriage; produce Adi that he may pay me." Adi's wife answered that he had gone to another country, and she knew nothing about the money. Now she was extremely beautiful, and the man thought if he could get her he would want no more money, so he determined to lay a complaint that very day before the Kotwal, saying that Adi's father had borrowed money of him to marry his son, and that Adi had gone away, so there was no one left but his wife, and as Adi's father had spent the money on the marriage of his son, he was entitled to the son's wife. The Kotwal replied, he was entitled to her, and she should be summoned to appear before him, so he sent a pyada with orders to bring Adi's wife. The pyada went to her, and said, "A complaint has been made against you, and the Kotwal has summoned you." So Adi's wife dressed her hair, and put on her clothes, and went in a paliki to the Kotwal's Court, but she ordered the paliki to be put down at a little distance from it, and sent word to the Kotwal, that she did not appear in public, and could not come into Court, so she would be obliged by his coming to her, and talking over the case. When the Kotwal received her message, he went to the paliki and said, "Open the screen of the paliki, and tell me

what you have to say." Then she opened the screen, and when the Kotwal saw Adi's wife, he determined he would drive away the man, and keep her as his own wife. So he said to the man: "Go to the person to whom you lent the money, and get it from him; who ever heard of getting a woman instead of money? go, you scoundrel, you will have nothing here."

So he drove the man away, and came and invited Adi's wife to go home with him. She said, "I have no other friend but you; give me 200 rupees, and when I have paid all my debts, I will come to your house. When I send for you, or you receive any letter from me, you must come to my house." She then took the two hundred rupees from the Kotwal, and went home, and gave orders that her father's ruined house should be rebuilt.

In the meantime the man laid another complaint before the Nazir, and the Nazir summoned Adi's wife. She put on finer clothes than before, and went in a paliki to the Nazir's Court, and when the Nazir saw her beauty, he was astonished. She said to him, "Sir, I belong to you since my husband has gone away; you are my only friend." When the Nazir heard this, he went and drove away the man, and then invited Adi's wife to come to his house, but she answered, "My husband has incurred some debts, lend me 500 rupees, and when I have paid everything, I will come; but whenever I send you word, you must come to my house." Then she took the money and went home. After this, the man, thinking it was useless trying again in that place, laid a complaint before the Wazir of the country. The Wazir summoned Adi's wife, and the moment he saw her face he became senseless with wonder. Then he determined to make her his wife, so he first drove away the man, and then told her he wished to marry her. She replied, "My husband has gone to another country leaving some debts unpaid; if you will give me 1000 rupees, I will pay them, and then I can come to your house." So she took the money, and as she was going away, she said, "Come to my house whenever I send you word."

The man finding there was no hope of redress from the Wazir, laid a complaint before the King, who also summoned Adi's wife. She put on her very best clothes, and went to the King, and when he saw her astonishing beauty, he

determined to make her his queen. He then ordered the man to be driven from the country, and went to Adi's wife, and said, "I wish to marry you, do you agree?" She replied, "I am very much honoured by your wishing to marry me, and make me your queen, but I am acting as agent for my husband, and if you will give me 2000 rupees, I will pay off my debts, and then come to your house." So the King gave the money, and she went home, and had a wardrobe made by a carpenter with four compartments, which she put in her house. She then invited the Kotwal, the Nazir, the Wazir and the King, and told the Kotwal to come at midnight, the Nazir at one o'clock, the Wazir at two o'clock, and the King at three o'clock. So the Kotwal came at midnight, and Adi's wife treated him very politely, and they were talking together, when the Nazir sent word to say he was coming; the Kotwal was alarmed at that, and said "What am I to do? where can I go?" She replied, "I have no place to hide you unless you can get into this wardrobe." The Kotwal said: "Very well, that is the best place, fasten me up quick." So Adi's wife fastened him in, and the Nazir arrived and sat down till two o'clock, when the Wazir came and knocked at the door. The Nazir recognized his voice, and exclaimed: "Find some place to save me from this misfortune." She said she would hide him, but there was no place except the wardrobe, so the Nazir agreed, and she fastened him up in the second compartment. She then invited the Wazir to enter, and made him sit down.

Nearly an hour passed while she was preparing something to eat, when the King came, and as the Wazir was very much alarmed, she concealed him in the third compartment of the wardrobe, and then received the King with great respect. While she was preparing some food for him, she went out of the room, and told one of her servants to put on her husband's clothes, and after a short time to come and knock at the door. The servant did as he was told, and the King hearing the knock enquired who it was, when the woman replied it was her husband. The King said: "I must conceal myself." Adi's wife answered—"I will hide you, but there is no place except this wardrobe, whatever is done must be done quickly." So the King was put into the wardrobe, and Adi's wife placed a purdah over it, and put out the candle, and went to sleep.

The next day everybody was much surprised that the King, Wazir, Nazir, and Kotwal did not come to court at the usual time. In the meanwhile Adi's wife sent her servants with the wardrobe into the bazaar to offer it for sale for four lakhs of rupees. Now the sons of the King, Wazir, Nazir, and Kotwal were wandering about the city, each in search of his father, and when they reached the bazaar, they heard a man crying—"A wardrobe to be sold for four lakhs of rupees." The King's son said—"What is the meaning of this? Nobody can buy it but ourselves, so send for the money and take it." They did so, and one of them took the key, and opened one compartment, and found his father, and the three others did the same, so they all felt very much ashamed, and went home.

Adi's wife then took a band of singers, and wandered from country to country, till she came to a place where her husband was a servant in the King's palace. The singers were invited to the palace, but Adi's wife remained at home to take care of her property while all the others went away to perform a *sadai*. As she was alone, they requested the King to send a trustworthy servant to guard the property. Now, the King had no other trustworthy servant but Adi, so he sent him, and he went and kept guard in the usual way. His wife recognized him, and asked, "Where do you live, and whose servant are you?" So he told her, and she was sure he was her husband, but he did not recognise her. Then she called him in, and the next morning gave him two hundred rupees, and told him she had no further need of his services. After this, she left that country, and went home, and some time after a son was born. Now when Adi was with her, he had put a ring on her finger, and about a year afterwards he returned home, and found all his father's property had increased fourfold, and a son had been born, at which he was very angry. His wife was much distressed, and said, "Sir, why are you angry? I have done what should please you." Adi replied: "It is a very wonderful thing: I have been out of the country, and a son has been born." Then she told him—"He is your son," and showed him the ring.

3. The Prince and his two Wives.

There was once a king named Dharmasila, who was nearly forty years old, but he had neither son nor daughter. One night he said

to his wife, queen Sukhāvalī, "Up to the present time, God has given us no son who might take care of our kingdom and perform our funeral rites when we are dead." So thinking all their kingdom and wealth were worthless to them, they invited all the Brāhmins and beggars from every country, and gave them handsome presents, and sent them away. From that time forth the king and queen began to worship Mahādēv. After a while the queen had a son, and the king was so rejoiced that he gave almost all his remaining wealth to the Brāhmins. When the ceremony of giving his son the first rice had been performed, the king began to bring him up with the greatest care, and when he was eight years old, he married him to the daughter of another king. Then, in order that he might not be deficient in learning, the king sent his son to a school, which was distant about ten or twelve days' journey. While the son was studying at the school, it happened one day that the king and queen both died. The son's wife performed their funeral ceremonies, and ordered the diwan to let the king's son know the ill tidings, in order that he might come and rule his kingdom. The diwan said, "Yes, I will send him a letter immediately"; but he merely spoke with his lips, and did not write the letter. After three or four years, when he had ruined the kingdom and wasted the treasure, the diwan said to the prince's wife, "I am continually writing letters to your husband telling him to come and rule his kingdom, but he does not mind me, and by this time the kingdom is ruined, and the treasure spent; so now I ask you to let me go to some other king, and support myself." Then the diwan and the other amīlāh left the capital, and went each to their own home. The princess continued to live there for some time, and supported herself by selling her ornaments and house, and when they were all gone, she built a thatched hut, and began to live by begging. At last she could no longer endure such hardships, and having given up all hope of her husband's return, she left the place, and begging as she went along, in two or three months' time reached her father's house. Then she told him that her father-in-law and mother-in-law and husband were all dead; and when her father and mother heard it, they wept exceedingly in sorrow for their son-in-law. The princess put

on a widow's dress, and continued to live in her father's house.

After some time the prince having finished his education, returned to his own country, and found that the king's palace had utterly disappeared, and there was nothing to be seen but a thatched hut. Then he enquired of the people of the town, and when he learnt what had happened, he began to cry. After a little while he stopped crying, and determined to go to his father-in-law's house, and see how his wife was, and whether she would remember him or not. So he cut a stick, and supported himself by begging on the journey, and, after two or three months, arrived at his father-in-law's kingdom. Then he sold his stick, and gave up begging, and gained his living by collecting fruits and other things in the forest, and selling them. The prince had undergone so much hardship that no one could recognize him. It happened one day that he had brought some plums from the forest, and was selling them in the bazaar, when one of the princess' servants bought, and took them to the princess. The princess having eaten them, thought them so good that she ordered her servant to bring some more of the same sort on the following day. The prince went early the next morning to the plum tree, and having taken a branch from it, was on his way to sell it in the bazaar, when the servant of the princess called to him, and said, "The princess praised your plums very much yesterday, so come now to the side door, and bring your plums, and you will be well paid for them." So the prince took up his plums, and followed the servant to the side door, and the servant agreed she would give four annas for them; so she took them, and went away.

Now the princess was in love with the kōtval of the town, and he used to come to her house and return home, and no one knew anything about it; so the princess having eaten some of the plums herself, put some aside for her friend the kōtval. When the kōtval came in the evening as usual, he ate the plums, and then said to the princess, "I am very thirsty, give me some water to drink." The princess replied, "Where can I find water at this time? There is however a cocoanut tree near the house door, if you could get a young cocoanut from it, you could quench your thirst,

but I cannot find any one to fetch it now." After some time she remembered that she had never paid the plum-seller, and he was still standing at the side-door; then she sent her servant to call him and tell him that he would receive four annas for his plums, and four annas more if he would get a young coconut from the tree, and that he was to come for the eight annas early the next morning. So the prince agreed and fetched the young coconut from the tree, and the city kôtwal drank its water and quenched his thirst. After this, the princess was disturbed in her sleep by a leg of the bed breaking, so she thought, "If the plum-seller will come and sit under the bed and support it like a leg, I will give him another four annas; so that he will receive twelve annas in the morning." She sent a message to him by her servant, and he agreed and came into the princess' house, and sat under the bed like a leg. Then he began to reproach himself, saying, "Good God! it is written in my ill fate that I am to sit under this bed and support it like a leg while my wife sleeps on it." So he was much troubled in his mind. When the morning came the plum-seller thought, "If I stop here for my money, the princess will recognise me, so I will conceal myself and see what she will do;" then he went away.

That day the king's diwân met him, and when he saw his appearance he thought that he must be the son of some great person, and being much pleased with his conversation, he said to him, "Come and live in my house and I will support you," so the prince went to the diwân's house and lived there. Now the diwân had neither son nor daughter, so he treated the plum-seller as if he were his own son. After some time the diwân said to him, "You can read and write very well, you must come with me every day to the king's court and write in my office." From that day forward he went to the office, and wrote; but one day, after the office was closed, the prince was going home with the diwân, when the princess saw him from the top of the house and knew that he was her husband, so she was very much disturbed and began to reflect on what she should do; but being in love with the kôtwal, she had no mercy on her husband, and determined to have him killed and his body thrown away, that she might live with the kôtwal without annoyance. When she had

determined on this, she called her servant and said to her, "The boy who was walking behind the diwân came in front of the house, and looked and winked his eye at me. Now, go and tell my father all about it, and say that he must cut the boy in pieces and send his blood to me, and if he will not do so, I will kill myself." So the servant went and told the king, and when the king heard of it, he sent a messenger to seize the diwân and the boy. The messenger went quickly as he was ordered by the king, and seized the diwân and the boy, and the king told them what he had heard from the princess' servant. Then the prince began to cry, and the king seeing this, felt pity for him, and he remembered that the princess had only wished to see his blood and did not ask for his head, so she would be satisfied if the blood of some animal were shown her, and the boy might be banished to another country. He determined on doing this, and calling a messenger, gave him his instructions privately. Then the messenger took the boy down to the ghât where bodies were burnt and said to him, "The princess' life will be saved if you are cut in pieces and your blood given to her, and she has given orders that this is to be done, but I will save you; you must fly from this kingdom, and I will kill a dog and give its blood to the princess." So saying, the messenger let the boy go, and killed a dog and put its blood in a pot and gave it to the princess. When she saw it, she was very much pleased and said laughing, "I was always sending you letters to come to me and you never came, and now you have paid the penalty for all the trouble you caused me. How do you feel now? I will have your blood given to a crow." She then ordered a servant to give it to a crow, and when the crow had drunk it, her anger was appeased, and she lived at ease with the kôtwal. In the meantime the king's son left the kingdom in tears, and gained his livelihood by begging. At last he went back to his own country, and lived in the thatched hut, and when he laid down and fell asleep, his father appeared to him in a dream, and said, "My son, why do you suffer such hardships? Whilst I was alive, I lent your father-in-law seven crores of rupees, and he gave me a bond engraved on a copper plate. I put this bond into a tin box and buried it under a champak tree; go and dig it up and obtain the money." When he had said this, he departed.

In a little while the prince woke up, and believing in what had been told him in the dream, he borrowed a spade from a neighbour and began to dig under the champak tree. After digging for some time he found the tin box, and inside was the bond for seven crores of rupees; he read it through, and saw that it was all correct. He then took the bond to the house of his diwān and showed it to him, telling him to provide 500 sepoy and 500 carts, that they might take the bond to his father-in-law's house and bring back seven crores of rupees, and if he would not give the money, the sepoy were to take him prisoner. When the diwān saw the bond he was very much pleased, and provided sepoy and carts and sent them to the king's palace with a letter and the bond; and after they had shown it him, they said, "If you do not give us the money, we will seize you and take you away." When the king saw the letter and the bond, he thought a little, and then went to the queen and showed them to her, and calling his daughter he said to her, "Child, why did you tell me your husband was dead? He has just written to me, and sent for seven crores of rupees. Why did you give this false account of his death?" Both the king and queen began to abuse her, and when the princess learnt her husband was alive and lived all the same which was bestowed on her, she was very much troubled, and began to think the man who had been cut in pieces and whose blood she had given to the crow, could not have been her husband but some one else. So the princess kept thinking over the best thing to be done. At last the king with a great deal of trouble collected four crores of rupees and gave them to the sepoy, and promised to give the other three crores in a month's time. After some persuasion the sepoy took the four crores and an answer to the letter, and gave them to the prince. The prince then restored the old diwān to his office, and ordered him to buy a kingdom and palace like the former ones. According to the orders he received the diwān, in a month's time, bought a palace and estate, and they began to rule the kingdom happily. In the course of a month the sepoy brought the remaining three crores of rupees, and the prince bought a still larger estate than before.

Some time after this, the prince thought he would like to be married, so he told the diwān

of his intention, and ordered him to take care of the kingdom while he was away, and he further ordered him to kill a jackal and give it to him. The diwān ordered the sepoy to bring a jackal, and they went into the wood and brought one and gave it to the prince, who sent for a skinner, who took out the inside and dried the skin in the sun. Then the prince put inside the jackal's skin many kinds of gold, pearls, and jewelled ornaments, and a beautifully embroidered dress, and sewed it up. He then gave the diwān authority to manage his kingdom, and taking the jackal's skin, some elephants, and horses, and many soldiers with much treasure, he started to find a wife. He went from the court of one king to the court of another, till at last he reached the country of a king who had a very beautiful daughter. She was twelve years old and unmarried; this he learnt from the talk of the people, and he determined on staying there. At the same time he thought if he appeared at the king's court in such state, the princess could not refuse to marry him, so in order that he might discover whether she were virtuous or good for nothing, he determined to put her to the test before marrying her. He then concealed his soldiers, elephants, and horses, and rubbed ash on his body, putting on only a small piece of cloth and the jackal skin on his shoulders, and wore the dress of a madman. He ordered his soldiers to come and protect him whenever he should call out and say "Forward," and having made these arrangements, he went away, and began to wander about like a madman. After wandering in this state for two or three days, the people of the city began to say, "Where has this madman come?" and the rumour reached the ears of the king. Now the people of that country had never seen a madman before, so the king wished to look at him, and ordered a messenger to go and bring him into his presence. When he was come, the king heard what he had to say, and the king and all his court began to laugh at him. Then the madman did still more mad things, and began to joke with the king, and the servants saw him and told the princess about him, so that she became very anxious to see him. At noon when the king came into the palace to eat his breakfast, she began to cry, and said she wanted to see the madman. The

king thought, "How can I bring the madman inside the palace, and yet I must, for the child is crying for him." So he ordered a servant to promise the madman some good things to eat, and to bring him inside. The servant went to the madman and said, "Come in with me and I will give you good things to eat," and enticed him in several ways, so that at last he came; and when he saw the princess he did more mad things, so that she could not stop laughing. Then the princess called the madman into her own part of the house, and told him to stop there and she would give him some sweetmeats; but he said, "What are sweetmeats, how shall I eat them?" and did more mad things. At night he lay down at the door of the princess' room, and slept there till the next morning. When the princess had bathed, she took husked rice, plantains, sugar, and flowers in her hand, and was going to worship Siva, but the madman was lying at the door, so she could not pass out. She told him to go away from the door, but he told her to step over his body; the princess tried to persuade him to go away from the door, but he only did mad things, and in the meanwhile the time for worshipping Siva was passing by. The princess began to consider what she should do, when the madman said, "If you will promise to give me whatever I ask, I will go away from the door." The princess without thinking promised these things to give him whatever he asked, so he went away. Then the princess went into the temple to worship Siva; and when she had finished, she came back and called for the madman and said to him, "Now, tell me what you want." He replied, "Will you really give me what I ask?" and she promised to do so. Then he did more mad things; and laughing, said, "Princess, you must marry me." When she heard that she bent her forehead with her hand and began to cry, and crying a great deal she said, "God has written a mad husband on my forehead, and although I have worshipped Siva constantly till now, yet he has given me a mad husband," so saying, she fell on the bed insensible and went to sleep. Then the image of Siva appeared to her in a dream and said, "Princess, I have given you the best of husbands, he is no madman, but has put on a madman's dress to prove you, he is a king's

son, you must not dislike him, and you will presently know his real condition." When the princess had heard this, she woke up and told the madman that she would take him for her husband. As soon as the king and queen knew it, they were very much troubled, and the queen, weeping and beating her head with her hands, said, "It was always my greatest wish that our daughter should marry a king's son, and have a prince for a son, and be the mother of a king, but God has made my hope of no avail." Then the princess came and said, "I have obtained what was written in my fate, now bid me farewell for I must go with the madman." She saluted her father and mother, tied up her ornaments in a bundle, and put them under her arm, and started with the madman. He put the dried jackal's skin on his shoulder, and went in front, and the princess followed behind. After they had gone some distance, the madman asked her what was in the bundle under her arm, and she said it was her jewellery, so the madman said, "If you wish to go with me, you must throw away all your clothes and ornaments and come naked, otherwise go back to your father." The princess would not take off her clothes and ornaments, but continued to follow the madman; presently he turned round, and saw that she had not thrown away her dress and ornaments, so he began to beat her with the jackal's skin. A Jaksurer saw him and went and told the king, so the king ordered a messenger to take some soldiers, and drive the madman away and bring his daughter home. The soldiers went as quick as they could, but the madman saw them from afar, and called out, "Where are my soldiers and elephants and horses? Come forward." When they heard this, all his army and elephants and horses came, and beat the king's soldiers, and drove them away; then the madman tore open the jackal's skin, and made the princess wear his ornaments and dress. He also took off the madman's dress, and put on a king's robe, and went with his army to his own kingdom, where he lived with the princess.

One day the king laughed, and said to the princess, "I have another wife, who is the daughter of a certain king, and still lives in her father's house." Then the princess said to her husband, "I am alone in the house and have no one to talk and walk with, send off a palaki

and bearers to-morrow morning, and bring her here, then we shall be able to talk together and live happily." So the king wrote a letter to his father-in-law, and sent off the paliki and bearers. When they arrived at the king's palace, they gave the letter to the king; he read it and went in and told the queen, and they agreed that their daughter must be sent, so they took leave of her. While in the paliki the princess began to think that if the prince had heard of her bad conduct he would kill her as soon as she arrived; but afterwards she grew more bold, and thought he could not possibly know anything about it. So she came to her journey's end, and the two wives were introduced to each other. The eldest wife lived in one house and the youngest in another; but the king always used to sit with the youngest, and not only would not sit with the eldest, but would not even look at her. One day the second wife said to the king, "You have been to sit with me every day for nearly a month, and yet have never been once to see your first wife; what is the cause of this?" The king replied, "I have a reason for it which I will tell you afterwards." Some time passed when one night the second wife said to the king, "To-morrow is the day for bathing in the Ganges; I and the other wife wish to go and bathe, so you must give us 100 rupees each." The king promised to do so, and put up in two bags 100 rupees for the second wife, and 100 rupees less twelve annas for the first wife, and giving the bags to a servant, he told her to take the first bag to the second wife and the other to the first wife. When the second wife opened her bag she counted the money and found there was 100 rupees, but the other wife found there was twelve annas short of 100 rupees in her bag. The

second wife said "He has given me 100 rupees, he must have given you twelve annas short by mistake; the king will give you the other twelve annas when he comes in at noon to breakfast." After the two queens had bathed, the second went to cook for the king, and the other went on the roof of the house to dry her hair in the sun. When the cooking was finished, the king came and had his breakfast, and whilst the second wife was giving him his betel-nut, she asked him why he had given the other wife twelve annas short of 100 rupees. The king said, "She wants me twelve annas, so I have deducted it." The queen employed her that could be, and the king answered, "When the queen was in her father's house I was a plum seller, and she bought four annas worth of plums from me but did not pay for them, and in the evening, because the city festival was thirsty, I climbed a mesquite tree and brought down a young coconut, and for that she promised me another four annas; and again, when she was sleeping in the night, it happened that one of the legs of the bed broke, so I sat underneath and supported it with my hand, and for this I was promised another four annas, twelve annas altogether; this sum I have deducted from what I gave her." When the first queen heard what was said, she jumped from off the top of the house, and was killed.

The second queen was running to pick her up, but the king forbid her, saying, "It is not your business to pick up that wretch." Nevertheless the queen went and found she was dead. Then the king called her relations, and had the first queen burnt, and her funeral ceremonies performed, and began to rule happily over the kingdom with the second queen.¹

REPORT ON THE ANCIENT INSCRIPTIONS IN THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCE OF CEYLON.

BY DR. G. MÜLLER, ARCHEOLOGICAL SURVEYOR.

The inscriptions in the North-Western Province belong, with a few exceptions, to the first four centuries of the Christian era; they are nearly all engraved on rocks and written in the square or so-called Nāgarī character, which is

only a slight modification of the Asoka alphabet. They are dispersed all over the province, sometimes in places very little known, and I am therefore very doubtful about the completeness of my collection.

¹ Mr. Chylora Henry Elmslie, M.A., B.C.S., 1st Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills, came out to India in 1891. He has been a valuable contributor to this Journal ever

since its commencement. Immediately after sending us the above three letters, to our great regret, he was killed by the rebel Muzum Nigun, in Muzum, 14th October 1879.

According to tradition, the first settlement of the Gangetic tribes was at Tambapanni Nuwara or Tammana Nuwara, seven miles from Puttalam. Wijaya is said to have landed there, and to have taken his way from there to Anurādhapura. The ruins, however, that are to be found at Tammana Nuwara are undoubtedly of a much later date, and the whole story of Wijaya, as given in the *Mahāwamsa*, being more mythological than historical, I do not believe that the mere coincidence of name proves anything.

Tambapanni, or Tāmraparai in Sanskrit, was originally the name of a river in Timoreilly, Southern India (conf. Lassen's *Zeptorhane Insula veteribus cognita*, p. 6; Caldwell, *Comp. Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, introd. p. 129), and was most probably also applied to a river by the immigrants when they first came over from the continent to Ceylon. Which river that was, is difficult to say, but I do not think that it can have been the Māyā nor any other river that is to the south of Anurādhapura. According to the *Mahāwamsa*, p. 59, the first settlements of the followers of Wijaya were Anurādhapura, Upatissa Nuwara (the modern Tantrimale), Wijāpura near the Kaluwewa tank, and Uruwala, of which the position cannot be made out with certainty. Now, Anurādhapura and Upatissa Nuwara are both on the Kadamba river (Malwata-eyu), and Upatissa Nuwara was the seat of Government before Anurādhapura, so that it seems most likely that the immigrants came up this river from the sea coast. I therefore believe that if the ruins of Tammana Nuwara are ever to be found, they will be found a considerable distance to the north of Puttalam.

I now proceed to the inscriptions. The oldest that I found here, as elsewhere, were the cave inscriptions. In a historical sense they offer no peculiar interest; the names that occur are nearly always the same, mostly Abhaya and Tisa, which I have found more than a hundred times in inscriptions of this province, they do not contain any other name that, with our present knowledge of old Sinhalese history, we can identify. For philological purposes, however, these names are of great interest, and therefore I give here a few specimens of the cave inscriptions:—

(1.) Wirandagoda, five miles to the

north of the road from Puttalam to Anurādhapura, turning off at the 17th mile-post. There are four inscriptions close to a temple which, according to tradition, was built by prince Sālī Kumāra, the son of Dutthagāmi, about 137 B. C. To judge from the inscriptions, I do not think that this can be correct, as they contain blunders which generally do not occur in inscriptions older than the 2nd century A. D.

I put in brackets and italics the words or letters that are missing:—

I. Jōtiteraha [*putaka*] amānandane upasaka Tisaya tevala nagalene—

'The large and beautiful rock cave of the three Tisa, son of the Joti.'

Upasaka, 'lay-devotee,' which I have omitted in the translation, is the contrary of *thera*, and therefore cannot be applied to the same person; one or the other must stand by mistake.

II. Parumaka Summa putala Chūda Sumana cha bāp Tisagutala cha [*tailia*] lewa nagale—

'The cave of Tisaguta, son of the Brahman Sumana, brother of Chūdasumana [*is given*] to the priesthood of the four quarters.'

Chūdasumana is a name similar to Chūjanaka (*Mah.* 225) given to distinguish him from his grandfather, Mahālika Nāga.

The two remaining inscriptions are of no peculiar interest.

(2.) Gallewa wihāra, four miles to the west from Mahāgalkulawala on the road from Padeniya to Anurādhapura. There I found five inscriptions very much alike as to their contents, but of which one is at least two centuries older than the others. It runs as follows:—

Dewānapiya mahārāja Gāmañi Abhaya patā Tisayasa mahālewa agata [*a*] nagata chintalissa angana—

'The great cave of Tisa, the son of the great king, beloved of the gods, Gāmañi Abhaya, [*is given*] to the priesthood of the four quarters, present and absent.'

These names seem to be easy enough to identify, but unfortunately neither Dutthagāmi nor Amandagāmi nor Gajabāha had a son of the name of Tisa. To judge from the shape of the letters the inscription must belong to the first century B. C. The other four shew a remarkable difference in the language, as they write throughout a instead of ā and b instead of bh; that is to say, they must have been engraved at a time when the long vowels and aspirated

consonants had entirely disappeared from the language.

(3.) *Parumakasa*, one mile from Tonigala on the road from Puttalam to Kurunegala (*cf. Journal Ceylon Asiatic Society*, 1855, p. 181 *ff.*)—

Parumaka Abaya puta parumaka Tisa
Datuka [*lost*].

'The cave of the brahmin Tisa, Datuka, . . . son of the Brahman Abaya.'

This most probably refers to Dattabagāmi, and is, as far as I know, the only inscription in which he is called by his full name. It might be objected that the relationship is not given correctly, as, according to the *Mahāwamsa*, Dattabagāmi was the son of [Kākawanna] Tisa and grandson of [Gola] Abaya, but these inaccuracies occur frequently in inscriptions, as I have shown in my last report, *J. A. S. Soc.*, vol. VIII. p. 220.

Inscriptions similar to these are to be found at Mallāwa and Giribāwa, five miles from Gallens wihāra; at Galwewa wihāra, two miles from Wariyapala; at Mulagama and Labugala, six miles from Anuradhapura (*cf. Journal Ceylon Asiatic Society*, 1853, p. 52); at Pichchhandiyāwa, two miles from Mulagama; at Galimera wihāra near Modiyāwa; at Ganekanda wihāra near Mahānīkawanna; at Nagalla wihāra, Peṭiyagala, Kabbalana, all three near Hambawwa on the road from Kurunegala to Anurādhapura; and at Patthamulla near Hiripitiya on the same road.

Besides these short cave inscriptions, there is one of some length engraved flat on the rock, which doubtless belongs to the same period, as it bears the name of Dattabagāmi. It is that at Tonigala, about fourteen miles from Puttalam on the road to Kurunegala (*cf. Journal Ceylon Asiatic Society*, 1853, p. 81). As far as I know, this is the only inscription in the Island which can be proved with certainty to be previous to the Christian era; for that at Rukam (Battikala) which was published in the proceedings of the *Ceylon Asiatic Society*, 1870-1, p. xxviii., although it bears the name of Dattabagāmi's grandfather [Gola] Abaya, the son of Yaṭṭhaka Tisa, shows by the shape of its letters that it must be of later date.

The inscription at Tonigala has two different versions, of which one is engraved near

the tank Kuḍawawa, the other in the jungle a quarter of a mile off:—

(a) Parumaka Abaya puta parumaka Tisa
wapi Aḥagiriṭṭa Tisa pawatahi agata anagata
chattulisa sagasa dino—Dewanapi maharaja
Gamiyi Abaya niyate Aḥasagaraka cha [Tawirikiya
nagaraka cha parumaka Abaya puta
parumaka Tisa niyate pite rajala agata anagata
chattulisa sagasa.

'The tank of [Kūḍawawa] Tisa, the son of Abaya, at the mountain of Aḥagiriṭṭa Tisa, is given to the priesthood of the four quarters present and absent. The great king, beloved of the gods, Gāmiyi Abaya, ordered: Aḥasagara and Tawirikiyanagara, which have been established by my father king Tisa, son of king Abaya, [are given] to the priesthood of the four quarters, present and absent.'

(b) Parumaka Abaya puta parumaka Tisa
niyate Iam wapi Aḥagiriṭṭa Tisa pawatahi agata
anagata chattulisa sagasa—Dewanapi maharaja
Gamiyi Abaya niyate Aḥasagaraka cha Tawirikiya
nagaraka cha Aḥagiriṭṭa Tisa pawatahi agata
anagata chattulisa sagasa—Parumaka Abaya
puta parumaka Tisa niyate pite.

'King Tisa, son of king Abaya, ordered: This tank at the Aḥagiriṭṭa Tisa mountain is given to the priesthood of the four quarters present and absent. The great king, beloved of the gods, Gāmiyi Abaya, ordered: Aḥasagara and Tawirikiyanagara [are given] to the priesthood in the four quarters present and absent. The tank of king Tisa, son of king Abaya, is established by my father.'

The contents of the inscription are not quite clear, although the words cannot easily be mistaken. As far as we learn from the *Mahāwamsa*, Kākawanna Tisa was only king of Māgama, and never entered the northern kingdom, which was then governed by a Tamil sovereign. We therefore cannot but assume that this inscription was engraved by his son Dattabagāmi at the time when he conquered the north, instead of a monument for his dead father, and that the names in the inscription do not at all refer to the locality where it is. The tank mentioned is most probably the Dāratissa tank in Rohana mentioned several times in the *Mahāwamsa*, but not yet identified. About the other names I cannot yet venture to express an opinion.

The alphabet in which this inscription is

written is the oldest form of the Aśoka character, only for *e* we always find the Greek digamma, as described in Goldschmidt's report, *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 318. I however believe that this is quite accidental, and that there is no difference of sound between the two *e*'s, as in other inscriptions equally old—for instance, that at Gallena—we find the round form throughout.

Regarding the language of this inscription, we find in (6) several instances of the ancient Māgadhi nominative in *e* as *vajje, pite, nigate*; this termination is also used for the feminine gender in *sepi*, . . . *āine*. *Nigate* I have translated first by 'ordered,' afterwards by 'established,' according to the context. It has the same meaning in Pāli, for instance, "*pāṇāpajāyānāṃ pāṇāpajāyānāṃ*," 'meritorious practices established by former kings.' (*Mak.* 213.) *Wiserā* in the last line of (6) stands probably for *sepi* or *sepiwera*, which occurs frequently in later inscriptions.

We now proceed to the inscriptions of the first centuries of the Christian era. They are much more numerous than the oldest, but as the letters are not yet very deep, some of them are much damaged by rain, and besides they are full of mistakes and clerical errors of all kinds.

The alphabet in which they are written is that of the Western cives, as given in Prinsep's *Essays*, but in addition to this I found several letters which apparently do not occur in India. It is to this period that the inscriptions belong of Hala rana and Tissa mahārāja (now in the Colombo Museum), which were published by Dr. Goldschmidt in his last report, but none of the inscriptions in the North-Western Province are so well preserved as these. Also the large inscription at Mihintale is of the same date—not that which is alluded to in Alwis's *Introduction to the Sidatṅgaśāstra*, p. xxxvi, and translated by Arinour in the *Oriental Museum* for 1834, and which is much later, but that which was published by Captain Chapman in 1850. Goldschmidt ascribed this inscription to Gajabāhu Gāmiṇi (*cf.* his *Report, Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 319), but I think it belongs to Meghavaya Abhaya (A.N. 248), not only because the king mentioned is said to be the grandson of king Tissa, which alone would not be conclusive, but because it is stated that he repaired the abode of Mahidatara and Budasatara at

Mihintale, just as we find it related concerning Meghavaya Abhaya in *Mahāvamsa*, p. 232.

The finest specimen of these inscriptions is that from the Ruwanweli stūpa, Anurādhapura, now in the Colombo Museum, of which I annex a copy and translation, as it has never been published:—

(1) Sīdha Wahabaraṇa mahamāraka T[ri]sa maharajaha puti maharaja

(2) Gayabāhu Gāmiṇi Abaya Dakiṇi Abaya araha wihara karaya wa rakawiya

(3) bujika pati-wumak tiri koto papa(?) takarahiya Jina padatara

(4) Kōṭa dīna dakapati bhikṣagaha staya cūṭari paceni paribhāṇak kōṭa dīna.

'Had! The great king Gajabāhu Gāmiṇi Abhaya, grandson of king Wahaba, son of king Tissa, having built (or restored) the Dakṣiṇa Abhaya and other wihāras, and having protected them, made them inhabited (?), having strengthened the faith, having made obeisance to the faultless Jina, after having given [the wihāras], he gave to the priesthood the enjoyment of the four protayas.'

According to *Mak.* p. 205, the Dakṣiṇa and Abhaya[grī] wihāras were already built under the reign of Watṭagāmiṇi, A.C. 89, so that we must either assume that Gajabāhu was also one of the names of Watṭagāmiṇi, or that *karaya* is to be translated 'restored,' not 'built.' The latter seems more probable, as the names of Gajabāhu's father and grandfather are given, and from the whole appearance of the inscription in general.

Among the inscriptions in the North-Western Province, one of the oldest is at Pājāgala three miles from Heripitiya (on the road from Kurunegala to Anurādhapura) on the top of a rock. It bears the name of a son of the minister Mahānāga, but there are too many words and letters effaced to allow of a translation. One letter in this inscription is of peculiar interest, as I have found it nowhere else; it is very much like the modern Tamil *ḥ*, but I could not yet make out the meaning of it.

Nearly as old as this is the inscription at Ridi wihāra (Amba/āhakola lēna) between Kurunegala and Matale. This wihāra was built by king Amādagāmiṇi (21—30 A.D.), but I do not think that the inscription is quite as old. It begins: *Siddhisiddhānake tiri*. . . . After this comes most probably the name of the

king, which is not quite legible on the stone, and in the second line I believe I have deciphered a part of the ancient name of the place—*Ahattha-kāla*.

There are several inscriptions of the same age, which all refer to the construction and dedication of tanks, a favourite subject also in the North-Central Province and in the district of Hambantota. Unfortunately we know so little about the ancient geography of Ceylon that we only seldom can identify the names given in these inscriptions. Celebrated tanks like the *Padiwikulam* and *Kantalai* tank are not at all mentioned in the earlier part of the *Malāwāsū*, which should give us an account of their construction, and so there is little hope to learn from thence anything about minor tanks as they exist in the North-Western Province. Still more difficulty of course prevails about the names of the paddy fields which are served by these tanks, and so there remains but very little matter to discuss in inscriptions like the following from *Alutgalwihāra*:

Siddha mahārāja bāwawīya chetakarīhi
sagawīya chetakarīhi talatrawikotahi chetakarīhi

(2) niwawīya chetakarīhi panagamakawawīya
chetakarīhi wiharakakotahi chetakarīhi

(3) pariwatakakotahi chetakarīhi talawīyakotahi
chetakarīhi.

(4) Tisa teraha kalahi likitaka.

We have here four tanks and four corresponding paddy-fields:

bāwawīya	talatrawikotahi
sagawīya	wiharakakotahi
niwawīya	pariwatakakotahi
panagamakawawīya	talawīyakotahi

The only word to explain is *chetakarīhi*, of which the second part *karīhi* is equal to the Pāli *karīka*; *chete* is most probably a numeral, which indicates the extent of paddy-land that was served by each tank, but I cannot trace the etymology of the word.

The concluding sentence—"This is written at the time of the *thera Tisa*"—helps us just as little in finding out the date of the inscription as the mere title "*mahārāja*" ('great king') in the first line.

One of the oldest and best preserved inscriptions is on a rock near *Galgamuwa* tank on the road from *Padeniya* to *Anurādhapura*. It runs as follows:

Raja Abayisa puti Wadhamana gama mahana
karita sagana wawīya.

[Under this is a line of smaller characters, which are not so clear.]

'Wadhamāna, the son of king *Abaya*, gave the village . . . and the tank to the priesthood.'

The words left blank may be names, but I am not sure about it. *Galgamuwa* tank was built by king *Mahāsena*, the son of *Meghawaṇa Abaya*, according to the *Rājatarāṅkari* (Upham, *Sacred and Historical Books*, II. 32, III. 237), and to him I think the inscription must be ascribed. Whether *Wadhamāna* was really a name or only a title, must remain undecided at present. (Cf. *Journal Ceylon Asiatic Society*, 1879, p. 7.)

Another equally well preserved inscription is at *Dawagiriya wihāra*, three miles from *Galgamuwa*:-

Sistawana wihāri nawaḥagunakotahi
chetahi karīhi kulawī-

'In the *Sistawanaka wihāra* on the *Nawaḥagana* field the paddy land (*chetahi*) over . . . karīkawa.'

Similar inscriptions concerning tanks are to be found at *Yapaka* (*Subhaparvata*), six miles from *Balala*, and at *Galwawa* near *Wariyapola*.

All the inscriptions mentioned until now are not later than the beginning of the 4th century A.D. At this time we notice a change in the alphabet; the square character begins to go over gradually into the round form, and sometimes we find the same letter in two or three different forms in the same inscription.

I only came across one cave inscription written in this mixed character at *Ganekande wihāra* near *Mahānīkawawa*, on the road from *Korannigala* to *Anurādhapura*. I give it here as it is of some interest:-

Sidawīya pukapala chaturdisika sanna
Chudā(?) tisa jetaka Bharana anajawī.

'The tank cave of *Siddhawīya* (?) [is given] to the priesthood in the four quarters. *Chudā* the chief, and *Bharana* his bondaman.'

Pukapa is the old form for the modern *pukama*, Sanskrit *pūṣkarigī*.

There are two short inscriptions of this kind at *Kadigala* near the *Kalā-oya* river, and two long ones at *Mediyāwa* (*Ratgallagāma wihāra*), of which one is hopelessly destroyed by burn-

ing. The other one, as well as a very fine inscription at Rajāngana, three miles from Mahānāgādewala, treat both about the building of dining halls for the priest (*prasāda*) and the offering of water-strainers (*palisāsan*) to them, a practice that is known from *Mahāsāṃsa*, p. 220. I reserve a full transcript and translation of these for a later occasion. The alphabet in which they are written is very difficult to decipher, and some characters can only be found out by conjecture, as we have nothing like them in any of the Indian alphabets that are given in Prinsep's *Essays* and Burnell's *South-Indian Palaeography*.

As in the North-Central Province, there are here also no inscriptions between the 5th and 10th centuries, and so we go on at once to the reign of Kasa-pa V. (937—104). There is a fine pillar of this king at Ingicimittiya, eight miles from Anamaduwa, discovered by Mr. Perkey, the irrigation officer of the district. The king styles himself, as usual, Sri Śaṅkha, and it would be difficult to say which king of this name it is, if not for the name of a minister (*Mahālekhaḍḍaka*) Soma, which must be the same mentioned in *Mahāvamsa* ch. 52, 53, as the founder of *Mahālekhaḍḍakawihāra*. It contains a grant to a temple, the name of which is not clear on the stone. I give the first line and a part from the middle of the inscription:—

A. — (1) S. ...

- (2) Sira Sanga Do
- (3) ma pumuka
- (4) sawanaga pu-
- (5) rida² hima
- (6) ta puradia
- (7) wak dawas
- (8) mu
- (9) hapagan
- (10) wadianse
- (11) wadalevi—

year of his reign, on the 10th day in the bright half of the month Himata, the great sage declared,

Sreenivasa must serve to indicate the year of the king's reign in which this order was given; generally we find a numeral instead, as *puraṣas* in the inscription of Mahākuladeva.

C.—(1) $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2}$

- (2) *sana me gu-*
(3) *ni no wad-*

- (4) nã kot i-
(5) sã gel mi-
(6) wun warrija-
(7) n gũũ gũũ-
(8) na genũũ
(9) kot isã
(10) atagin nepamũũ
(11) kot iak.

¹ Having ordered that noblemen shall not enter the place, that enemies shall not take the cart buffaloes from the village, and having made them independent.

Atropa incana I think stands for *Bilobea* and *simulacrum*—dependent upon themselves.

Inscriptions of this king and of his successors, **Kassapa VI**, are to be found at **Sāṅgāḥiya** with **ūra**, seven miles from Kurunegala, on a large rock close to the diḡḡa, and on pillars at **Medagama** and **Sogelena** with **ūra**, nine miles from Kurunegala on the Kandy road, and at **Yakdusen Gāḥa**, two miles to the east of the road to Puttalam.

Of king Parākramabāhu I, the only found two inscriptions: one on a pillar which stands now before the Assistant Government Agent's house in Puttalam; the other on a stone tablet at Galasso Malassene, eight miles from Korrangula, near the road to Anuradhapura. The pillar was formerly at Palankulam, ten miles from Uduwa, where it was discovered by Mr. Davila, who gave a very rough and imperfect transcript of it in the *Journal of the Ceylon Asiatic Society*, 1865, p. 181 ff. The contents seem not to differ greatly from those in his other transcribed inscriptions all over the Island.

Last of all, I mention three Tamil inscriptions on two pillars and one large slab at Hari-muttawa with a near Nikawerdiya. The character is very much the same as the present Tamil, but there are two or three letters which have disappeared now from the alphabet. Unfortunately I am not well enough acquainted with Tamil to be able to give a translation of these inscriptions; they bear the name of the son of a Kalliya king ("Kalliya mahalan"), and date, without doubt, from the time of the great Tamil invasion of Ceylon, 1043-1153 A.D.

These are the inscriptions I found, partly by inquiring from the natives, partly with the help of the Government archaeological returns; but I am convinced that if a systematic search

were made by Government in all the temples of this province, a great many more would be found, which perhaps might give us some valuable in-

formation in addition to what we know from books on the ancient history of Ceylon.

Colombo, 3rd June 1879.

THIEN-CHU—INDIA.

EXTRACT FROM MA-TWAN-LIN, BOOK CCCCXXXVIII. FOL. 14.

*Translated from the French of M. Stanislas Julien.*¹

The following notice of India by Ma-twan-lin, being made up of fragments from the great Chinese historians, not one of whom probably was acquainted with the languages of India, we may expect to find in it a great many words disfigured, first by the original writers, and afterwards by the various editors of the *Yen-tseu-thong-tseu*. Thus we find *Ki-li-eh* and *Tai-li* for 'Kshatreyu' (a man of the warlike caste), *So-to* for 'Śrōpa' (a tomb), *Shi-to-pa* for Śhāditya (name of a king), *Kia-ku-to* for Kapita (a town). I have removed these alterations in the case of words the correct form of which I have learned from other sources, but what could I do, in the case of Indian words of which I could find no trace in my Buddhist accounts, and also in the case of names of foreign countries, which perhaps appear only once in the solitary fragment from which Ma-twan-lin has taken them? I believe I have taken the only plan which I could prudently have done. If, in a particular case I have attempted a transcription, I have placed it between parentheses, followed by a note of interrogation, or else I have limited myself to simply transcribing the Chinese sounds, hoping that others, more fortunate or better acquainted with Sanskrit than I am, may succeed in re-establishing the original spelling.

As for the Chinese proper names, which appear to me evidently drawn from the Sanskrit, I have taken the liberty of giving the translation of them, not according to any dictionary, but by

making use of Indian words already to my knowledge employed by Buddhist writers in translating the same words into Chinese; and, as the Sanskrit language often offers several translations of a given word, I have always placed a note of interrogation (?) after the word proposed, even in cases in which I am almost certain of having found the correct one.

I cannot conclude these remarks without adding that the fragment from Ma-twan-lin here given, has presented to me, as much on account of the names of foreign products and Indian names as of passages altered by the editors, difficulties which one is not accustomed to meet with in Chinese historians. I have been obliged in order to correct the text to search patiently for the original notices extracted by the author, and although in more than one place this species of investigation has succeeded, I have not in every instance recovered the passage at which he must have been looking, or else I have found even it spoiled by mistakes.

It was under the later Han dynasty that China came into relations with Thien-chu.² This name is the same as Shin-tu employed in the time of the Han dynasty.

First, Ma-twan-lin remarks in a note³ that the General Chang-ki-eh being sent⁴ on a mission to Ta-hia (Baktria) saw some of the *Khing*

word of *shin-tu* has been changed into *thien-chu*, because the word *shin-tu* has been changed into *thien-chu* (Khang-hi mentions this abbreviation under the word *shin*); finally the abbreviation to has received the sound of *chou*. According to the historian See-ma-thsien (the *Ching-tseu-thong-tseu* adds), the character *shin* should be pronounced even as word which in Khang-hi is also sounded *shin*, a sound very close to *shin* or *shin*.

From this we understand how the word for India, which according to Liang-tsing, should be written *thien-chu*, the phonetic transcription of the Sanskrit *Indu* (India), has come to be written (Conf. *Yen-tseu-thong-tseu*, bk. xix. fol. 4 and *Khong-tsi*) by Chinese travellers ignorant of its derivation, as *Thien-tu*, *Shin-tu* and *Shin-tu*, *Yen-tu*, *Hien-tu* (see representing the sound of *shin*) and lastly *Thien-chu*,—in consequence of the alteration of the two syllables of this Sanskrit word (*Indu*) into *thien-chu*.

¹ Pauthier's *Essays*, p. 4.

² According to the historian See-ma-thsien, the country of Ta-hia is situated about 200 leagues to the southwest of Taiwan (now Tashkent, in Arabic, Tashkend; according to the universal geography *Tha-thsan-4-lan-ghat*; Khokand, according to the *Tha-thsan-4-lan-ghat*), is south of the river Wei (in Sanskrit *Vasli*), the *thien*.

³ *Journal Asiatique*, 17me Sér. tome X. (1847) pp. 81—121. The following extract first appeared in the *Journal Asiatique* for July and August 1856 without any translator's name. It was repeated with additional notes by Pauthier in the *Ann. des. Sci. Relig.* vol. VI. (2em. 1857) pp. 61—75. The same extract is included in M. Pauthier's *Essays Méthodiques des faits qui concernent le Thien-tseu* (Paris published in the *Journal Asiatique*, 111e Sér. 1850, pp. 357—400, and also separately, Paris: 1840. This work also includes 25 pages of "Considérations Générales" drawn from the *Yen-tseu-thong-tseu* of Hsien Tsing. M. Julien alludes to neither of the versions that preceded his own, but M. Pauthier mentions (p. 273) that the English version was due to himself. Some notes from Pauthier's reprint, together with others, are added here.

⁴ According to the Buddhist work *Ling-pao-tai-chen* (bk. 1, fol. 2) the word *Thien-chu* signifies *Indu* (in Sanskrit *Indu*). From this etymology we discover that both syllables of this word have been altered, and one wonders how the corrupted spelling should be preserved to the present time by Chinese writers. Let us see the origin of this change.

In the dictionary *Ching-tseu-thong* under the word *chū* we find that, in *Shin-tu*, the same word as *Thien-chu*, the word *chū* ought to be pronounced as *fu* (*shū*). Now the

reed and cloth of *Sān*. 'Whence have you got these things?' asked he of the people of Tā-hia. 'Our merchants,' they said, 'are sent to buy them in *Shin-tu*, which is the same country as *Thien-chu* (India). Some call it *Mok-i-t'ho* (Magadha) and others *Po-lo-m'en* (*kue*) *Brāhmanavardhana*, 'the kingdom of the Brahmans.' It is to the south of the *Tsong-ling* mountains and is many thousand *li* to the south-east of the *Yue-chi*. This country extends 30,000 *li* (3,000 leagues); it is divided into five *Thien-chu* (Indies), viz.: middle *Thien-chu*, eastern *Thien-chu*, southern *Thien-chu*, western *Thien-chu*, and northern *Thien-chu*, each division measures many thousand *li*, and contains many cities large and small.

Southern India is bounded by a great sea, the northern extends to the snowy mountains (*Sin-sa-han*,² the Himalayas). On all sides are mountains which form a sort of wall. Towards the south is a valley by which one might enter, and which is reckoned as the gate of that part of India.

'Eastern India is bounded on the east by a great sea, it is near *Pu-nan*³ (Siam) and *Li-ni* (Tiampha), it is only separated by a narrow sea.

'Western India touches *Kipin* (Kābul) and *Po-sun* (Persia).

'Central India is situated in the middle of the other four divisions of India.

'All the countries of India are governed by kings. In the times of the Hans, there still existed the kingdom of *Yuen-tu*⁴ which was 9800 *li* from the city of Chang'an, and 2800 *li*

from the residence of *Tu-hu* (the Chinese generalissimo of the *Si-yu*). On the south it touches the *Tsong-ling* mountains, on the north it is bounded by the country of the *U-sun*.⁵ The inhabitants dressed like the *U-sun*; like them, also, they were a pastoral people. They belonged to the ancient race of the *Sāi*. We are informed by *Yen-se-kū* that the word *Yue-tu* is the same as *Shin-tu*. The expression *Sai-chong* is the same as *Shi-chong*, the race of *Sākya*, or children of *Sākya* (the tribe to which belonged the founder of the Buddhist religion, surnamed *Sākya muni* or the monk of the *Sākya* family). We have here, the commentator adds, a slight alteration of sound, namely, *Shi* instead of *Sai*.⁶

All the countries, continues *Ma-twan-lin*, which extend from the south-west of the *Yue-chi* and the kingdom of *Kao-fu*⁷ (Kabul) to the western sea (*si-hai*), and on the east to *Pan-khi*, (or as it is sometimes written *Pan-yue*), belong to *Shin-tu* (India). Many towns are subject to powerful chiefs; there are also many separate kingdoms which are governed by kings. Although these kingdoms differ a little from one another, they are all comprehended under the name *Shin-tu* (or India).

The capital is near the river *Hong-ho* (*Gaṅgā*), which is also called *Kia-pi-li-ho*, or the river of *Kapila*.

The Vulture mountain *Ling-t'iao-t'iao-han*, is called in the language of the barbarians *Ki-tu-kue-shan* (*Gṛdhrakūṭa*). It is formed of blue stones, and its summit resembles the

² *Sin-sa-han*, an exact translation of the Sanskrit *Himālaya*, 'abode of snow,' or rather *Hemalaya*, 'mountains whences the snow melts.'—*J. A. S. B.*, vol. VI, p. 61.

³ We read in the history of the kingdom of *Pu-nan* (Siam) the kingdom of *Sān-wei* (*Sekwan*) is a dependency of India, the kingdom of *Si-sa-chi* (*Kāśi*), is also called *Po-lo-mai* (*Varanasi*, *Benares*), and *Shi-p'o-lo-mai* (*Śatavahana*, the glorious kingdom of *Benares*). It is said in the work entitled *Chia-fu-wei-Po-wei-li*, or *Memoirs of the Buddhist kingdoms*, by the Sasan *Chia-wei* (in Sanskrit *Dharmapala*). The kingdom of *Po-lo-mai* (*Varanasi*, *Benares*) is situated 1480 *li* south of the kingdom of *Kia-wei-li-yue-tu* (*Kapilavastu*, *Kapila*). The law of *Sākyamuni* flourishes there (Author's note).

Ma-twan-lin then relates a fact, taken from the work *Lo-lue-chue*, extraordinary and doubtless imaginary, about a species of ox of the same country, which is called *Shao-to-uei*, which means the ox whose flesh is cut by degrees. 'It is black and has slender horns four feet long. Every ten days, they cut a portion of its flesh, without this precaution, it falls ill or dies. Those who drink its blood, and indeed generally the inhabitants of this kingdom, live to a very advanced age. This species of ox lives as long as the man. The present king (says the author of the *Lo-lue-chue*) is a hundred years of age; his kingdom forms part of *Thien-chu*, that is to say India.'

⁴ The author of the *Han annals*, from which work

Ma-twan-lin makes extracts, has not observed that the kingdom called by mistake *Yuen-tu* is identical with the one which he has before spoken of under the name of *Shin-tu*, he is also wrong in comparing the Indians to the *U-sun*, a nomadic race, who, in their seasonal migrations, look for water and pasturage. The first error is rectified further on by *Yen-se-kū*, commentator on the *Han annals*.

⁵ This division of India must include the modern *Kashmir*, the description of which, by *Ma-twan-lin*, the Arabian historian, coincides in a striking manner with that of the Chinese author: 'The kingdom of *Kashmir*, he says, "which forms part of India, is surrounded with very high mountains; it contains a prodigious number of towns and villages; it can be entered only by a single pass, which is closed by a gate."—*J. A. S. B.*, *ut sup.*

⁶ The following account of this kingdom is given by *Ma-twan-lin* elsewhere (*loc. cit.*, vol. I, p. 27): 'The kingdom of *Kao-fu* was known in the time of the Hans. It is situated to the south-east of the great *Yue-chu*. It is likewise a considerable state. Their manners resemble those of the inhabitants of India, and they are gentle and humane. They carry on much commerce with India, *India*, *Kashmir*, and the country of *Ashu* are these kingdoms which are conquered by force and lost by weakness,' the latter expressions are borrowed from the *Tsun-t'ang* of *Liao-issu*.—*J. A. S. B.*, *ut sup.* p. 62.

Tsien bird (*griffon*, vulture).⁴⁰ At this period all these kingdoms belonged to the *Yü-chi-chi*.⁴¹

The *Yü-chi-chi* obey the kings of these kingdoms, and filled their places with generals, to whom they gave the governorship. The people practise Buddhism (*Fo-chiao*), which forbids the taking of the life of any living creature and the drinking of wine. This prohibition soon passed into the custom of the people. The soil is low and damp, and the climate is extremely warm.

This kingdom is near (that is to say, watered by) a large river. The soldiers fight mounted on elephants. The inhabitants of the country are not so strong as the *Yü-chi-chi*.

The emperor *Wu-ti*, of the *Han* dynasty, (which reigned from 140 to 85 a. d.) sent officers twelve times out of China by the south-west, to try to effect an entrance into *Sih-hi-tu* (India), but they were stopped by the *Kurra-ming*, and none of them succeeded in penetrating into the country.⁴²

India several times paid tribute to the emperor *Hu-ti*, (who belonged to the later *Han* dynasty, and reigned from 89 to 105 a. d.) but, soon after, this homage⁴³ was interrupted by the revolt of the *Sih-yü* people.

In the second year of the *Yü-chi* period during the reign of the emperor *Hwan-ti* (135—159 a. d.), Indian ambassadors passed the boundaries of *Jin-nan* (the present *Tamoul*), and paid tribute to the emperor of China.

Tradition relates that the emperor *Ming-ti* (of the later *Han* dynasty, who reigned from

58 to 76 a. d.) saw in a dream a tall man of the colour of gold, from whose head a flame of fire issued. He questioned his officers for the subject, and one of them said to him—"In the West there is a god called *Fo* (Buddha), he is six *chi* high, and yellow like gold."⁴⁴

Upon hearing this the emperor sent messengers to *Thien-chu* to learn the doctrine of *Fo* (Buddha), and soon after images and statues of *Fo* were scattered throughout China. *Ying*, king of *Tien*, was the first who put faith in Buddhism. His conversion led to a great number of people in China embracing the new religion.

In course of time, the emperor *Hwan-ti*,⁴⁵ who was strongly addicted to the worship of spirits, began often to offer sacrifices to *Yü-chi-chi* (Buddha) and *Lu-chi-chi*. By degrees people embraced the Buddhist religion, and soon after it began to flourish. Under the *Wei* and *Pai* dynasties (220 to 110 a. d.) the relations between China and India were broken up, and were not renewed for a long time.⁴⁶ Only under the *Li* dynasty (222—227 a. d.) *Pan-chien*, king of *Pu-nan* (Siam), sent a relation of his called *Su-wen* on an embassy to India. Once out of *Pu-nan*, he set sail from the mouth of the river *Tou-ku-li*, and coasted along till he came to a large gulf on the north-west. He travelled through several kingdoms situated on the coast of the gulf, and at the end of a year, arrived at the mouth of the river of *Thien-chu* (of India). He followed the course of the river for about 7,000 *li* (700 leagues), and arrived at his destination.

⁴⁰ It is situated south of *M-chi-chi* (HNM), a kingdom which also forms a part of *Thien-chu*. (*Yü-chi-chi-chi*, 40-41.)

⁴¹ This important epoch in the history may be fixed with precision by means of Chinese historical records, and it is, in fact, one of the most advantageous landmarks from the study of the history of this nation. *Ma-tsu-wen*, in his account of the great *Yü-chi*, or Indo-Skythians (*book*, manuscript, fol. 2), states that the Chinese General *Chang-shun* was sent on an expedition to the *Yü-chi* by the Emperor *Wu-ti* (a. d. 140), and that, about 100 years after, *Kien-pu* (a. d. 240), who was minister of the first emperor of the country of *Hsiang*, subjected the *Yü-chi*. (*Yü-chi-chi*, and *Yü-chi-chi*, in *India*, was again subjugated by *Yü-chi-chi*. This other conquest of India by the *Skythians* was not to be repeated, therefore, about the year a. d. 260. *Ma-tsu-wen* adds, that these *Yü-chi* having become rich and powerful by these conquests, remained in this state till the time of the latter *Han*, who began to reign a. d. 222. It results from hence that the *Skythians* (*Yü-chi*) sent have been masters of Western India from about a. d. 20 till a. d. 222, that is, for a space of 242 years. The first invasion of India by the *Yü-chi*, or *Skythians*, must have taken place before the reign of *Vikramaditya*, whose celebrated era, which begins 512 years before our era, originated from the complete defeat of the *Skythian* armies by this Indian prince, an event which deserved to be thus immortalized. See *Cleland's India*, *Alfreds*, (preface p. 43) and *Lamou's De l'Inde*, (p. 43).

Index, *Chang-shun*, p. 50. The first of these cities is an ancient station on the *Yü-chi*, who there captured the word *Su-wen* employed by this astronomer to denote the *Buddhists*. "He speaks when the *Buddhists* named *Su-wen* (the *Su-wen*) were defeated by *Vikramaditya*."—*J. A. S. B.*, n. s. p. 65.

⁴² This same emperor gained some trifling particulars respecting *Sih-hi-tu*, or India, by his General *Chang-shun*, whom he had sent to the *Yü-chi*, which are preserved by the historian *Ssu-ma-tsun*, in his *Shi-chi* (*book*, xxiii, fol. 6, 6 and 7), where it is stated that *Sih-hi-tu* is situated to the west of *Yü-chi*, the capital of which was the city of *Yü-chi*.—*J. A. S. B.*, n. s. p. 65.

⁴³ At this period, China was still considered as the paramount state of all the half-civilized nations inhabiting Central Asia. It is not, therefore, surprising that the chiefs of India, subject to the *Yü-chi*, or *Skythians*, should have thought of sending ambassadors to China, in order to receive of delivering their country from *Yü-chi*, by the aid of the Chinese armies, which could easily have provided subjects to return to their duty. Thus we can explain facts apparently so improbable.—*J. A. S. B.*, n. s. p. 65.

⁴⁴ *Paoli's History*, p. 11.

⁴⁵ a. d. 147-149.—*Paoli's History*, p. 12.

⁴⁶ *Paoli's History*, p. 27.

⁴⁷ Or *Wu*, one of the three dynasties which reigned simultaneously over three divisions of the Chinese empire: it subsisted from a. d. 222 to 280.—*J. A. S. B.*, n. s. p. 64.

tom of this river, pure salt is found as white as rock crystal.²²

In the reign of Si men-wu of the later Wei dynasty (500—534 A. D.), the king of India²³ sent an ambassador to present the emperor with a well trained horse. He related that this country produced lions, sables, leopards, rats,²⁴ camels, rhinoceros, and elephants.

There is a mineral product called *ho-tai* which resembles *yan-mu* (laminar mica), but it is of a violet colour. It can be split²⁵ into leaves as thin as a grasshopper's wing, and which laid on the top of one another resemble gauze several times folded.

A kind of diamond is found similar to *te'e-chi-ang* (crystalline quartz), which the strongest fire cannot dissolve, and which can cut jade. One may obtain also articles made of tortoise-shell (*tao wai*), gold (*kin*), copper (*tung*), iron (*tsu*), lead (*yu*), and tin (*seik*), textures of thread²⁶ of gold,²⁷ carpets ornamented with gold, and carpets of *pi-tai* (cotton); perfumes extracted from the *shen-tan* tree (*chandana*, sandal), and the *yu-kia* plant; sugarcane and other products; crystallized sugar,²⁸ pepper (*hu-tiao*—piper nigrum), ginger and black salt.

On the west, this kingdom maintains commercial relations by sea with the people of Ta-tu-hai²⁹ and the 'A-si' (Parthians). Sometimes its inhabitants travel as far as the kingdoms of Fu-nan (Siam) and Kiao-chi (Tonquin) for the purpose of trading. They have a

great deal of coral, also pearls and *long-kan* (a kind of coral). They are not in the habit of keeping lodgers, but pay for goods with *chi-pai* or dentated shells (cowries); they particularly excel in magical sciences (that is, in working transformations). The greatest mark of respect which one can show to a man is to kiss his feet and lightly touch his heels before addressing him. In the houses of the rich there are young female singers³⁰ and jugglers who keep the inmates in amusement. The king and his chief officers are dressed in broadened silk; the sovereign retains on the crown of his head a small lock of hair,³¹ which is dressed spirally, he wears the rest of his hair very short. The men cut their hair and hang pendants in their ears; they are accustomed to walk barefooted, and dress themselves in white. They are timid, and little given to war and combats. They use bows and arrows, shields and spears³²; they also know how to use scaling ladders, wooden oxen (*seik-meng*) and floating horses (*low-ma* for crossing rivers), they also make subterraneous passages. They have a written language, and are excellent astronomers and calculators of the calendar. The Indians all study an elementary book called *Si-tu-chang*³³ (the *Suttha*, a kind of primer); and write memoranda upon leaves called *pei-to-ya*.³⁴

Yang-ti I, an emperor of the Sui dynasty (605 A. D.), having formed the project of entering into relations with the Si-yu (the countries

²² Pauthier's *Mémoires*, p. 18.

²³ Pauthier has 'Northern India.'—u. s. p. 34.

²⁴ Ma-tuan-lin writes *loen* (agitate, move), a word corrupted for horn, rat, whose fur is much prized. I borrow this correction from the original passage inserted in the *Pien-tien*, book lviii.

²⁵ The word *lie* in the text means 'to set in order'; it is a mistake; I believe it should be 'split.' This correction is confirmed by a passage in the *Pien-tien* (book lviii.) identical with this one, in which the same idea is expressed by 'divided.'

²⁶ In the text it is "to engrave," I think it should read "thread."

²⁷ There are, no doubt, the fine brocades, embroidered with gold and silver, for which Basima is still so celebrated, which continue to constitute an extensive article of commerce throughout India.—J. A. S. B. u. s.

²⁸ *Sith-meng*, 'stone-honey.'

²⁹ The Roman empire; and the *An-si* are most probably the subjects of the *Aravantes*.—En.

³⁰ Perhaps the *Yay* of the *Bosman* annals, 'Alani also Ass' of *Corpus* (p. 799), and 'Alani also Ass' of *Robruque*,—the *Alani* of classical authors; see *Britannica's Medieval Geog. and Hist. of C. S. W. Asia*, pp. 154 ff.—En.

³¹ These are, no doubt, the *nitch-gala*.

³² To form the *pi-tai*. See the laws of *Mewa*, book II., p. 219.

³³ *Fts*, this is a scaling-ladder, of which a representation may be seen in the *Art. Mémoires CADRE*, figs. 48 and 49.—J. A. S. B. u. s. p. 47.

³⁴ The two Chinese characters *pei-to-ya* are a transcription of the Sanskrit word *patra*, which signifies 'established truth,' 'demonstrable conclusion,' and which forms the titles of many scientific books, as the *Siksha* *patra*, the *Brhad* *patra*, the *Sukh* *patra*, the *Sam* *patra*, &c. The leaves of the tree, *pei-to*, are the *alas*, on which most of the Sanskrit MSS. are written, especially those in Telugu characters, which come from Southern India.—J. A. S. B. u. s.

³⁵ In the section on trees of the imperial book of *Sotany* *Kien-yi-fung-yu*, book xiv. under *Pei-to-ku*, we read that "this tree is a native of Magadha; it grows to the height of sixty or seventy feet, and does not lose its leaves in winter. There are three species of it, the first of which is called *Pe-to-ku-li-sha* (in Sanskrit *Yuliyulika*). Its leaves are called *Pe-to-ku-li-sha-petra* (in Sanskrit *Patra* *Yuliyulika*). The word *pei-to* is an Indian word (*patra*), which is translated 'leaf' in Chinese. Chinese authors sometimes write *ye-shu* (in Sanskrit *ye-shu-pa-li-sha*) read *ye-shu-pa-li-sha*, literally 'tree with leaves', sometimes *pei-to-ku*, a hybrid word made up of *petra*, leaves, and *shu* tree."

³⁶ In India, the bark and leaves are used to write books on.³⁷ This tree is the palm named *Borassus flabelliformis*. The Imperial book of *Sotany* quoted above explains the expression *pei-to-ku* more clearly than any Chinese book has before done. (Cf. *Fan-yi-meng-tai*, book vii., fol. 26 v.)

to the west of China), sent Fei-tu to induce⁴² the Si-fan⁴³ (Tibetans) and other people to pay homage to him. Many princes responded to his appeal; those of India being the only ones who refused to enter into relations with him. Their refusal irritated him very much.

The Kings of India are of the Ki-li-chi family, called also Tsa-li (Kashatryās). For centuries they have held the throne without once acquiring it either by usurpation or murder.

There are four crops of rice in the year; the greatest of cereals is called *mo-to-tho*.⁴⁴

The women wear necklaces of gold, silver and pearls. The bones of the dead are burned and their ashes placed in a *so-tu* (Stūpa);⁴⁵ sometimes however they leave the dead in the middle of a desert, or throw them into a river; they serve then for food for birds and hosts of prey, fishes and turtles. There is no law to determine the duration of mourning. Those who have been guilty of treason or revolt are put to death in secret, those who have committed light offences may buy themselves off with money, and those who have failed in the duties of filial piety either suffer amputation of the hands or feet, nose or ears, or are banished to the frontiers.

The Indians have a written language, and they excel in astronomical calculations⁴⁶ and the science of the calendar. They use characters invented by the god Pan,⁴⁷ and write memorable things on leaves called *pa-tu-go*.⁴⁸ In all parts of India ancient traces of Fo (Buddha Sākya-muni)⁴⁹ are found. The people have faith in solemn oaths, and transmit magical formulas which they say can bring dragons and call down ruin.

In the Wu-to period (in the reign of Kao-

tsu) of the T'hang dynasty (618-627) serious disturbances broke out in India. King Shi-lo-y-to (Śīlāditya)⁵⁰ raised a great army, and fought with irresistible valour. The men neither took off their own armour nor the elephants their housings. He punished the kings of four parts of India, so that they all with their faces turned towards the north acknowledged his superiority.

At this time, a Buddhist monk called Hi wen-tha ng came to the kingdom of Śīlāditya; the king invited him to court and saw him, and said to him,—"In your country a very pious monarch appeared, and a war-song was composed to celebrate the conquests of the emperor of China; try, I pray you, to teach it to me."

Hi wen-tha ng told him briefly how T'hai-tsong had, by his divine valour, quieted the misfortunes and troubles of the empire, and brought the foreign peoples⁵¹ into subjection. Ch'ang-wang (in Sanskrit Śīlāditya) was delighted at these words, and cried out—"It becomes me to turn towards the east and to do homage to him." In the fifth year of the Ch'ang-kuang period (641), Śīlāditya assumed the title of king of Mo-kie-tho (Magadha), and sent an ambassador with a letter to the emperor. This monarch ordered Liang-hoai-king, under the title of Yun-ki-wel, to go to him furnished with an imperial brevet, and to invite him to submission.

Śīlāditya full of astonishment asked his officers whether an ambassador had ever come from Mo-ho-shin-tan before? "Never," they simultaneously replied. In the language of the barbarians (that is of these people) the author adds, the middle kingdom (China) is called Mo-ho-shin-tan, (in Sanskrit Mahāchulashāna).

⁴² In Chinese, "to go before."

⁴³ "Western Barbarians," see Bretschneider, u. s. p. 112. —Fu.

⁴⁴ This word does not appear to be purely Indian, for the two last syllables mean in Chinese—camel. The character *mo* (摩) seems to be an abbreviation of a Sanskrit word. The word "camel" is doubtless used in allusion to the extraordinary height of this animal.

⁴⁵ Read *so-tu-go*. (Cf. *Pan-tsing-ki-tsi* book xx, fol. 52). From this word *stūpa*, the word "top" has been formed. The text literally means "and a tomb was built for him."

⁴⁶ Ma-tuan-lin has omitted the word before (cf. *Pien-pun-fu*, book lxxv, fol. 194 r.).

⁴⁷ This word, Pan is an abbreviation of *Pan-tien-tu*, *Heaven* (Cf. *Sau-thung-fu-tu*, book xlv, fol. 3). It is usually written *Pan-tu*—Heaven (Cf. *Pan-tsing-ki-tsi*, book xx, fol. 11, line 4).

⁴⁸ This passage is already found in a foregoing extract, taken from the collection of annals. We preserve it, in order to give the text of Ma-tuan-lin in full.

⁴⁹ I think that he means here vestiges of ancient mono-

theism erected in places visited by Buddha. In Chinese the word *ku-tai* often means remains of ancient monuments (see the *T'ai-ling-t'ung-chi*, in the section entitled *Ku-tai*).

⁵⁰ *Han-shu*—see ante vol. VII, pp. 196 ff.—Fu.

⁵¹ T'ien is the name of the dynasty which reigned over China from a. d. 240 to 265, during which the Chinese power ceased itself to be known for the first time in Central and Western Asia. Its conquests being extended to the Caspian sea and Bengal, in the reign of T'ien-shi-ling-tu, the celebrated Barrier of the Books. The name of this dynasty has found that of China, in Sanskrit China, which occurs in the *Large of Hsin* (book x, li. 44), and therefore to a date anterior to the third century before our era, which may be easily explained in referring the name of China to the period of the foundation of the kingdom of T'ien in the western province of Shen-si, about a. d. 100.—J. A. S. B. u. s. p. 62.

⁵² It is in Chinese *Sai*, the "four strangers," which means strangers from the four cardinal points—North, South, East, and West.

The king then went out, and bowing on his knees thus received the imperial decree, and placed it on his head (in token of respect).

The Chinese envoy immediately after his return went to the palace, and Lisi, under the title of Wei-wei-ching, was ordered to carry to the king of Magadha the reply of the emperor.

Great officers went before him, outside the town, and the inhabitants of the capital and the neighbouring towns flocked out to see him, and to burn perfumes on his path. Śīlāditya came himself at the head of his ministers, and received the imperial decree with his face turned to the east. He again presented *lavinar mīm* (*ho-tsi*), a perfume called *yo-lin*, and a tree called *yu-ti-shu*²¹ (in Sanskrit *bohidhrana*,—the tree of knowledge, *flora religiosa*).

In the twentieth year of the *Ching-kuen* period (646), the emperor sent Wang-hiwen-tao, under the title of You-wei-so-fa-chang-shi,²² on an embassy to the kingdom of Magadha, he associated with him Tsiang-shi-jin.²³ Before he arrived King Śīlāditya died, and his kingdom fell into a state of anarchy. One of his ministers named Na-fa-ti-a-n-a-shu (Nava . . . ?) usurped the supreme power, and sent soldiers to oppose Wang-hiwen-tao. At this time his suite consisted only of a few dozens of cavaliers, who struggled without success, and were all taken prisoners. Soon after the usurper used violence to make other kingdoms pay him tribute.

Hiwen-tao resolved upon action, and retired to a town on the western frontier of Tu-fan, from which he called the neighbouring kingdoms to arms.²⁴ The king of Tu-fan came

with a thousand soldiers, and the king of Nê-pa²⁵ with seven thousand cavaliers. Hiwen-tao divided them into several bodies, and marched against the town of Ta-pu-ho-to,²⁶ which he took by storm at the end of three days. He beheaded three thousand people, and ten thousand more were drowned. A-l-a-n-a-shu abandoned his kingdom and fled; then he collected his scattered troops, and attempted a fresh fight, but the general Jin (or Tsiang-shi-jin) took him alive, he also captured and beheaded a thousand men. The remains of the hostile army obeying the orders of the queen, tried to stop the way upon the banks of the river K'ien-to-wei (Gandhara)²⁷; but Tsiang-shi-jin gave them battle and defeated them. He took the queen and the king's son prisoners, captured twelve thousand men and women, and twenty thousand head of cattle, and subdued five hundred and eighty towns, large and small.

Sh'ik-tu-men (Sikundra ?) king of eastern India, sent him thirty thousand oxen and horses, and provisions for all his army; to which he added bows, arrows, and collars of great value. The king of K'ia-mo-to²⁸ gave him some rare articles, a map of his states²⁹ and several statues of Lohan.

Hiwen-tao took A-l-a-n-a-shu, and presented him at the gate of the palace. The magistrates proclaimed the victory in the ancestral temple, and the emperor raised him to the rank of Ch'ao-san-ta-fa (a sort of noble councillor).

He had met a magician named Na-to-mi-pao-mo (Nāndamavāmin ?), who said he was two hundred years old, and pretended that he possessed the art of procuring immortality. The

²¹ The words *yu-ti* are probably the transcription of the name of a tree in Sanskrit, perhaps the lote, a sacred tree employed in religious ceremonies, and of which mention is often made in Sanskrit poetry. What confirms this conjecture is the following passage in Kung-ke's dictionary, under the character *yu*: "*yu-ti* is the name of a tree which grows in the kingdom of Mo-kun-to (Magadha)."—*J. A. S. B. v. 2*, p. 69.

²² The *Encyclopædia Pa-yuen-shu* (book xxx) gives him the title of Ch'ao-san-ta-fa, a sort of noble councillor; a title which we shall see farther on was conferred on him after he had completed his travels. Unfortunately the history which he composed in twelve books has not come down to us.

²³ Pauthier, *v. 1*, p. 13.

²⁴ This authoritative demand, if it be not introduced here, as the facts, indeed show, to gratify Chinese vanity, would denote that, at this period, Tibet was already dependent on the Chinese empire as well as several other neighbouring kingdoms.—*J. A. S. B. v. 2*.

²⁵ Nepala: see the account given by Ma-tuan-lin (book xxxviii, fol. 14) in the translation by M. Bémusat. *Nouv. Mém. Asiat.* t. 1, p. 193.

²⁶ The name of this town, which should be pronounced Dikshara (?), is not found in any other Chinese work.

Pauthier reads Ta-pu-ho-to. Ta (the first character) may be read cho or ten. If it be read cho, the pronunciation of the speech in question, Cho-pu-ho-to, would be an exact transcription of Chuparam, a city placed by Abel Pral in Betar, the ancient kingdom of Magadha—and exactly the same as Chupra, on the Ganges higher up than Patna; the Utaga is but a variation of Umaputra, as the latter is likewise of Chuparamagadha.—*J. A. S. B. v. 2*.

²⁷ The Gokseri is suggested in the *J. A. S. B. v. 2*, p. 63.

²⁸ Another author writes in the same place K'ia-p'ili (Kapila). Cf. *Pien-tien* book viii.

²⁹ This kingdom must be that of K'ia-mo-to, mentioned in the Sanskrit inscription on the column of Ashoka, and which formed the western part of the kingdom of Assam, on the frontiers of Tibet. The syllable *ki* is well represented by *ki*, as *ka* is by *ko*, and *to* by *to*; the last syllable *pa* is not transcribed. It is worthy of remark that it is a general law of transcription from Sanskrit into Chinese, that the short *a* should be represented in the latter by *o*.—*J. A. S. B. v. 2*, p. 70.

emperor⁶⁰ being attacked by a mortal malady ordered him to prepare his marvellous remedy. Tsui-tun-li, chief minister of war, was ordered to protect and watch over his emissaries, who would be obliged to travel through all the empire to collect medicinal plants of extraordinary virtue, and very rare minerals, some of them even went into all the kingdoms of the Po-lo-men (Brahmans). According to him, the river called Pan-da-fa⁶¹ flows out of a stone trough, and is guarded by men hewn out of stone. It has seven kinds of waters: some are hot and others cold: the former dissolve rapidly plants, herbs and metals. If any one plunges his hand into it, he finds it cooked and dissolved the same moment. This water is drawn with the skull of a camel, and poured into a calabash.

"There is a tree called *tsi-tai-to*, the leaves of which resemble those of the *li* (a kind of ebony): it grows on the rugged sides of a perpendicular shaped mountain, the approach to which is guarded by a serpent hidden in a cave. Those who wish to obtain the leaves, knock them down by shooting arrows with four cornered points against the branches, but they are soon carried off by the birds, they shoot more arrows, and at last obtain the leaves." Such were the fables which this quack invented. But at last, his magical science having remained ineffectual, the emperor permitted him to return; but before he had time to set out he died at Chang'an.⁶²

While the Emperor Kao-tsong, (who mounted the throne in 650 A.D.) was reigning, Lu-

kia-y-to⁶³ (Lokûditya), a native of U-ta,⁶⁴ obtained an interview with him by aid of his (pretended) knowledge of magic. He received the title of Hui-ho-ta-tsang-kiun.

In the third year⁶⁵ of the *Kien-feng* period (608 A.D.), the kings of the five Indias all came to do homage to the emperor.

In the *Khai-yuen* period (713—714) ambassadors came three times from Central India, and once an envoy came from Southern India. They brought a bird which could speak, and whose plumage was of five colours. They asked troops to punish the Ta-si⁶⁶ (the Tsi—Arabs)⁶⁷ and the Tu-fan (Tibetans), and desired the emperor to give their army an honorary name. Hiuen-tsung passed a decree, in which he gave it the name Hui-ta-kiun (the army which cherishes virtue).

"Foreigners," the ambassador said, "think themselves honored only when they receive a cloak and a girdle; upon which the emperor made him a present of a broadened cloak, a leathern girdle enriched with gold, a satchel ornamented with fishes,⁶⁸ and seven other valuable articles.

The king of Northern India came once to do homage to the emperor.

Towards the end of the *Kien-yuen* period (608—670), China having lost the country of H o-l o n g, the kings of India ceased from that time to come to court. In the third year of the *Kien-p'ing* period (653 A.D.) sixteen Samanians from Western India, Su-man-to (*Samanas*) and others, brought some very fine horses as tribute.

⁶⁰ T'ai-tsung, who reigned from A.D. 626 to 649.—*J. A. S. B.* v. 1.

⁶¹ This is a very exact transcription of the Persian word *پنج آب* Panjâb, the 'five waters,' or 'five rivers' (in Sanskrit *Panchanadî*). The last syllable fit in the Chinese transcription represents the unorthodoxly the syllable *ab*, inasmuch as the components composing it are two letters very often taken for the other.—*J. A. S. B.* v. 1.

⁶² The Capital of China at that time.—Pauthier, v. 2, p. 18.

⁶³ That is, Lokûditya, or follower of the atheistical system of philosophy founded by Diogenes, entitled *Lokûditya* (see Mr. Colebrooke's *Essay on the Philosophy of the Hindus*). The suffix *kiun*, which forms collective names in Sanskrit, is represented, in Chinese by the character *kiun*, which serves in like manner to form adjectives and collective names in Chinese.—*J. A. S. B.* v. 1, p. 71.

⁶⁴ *Nano-to* is the word in the text; it is a mistake for *Uta* (Ota, now Orissa). Pauthier, however, says it was also called *Kien-yu-men*, where were many stupas. See—*Reines*, p. 59 m.

⁶⁵ The other account has the second year (607 A.D.)—Pauthier, v. 2, p. 16.

⁶⁶ See D'Olsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, tom. I, p. 217; Bretschneider's *Middlem. Geog. and Hist.*, pp. 42 ff.—Ed.

⁶⁷ *Ti-shi* 'great waters,' (rather *tsi*, Arabian) is the name by which the Chinese designate the Arabs. This

curious passage throws great light on this obscure period of Indian history, and confirms a fact hitherto scarcely noticed, but which has been asserted by two Arabian authors Almasini and Abul Feda, namely the invasion of India by the Arabs at the beginning of the eighth century.

"Muhammad ben Kaim," says the former, in his *History of the Saracens*, "look India; he obtained possession of the countries adjoining the Sind (India), gave battle to Daker, who was king of them, vanquished him, made him prisoner, and put him to death." The other, in his *Muslim Annals*, translated by Reiske, says "Muhammad ben Kaim overran India as conqueror." But the following is a passage, curious in another respect, concerning the same fact; it is taken from the *History of the Empire of the Khalif*, translated from Tabari (Turkish edition), for a knowledge of which we are indebted to M. Roussin.—

"This same year 87 (A.D. 708) was gloriously terminated by the defeat of 200,000 barbarians, who had entered the country of the Muslims, commanded by Roshaban, nephew of the emperor of China. The Muslims confessed that they owed this important victory to the protection of God."—*J. A. S. B.* vol. VI, p. 74.

On the Tashî, see Bretschneider, *On the knowledge possessed by the Ancient Chinese of the Arabs*, &c. (Tribner, London 1871).—Ed.

⁶⁸ We see in the T'ang annals, that three fishes were sometimes made of jade, and sometimes carved in gold or silver.

In the third year of the *K'ien-te* period of the Song (965 A.D.) T'ang-yue-n, a Buddhist monk of T'ang-ch'ieh, returned from the Si-yu (Western countries). Having obtained a portion of the *śā-lī* (Śāstrā) oracles of Buddha, namely, a vase of rock crystal and forty bundles of Indian books written on palm leaves, he came to offer them in homage to the emperor.

T'ang-yue-n had gone to visit the Si-yu in the *Thien-fa* period (947 A.D.), and had travelled for twelve years. He had resided for six years in the five Indias. By the five Indias Thien-chu is meant. On his way back he passed through Yü-t'ien²² (Khotan), and arrived at the same time as the ambassadors (of the emperor). Thien-chu called him to the palace and questioned him on the customs, mountains, rivers and itinerary of the countries through which he had travelled. To all of these questions he gave answers.

In the fourth year of the *K'ien-te* period (966 A.D.) the monk Hing-ki-n, followed by fifty-six companions, came to the gate of the palace, and told the emperor that he wished to go to the Si-yu (the Western countries) to obtain some Buddhist books. His request was granted.

They travelled through the districts of Kuan-chou, Shu-chou, T'chou, Szechou, etc. the kingdoms of Yen-ki (now Kharushar), K'ien-t'ao (Kucha),²³ Yü-t'ien (Khotan), K'ia-lo (Kashgar), etc. They passed also through the kingdoms of P'u-nu-hu (Purnapara, now Peshawar), K'ia-shi-mi-to (Kashmir), etc. and all the Princes passed decrees and issued orders to the inhabitants to be careful to guide and conduct them.

After the *K'ien-te* period (963—975) several²⁴ Indian monks arrived without invitation, bringing with them Buddhist manuscripts to give to the emperor.

In the winter of the eighth year (976), Yü-n-ki-e-k'ü-n-gü-o (others read Yang-ki-e-shue-do, Añjanavara?), son of the king of Eastern India, came to pay tribute and do homage to the emperor.

According to the laws of India, when a king dies, he is succeeded by his eldest son (Kumārāja); the other sons leave the family and embrace a religious life, and they are no longer allowed to reside in their native kingdom.

The king of Eastern India had a son called Ma-nu-hu-sh-i-lī (Mañjuśrī), who arrived at the capital in the train of some Chinese monks. Thien-chu (who mounted the throne in 976) ordered him to be lodged in the Shing-küo-ssu convent. He observed rigidly the Buddhist precepts, and won the esteem and admiration of the inhabitants of the capital. The emperor having loaded him with riches and favours, all the monks envied and hated him, and as he did not understand the Chinese language, they fabricated a false petition, in which they represented him as asking permission to go back to his own country. The emperor granted him permission.

When the decree was passed, Ma-nu-hu-sh-i-lī (Mañjuśrī) was at first filled with stupor and indignation. The monks told him that the decree was irrevocable. After some months he went away, announcing that he was going to the schools of the Southern Sea on board a merchant vessel. It was never known to what country he went.

In the seventh year of the *Thien-fa* period (956 A.D.), K'ü-n-g-yü-n, a monk of Lohat, went to India, and on his return brought the emperor a letter from the king of that country whose name was Mo-sai-nang. The emperor ordered Shih-hu (Dharmapala?), an Indian monk, to translate it into Chinese. The following is the letter:—"Lately I have learned that there is in the kingdom of China a king as great as he is enlightened, perfectly holy, perfectly intelligent, and who by his majesty and power reigns supreme. Every day I think with confusion of my bad fortune, and lament that I cannot go in person to pay homage to you. From afar I look affectionately towards the capital of China and wish your holy person ten thousand felicities.

"On the arrival of K'ü-n-g-yü-n, I had the honour to receive a holy statuette enriched with diamonds, representing Śakyamuni seated in the attitude of felicity and divine calm. I clothed myself in *kāśha*, and made offerings to him.

"I humbly desire that the august emperor of China may obtain perfect felicity and understanding, that he may enjoy long life in order to guide every creature to happiness, and that

²² Hu-t'an, Bretschneider, *et. sup.* p. 151.—En.

²³ Bretschneider, *et. sup.* p. 140.

²⁴ Pauline says "one",—*ibid.* p. 76.

he may enable all those who are exposed to shipwreck, to sail over the immense sea of life and death. Now I have entrusted Kūng-yūn with some relics of Śākyamuni, that he may present to your majesty on my behalf."

Shi-hu (Dānīpāla?) also translated a letter from the monks of India as a body which in its style and thoughts resembled that of king Mo-si-nang.

According to the Samanean Shi-hu (Dānīpāla?) "the kingdom of U-tiē-nang (Udyāna)⁷² belongs to Northern India. After twelve days' travelling in a westerly direction, one arrives at the kingdom of K'hi-n-th-o-lo (Gandhāra); at the end of other twelve days, journeying in the same direction, one comes to the kingdom of Nā-n-g-g-o-l-o-k-i-a-l-o (Nagarahara); after journeying ten days more, still in the same direction, the kingdom of Lā-n-p-o (Lampa, Lamphān)⁷³ is reached, at the end of other ten days, still travelling towards the west, one arrives at the kingdom of G-o-j-e-n-a-n-g⁷⁴ (Gajāna); continuing the journey towards the west the kingdom of P-o-s-e (Pāra'n, Pāra) is at last reached; thence one can set sail on the western sea.

"The journey from Northern to Central India occupies a hundred and twenty days.

"From Central India travelling towards the west, after three halts A-lā-w-ei (?) is reached; and if the journey is continued in the same direction for twelve days more, one comes⁷⁵ to K-a-r-a-n-a-k-i-ū-j-e (the second syllable is not required—Kanyakulja, Kanauj); at the end of other twelve days' travelling one arrives at the kingdom of Mā-lā-w-ei; after a journey of twelve days more, still in a westerly direction, one reaches the kingdom of U-j-e-n-a-n-i⁷⁶ (Ujjayini); if one continues journeying in the same direction for twenty-five days more the kingdom of L-o-l-o (Lara?) is arrived at, and after other forty days one comes to the kingdom of S-u-l-a-t-a (Surāshtra).

"From Surāshtra to the Western Sea is a journey of eleven days.

"It generally takes three months to travel from Central to Southern India; thence after journeying eighty-six days towards the west one arrives at the kingdom of K'o-n-g-k'i-a-n-a (Konkapura),⁷⁷ from which another day's travelling in the same direction brings one to the sea.

"If one sets out from Southern India, and travels in a southerly direction, he will reach the southern sea at the end of six months."

Such were the itineraries which the monk Shi-hu (Dānīpāla?) made known.⁷⁸

In the eighth year (983 A.D.) a monk called Fā-yu, who had gone to India to search for Buddhist books, arrived on his way back to China at the kingdom of Sā-n-f-o-t'ai (part of Sumatra), where he met an Indian monk called Mā-i-m-o-l-o-s-h-i-l-i (Miharsari?),⁷⁹ who after a short interview asked him to take charge of a letter in which he expressed a desire to go to the kingdom of China to explain the sacred books.

The emperor passed a friendly decree calling him to the capital.

Fā-yu set himself to beg, and caused a dala to be made ornamented with dragons and a *kia-sha* (a kind of religious dress, from the Sanskrit word *kashāpa*, brown).

Being desirous of returning to India he naked imperial letters of recommendation to the foreign princes whose dominions he would have to travel through. He presented them to the king of Sā-n-f-o-t'ai (Sumatra); whence he came after a long voyage to the Prince of A-k-u-l-a and K'i-e-māng (Kims?), steward of cavalry, chief of the kingdoms of K'o-lān and Tā-n-tā-l-o (Chandra) and king of Western India, whose son Mā-tho-sien (Mudhāsina?) gave him on his departure letters of recommendation.

In the Yong-hi period (984–988 A.D.) Thao-han, a monk from Wei-ch'ao, returning from the Si-yu (the western countries), with a foreign monk named Mī-tan-lo (Mitra), brought letters from the king of Northern India and Nā-lā-n-th-o (Nalanda), who sat on a throne ornamented with diamonds (*Vajrasana*).

⁷² Conf. Stan. Julien *Vie de Hsüen Tsang*, p. 85; *Mém. sur les Cont. Occid.* t. I, pp. 151, 149; t. II, pp. 312 seqq.; Beal's *Fa-hsien* (c. 8), p. 28.—En.

⁷³ *Vie de H. T.* pp. 74, 90, 264; *Idem*, t. I, p. 95; t. II, p. 308; Lampago in *Prot. Græp. lib. VII. c. l. 3* 42.—En.

⁷⁴ Glaxo, *Brachman*, v. 2, p. 171.

⁷⁵ In this passage, which is an extract from the Song annals, Mā-tan-lu has omitted twenty-three words, of which the following is the meaning:—"We arrive at the

kingdom of Wei-nang-lo or Ma-nang-lo (see it often written for so; the latter spelling would give the word Maunam?). After travelling twelve days towards the west one arrives at Kanyakulja."

⁷⁶ There is a mistake in the text, where we read *nai* instead of *u*.

⁷⁷ *Vie de H. T.* p. 261; *Mém.* t. II, pp. 146, 409.—En.

⁷⁸ *Panthier*, n. 2, p. 77.

⁷⁹ *Pandit Bhagvanlal suggests Vimalasri.*—En.

A Brahman called Yong-li and a heretical sectarian from Persia called A-li-i-n also arrived at the capital. Yong-shi announced that his native kingdom was called Li-t'e, and that the king's name was Ya-l-o-i-t'i; and his surname A-j-e-n-i-f'o; he was clothed in yellow, and wore a golden headress ornamented with the seven precious things.* When he went out he mounted an elephant, or was borne in a palanquin. His retinue was preceded by musicians who sang melodious songs accompanied by the sound of conch shells and cymbals. He often visited the Buddhist convents, and distributed abundant alms to the poor. The queen's name was Mo-ho-ni (Mahāni?); she wore a robe of red taffeta, enriched with thin plates of chased gold. She only went out once a year, when she distributed generous gifts for the relief of the unfortunate. If any one had an act of injustice or tyranny to complain of, he waited till the king or queen went out to walk; he then followed them, and laid open his grievances. There were four ministers of justice who directed the administration of the kingdom, and decided all affairs.

The different kinds of grain, the domestic animals and the different kinds of fruit were the same as in China. In the markets and for all commercial transactions they made use of copper coins.

The face and the back of these coins were distinguished as in China by different inscriptions or ornaments; they were round and of the same diameter as those of China; but the centre was full and not pierced by a hole for the purpose of stringing them on a cord.

After six months' travelling in an easterly direction from this kingdom one comes to the kingdom of the T'u-shi (Tusi, Archa); two months after to S'i-ch'e-i (Turfan, country of the Uigurs); and three months after that to H'i-a-ch'e-i.

A-li-i-n added that the king of his native country had taken the title of Ho-i (which means 'clothed in black'†); his family name was Chang, and his surname Li-li-mo. He wore

clothing of beaded silk of different colours. Every time that he went out to walk or hunt he was absent two or three days; he took a whole day to return. The administration of public affairs was entrusted to nine persons of the highest rank.

The inhabitants do not make use of coins in their commercial transactions; there are many different articles which they exchange for goods.

Six months' travelling in an easterly direction from this country, brings one to the kingdom of the Brahmins (India).‡

In the second year of the *Chiao* period (296 A. D.) an Indian monk came to China on board a merchant vessel. He brought a bell to the emperor, a clapper (of a bell) ornamented with little bells, a little copper bell, a statuette of Buddha, and a sacred book written on palm leaves. He did not understand the Chinese language.

In the third and fourth years of the *Thien-shing* period (1025—1026 A. D.) some Indian monks of Western India, 'A-h'i-e-n-e-k'i (which means loving the knowledge which wise men possess, Pāṇḍyaśāstrīya?), S'i-ch'e-i (i. e. protector of the faith, Dharmapāl?), and others came to present Buddhist books written on palm leaves. The emperor gave each of them a violet cloak of a square shape, and a rich girdle.

In the second month of the fifth year (1027), five monks, namely: 'F'a-k'ue-t'i-a-n-g (which means happiness of the law, Dharmasāri?), and others came, bringing to the emperor Buddhist books; he gave each of them a violet mantle of a square shape.

In the first month of the third year of the *K'ing-gei* period§ (1034 A. D.), nine monks, namely: S'h'e-n-e-k'ing (i. e. he who has a good reputation, Saṃgha?), etc., came to give the emperor some Buddhist books and relics of Buddha, and also a little statue of T'ang-y'a-p'u-a (i. e. Bodhisattva with copper teeth, Tāmra-danta-bodhisattva?). The emperor gave them pieces of silk.¶

* Namely: 1st, Su-ho-lu (Suvāra), gold; 2nd, A-lo-pa (Rūpa), silver; 3rd, Li-ch'i (Pāśava), lapis lazuli; 4th, Pho-li (Spharśita) rock crystal; 5th, Mo-ho-to-k'o-lu-pa (Mudrāgata), emerald; 6th, Mo-ho-lu-li, the agate; 7th, P'u-mo-lu-k'in (Pramoṭa), the ruby; (Cf. *Siu-t'ang-kuo-shi*, book xxx, fol. 14).

† This expression refers to the Abbasid Khalifs. The

Khalif who reigned in Persia about this time (974—1031 A. D.) was Tūy-lālah; (see *Art de vérifier les dates*, page 478).

‡ Pantliet, u. s. pp. 79-82.

§ Pantliet gives 1035 A. D.—See p. 83.

¶ Pantliet's second count comes down to A. D. 1439 (Zhuozhi, pp. 84—90).

THE HASTĀMALAKA.

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The poem, of which I give the text and translation below, is one which is very well known in India, but has never been printed in Europe. Most educated natives know it by heart, and it is universally considered as one of the best summaries of the Vedānta doctrines. Its authorship is uncertain; but there are two commentaries upon it, each of which curiously enough is ascribed to Śaṅkara Āchārya, the celebrated Vedāntist teacher of the eighth or ninth century. Dr. Hall in his *Bibliographical Index* ascribes the poem to Hastāmālaka. The twelfth stanza is quoted in the *Vedānta-sūtra* (the only quotation which I have noticed from the work), and Hastāmālaka is mentioned as the author in the *Vidya-maharajinī* Commentary on the *Vedānta-sūtra* by Rāmāthya-yati. Hastāmālaka is celebrated as one of Śaṅkara's earliest disciples; and he is afterwards said to have founded a modified form of Vedāntism recognising Viṣṇu as the supreme Brahman. It is probable, however, that the title of the poem has no reference to any author, as *hastāmālaka* may simply mean 'a myrobalan in the hand,' and thus be used metaphorically to signify something very plain and obvious, as the round fruit on the open palm. The phrase is thus used in the *Vajrasūkti Upaniṣad* (Weber's ed. p. 213, 10), where the true Brahman is described as the 'contented man, free from desires and passions, who sees everything as visibly before him as a myrobalan on the palm of his hand' (*karatāmalakam iva*); and this is the interpretation which one of my Pundits in Calcutta gave to the title.

The ultimate identity of the individual and the supreme soul is the great tenet of the Vedānta. 'That art thou' (*tat tvam asi*) is the first lesson of the neophyte, and the last vision of the perfected mystic. The one supreme soul alone exists; all the separate consciousnesses of individuals are but the reflection of the one soul on the multitudinous 'internal organs' which are the creation of 'ignorance' or illusion. To reach reality we must strip off the successive

veils—the waking world first (where the soul is disguised by the gross effects) and the world of dreams next (where it is disguised by the subtle effects), till we reach that of sound sleep. Here for the time the individual soul does attain its real nature, but its inherent delusion remains latent, and is still capable of being called out into actuality. Only the knowledge of the highest truth, as taught in the Vedānta, can abolish ignorance, and so destroy personality in its germ.¹

The soul's real nature, as identical with Brahman, is always described as 'essentially existent, intelligence, and joy'; but though defined as essentially intelligence, this intelligence is not exercised on any object, as all objects, as well as the internal organ or 'mind' which cognizes transient perceptions, are produced by 'ignorance' and therefore unreal. There is a striking verse of the *Yoga-sūtra*:—

"As would be the pure nature of light if all that is illumined by it, as space, earth, and ether, were annihilated, such is the loneliness of the pure-essenced spectator (soul), when all objects, as I, thou, and the three worlds, have passed into non-existence."

† Kṛtsvān ānāṁ kasya kuta 'si guntā
kīn nāma te teṣāṁ kuta āpta 'si |
etādvēda teṣāṁ māmā suprasiddhān
māpēkage prītiyivardhana 'si" || 1 ||
Nāhaṁ manushyo na cha devayakṣo
na brāhmanakṣatriyavaiśyāśūdrāḥ |
na brahmacārī na grhī vanaśho
bhikṣuḥ na chikṣaḥ nijābodharūpāḥ || 2 ||
Nimittāṁ manāśchakṣurādhipravṛttau
nīcātākhilopādhīr ākāśarūpāḥ |
ravis lokacheshānimittāṁ yathā yathā
sa nityopalabdhīśvarūpo 'hamātmā || 3 ||
Yam agnyashvayannītyabodharūpāḥ
manāśchakṣurādīnāṁ abodhātmakāni |
pravartanta āśrītya nishkāmpam ekam
sa nityopalabdhīśvarūpo 'hamātmā || 4 ||
Mukhābhāṅko darpagō dyāyomāno
mukhāvūt prithaktvaṁ pāṇīstī vataḥ |
chidābhāṅko dhīṣṇa jīvo 'pi tadvat
sa nityopalabdhīśvarūpo 'hamātmā || 5 ||

¹ Cf. also *Vijñāna-bhīkṣu*, *Upaniṣ. on Śāṅkara Sūtra*, p. 95, 2 *inf.*

² There is a remarkable passage in Hippolytus' *Philosophumena* I. p. 29.—*οὐκ ἔστι τὸ φῶς ὁ φῶς δόξας τὸν εἶναι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν μᾶλλον εἰδέναι διαφανέας λέγουσι, ἀλλ'*

τὸ διαφανέας μᾶλλον τὸν ἀνοησίαν, ὁ δὲ εἶναι φῶς τὸν φῶς λέγουσι.

³ Quoted in *Vijñāna-bhīkṣu's Upaniṣ. on Śāṅkara Sūtra*, p. 97.

Yathā darpaśūbhāva ābhāsanānau
mukhaṁ vidyate kalpaśūbhānam ekam |
tathā dhīviyoge nirūbhānako yaḥ
sa nityopalabdhīsvārūpo 'hamātmā || 6 ||
Manaschakṣurāder vimuktah svayaṁ yo
manaschakṣurāder manaschakṣurūlī |
manaschakṣurāder agamyaśvarūpaḥ
sa nityopalabdhīsvārūpo 'hamātmā || 7 ||
Ya eko vibhāti evaṁ śuddhachetāḥ*
prakāśasvarūpo 'pi nānena dhīḥ |
śūdrōdakastho yathā bhāsur ekah
sa nityopalabdhīsvārūpo 'hamātmā || 8 ||
Yathāśekachakṣuḥ prakāśo ravir na
krameṇ prakāśikaroti prakāśyam |
asakā dhiyo yaḥ tathā nīkaprabodhaḥ
sa nityopalabdhīsvārūpo 'hamātmā || 9 ||
Vivasaṁprabhānā yathā rūpam akṣham
pragrihṣāti nibhātam evaṁ vivasān |
tathā bhūta ābhāmyatyaḥ sam ekah
sa nityopalabdhīsvārūpo 'hamātmā || 10 ||
Yathā sūrya eko 'py asakāśchalāsu
sthīrāḥ sphyānavagvibhāvyaśvarūpaḥ* |
chalān prabhīnān dhīḥveka evaṁ
sa nityopalabdhīsvārūpo 'hamātmā || 11 ||
Ghaṇachchhannadīpāḥ ghaṇachchhannān sa-
kṣaḥ
yathā nīpabrahmā manyate chātumānāḥ |
tathā buddhavad bhāti yo naḥ śūdrāḥ |
sa nityopalabdhīsvārūpo 'hamātmā || 12 ||
samanteshu vastuḥ śūdrāḥ samantam
samantāni yaśāni yaḥ na spṛśanti |
viyadvaḥ sadā śūdrāḥ achchhasvarūpaḥ
sa nityopalabdhīsvārūpo 'hamātmā || 13 ||
Upādhan yathā bhedaḥ śaṅkṣaḥ
tathā bhedaḥ buddhibhedaḥ te 'pi |
yathā chandīrakāṇaḥ jalā chāṇchalatvaḥ
tathā chāṇchalatvaḥ tevāpīha Viśho || 14 ||

1. 'Who art thou, my child, and whose, and whither goest thou? What is thy name, and whence art thou come? Tell me all this clearly to gladden me,—thou fillest my heart with gladness.'

2. 'I am not a man nor a god nor a demi-god, no Brāhman, Kāśtriya, Vaiśya, nor Śūdra; no student, nor householder, nor anchorite, nor religious mendicant; innate Knowledge am I.'

3. 'That which is the cause of the action of mind, eye, and the rest, as the sun is the cause

of the movements of living beings, but which itself is void of all conditioning disguises, like the infinite ether,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

4. 'That which being itself one, unchangeable, and essentially eternal knowledge (as fire is essentially heat), is the substratum which bears, as they act, the mind, eye, and the rest, which are mere ignorance*,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

5. 'The reflection of the face seen in the mirror is nothing in itself as separated from the face, so is the personal soul in itself nothing, the reflection of Intelligence on the internal organ,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

6. 'As the reflection vanishes when the mirror is not, and the face remains alone, apart from all delusion, so that Soul which remains without a reflection when the understanding is not,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

7. 'That which abiding aloof from mind, eye, and the rest, is itself mind, eye, and the rest to mind, eye, and the rest, and whom nature mind, eye, and the rest cannot reach,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

8. 'That which, being one, shines forth self-manifested, possessing pure intelligence, and itself essential light, and which yet appears as though variously modified in various internal organs, as the one sun shines reflected in the water of different vessels,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

9. 'As the sun, illumining countless eyes, illumines at the same moment the object to each, so that Soul, the one intelligence, which illumines countless internal organs,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

10. 'As the bodily sense illumined by the sun grasps the form of the object, but when unillumined grasps it not, so that by which the one sun must be itself illumined to illumine the sense,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

11. 'As the one sun seems many in the agitated waters, and even when reflected in still waters must be yet recognized as really separate, so that which, though really one,

* I. O. Lib. MS. reads śuddhachetāḥ.

* asamant-jagādaḥ. Comm.

* The MS. Comm. takes it differently:—"that which being itself one, unchangeable, and essentially eternal know-

ledge, is the substratum which bears as they act, the mind, eye and the rest, which are mere ignorance,—as the fire is the substratum that bears the heat,—that Soul, essentially, &c."

every copyist. Unfortunately, the owners of such MSS. can rarely give much trustworthy information on these points, and are apt to have very erroneous ideas of the contents and importance of their books.

Munich, Nov. 26, 1879.

E. W. WEST.

METRICAL VERSIONS FROM THE
MAHABHARATA.

BY JOHN MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., &c.

(Continued from Vol. VIII. p. 339.)

EVILS OF INDECISION.

Mahabharata, xii. 3814.

The dilatory man who let
The time for action pass away,
Though long they seek, can seldom get
Another opportunity.

HANSU SPEECH.

Mahabharata, i. 3559; v. 12667.

Of all men him most luckless doom
With thorns of speech who others tears,
Who on his lips, with manta that teems,
Destruction's nursing Goddess bears.¹

THE CLAIMS AND DUTIES OF FRIENDSHIP.

Mahabharata, v. 3317.

That mortal—sages heartless call
That does not help his friends in need,
Who does not kindly warn and lead
Whenever they seem about to fail.
He merits praise, who urged by care
His friend from folly back to hold,
Should use all means, and, waring bold,
Should even seize him by the hair.

BOOK NOTICES.

INTRODUCTION TO THE SCIENCE OF RELIGION. By F. Max Müller, M.A., of Bro. London: Longmans & Co.

LECTURES ON THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF RELIGION AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE RELIGIONS OF INDIA. By F. Max Müller, M.A. London, 1878.

These are two interesting volumes, written with all the man and elegance characteristic of one who is at once a master of his subject and the art of exposition and the language he employs. Professor Max Müller writes with singular grace, and adorns whatever he handles, and so illuminates it with the most felicitous illustrations that his ablest discussions flow and fascinate as if they were vivid historical narrations. In an age remarkable for the number of eminent men of letters who are also eminent men of letters, he has the literary gift in so remarkable a degree that he not only has secured an audience for the sciences he specially cultivates, but may be said more than any other man who uses the English tongue to have created, in circles that usually fear and flee the dry and the recondite, something akin to an enthusiasm for the study of the languages and religions of the world. In doing this he has also done much more. He has helped to give India and England a new meaning to each other, to create between the two happier, because more intelligent, more moral and sympathetic relations. He has helped to make India feel that a European scholar may love and study her language and literature and religion with as much enthusiasm as any Native Pandit, and he has helped to make England feel that the Saxon and the Hindu are akin both in blood and spirit, that, as their languages have the same source, they have been concerned with similar problems, and have fallen on similar solutions, have

been induced alike in their search after truth and in their desire to find it. He who succeeds, though but in a small degree in a work like this, achieves one of the greatest successes possible to man.

The volumes before us may be said to represent Professor Max Müller's more systematic and deliberate contributions to the Science of Religion. Their germs, indeed, may be said to lie scattered up and down his other writings. The questions discussed there involve more or less the questions discussed here. The questions as to the origin and nature of language, and as to the nature and growth of mythology, are essentially related to the question as to the genesis and development of religion; they may, indeed, be said in a sense to be one and the same. And so whether writing of Language or Mythology or Indian Literature, Professor Max Müller has never been able to escape from the problems that specially engage him here. But just because they specially engage him, we expect from him a discussion systematic and scientific in a degree impossible to the Lecturer on Language, to the writer of the *Chips* and to the historian of Sanskrit Literature. And in many respects our expectations are fulfilled. The hand of the writer has here all its old cunning, his speech has all its old charm, is now swift, genial, graphic, and now slow, ornate, elegant, holding us fascinated over sentences of linked sweetness and illustrations long drawn out. Yet we are more than doubtful as to whether these Lectures fulfil our expectations in other and higher respects. It may seem an ungracious thing to express the conviction that we are more grateful for the suggestive germs in the earlier writings than for the full and scien-

¹ Compare the expressions in Psalms li. 2; lv. 21; lvi. 4; and lxxv. 3, 4.

tive exposition in these; and yet we must confess to this conviction. We are sorry to have to say that Professor Max Müller's standpoint seems to us to have changed for the worse. He has indeed qualities that fit him in an exceptional degree to be an interpreter of ancient Hindu religion. He is a scholar, with a scholar's general love of truth and special love of his subject. He is a poet too, with the poet's penetrative insight, quick eye for all that is true and beautiful and good, with the poet's fine imaginative sympathy with the men and natures he would interpret, and his ability to represent their mind and meaning in his own and our speech. But behind the scholar and poet stands the thinker, and Professor Max Müller's philosophical standpoint is not what it once was. In his earlier works he was more or less in philosophy a disciple of Schelling, in his last he has fallen under the influence of Noë. And the influence has, to our mind, been anything but happy. Schelling, especially in his later days, was dreamy, fanciful, even phantastic, but in his ideas of spirit, of reason, of the nature and genesis of religion he was, as seems to us, on the whole essentially right. But Noë appears to us to represent one of the most reactionary and infertile schools of philosophy in the Germany of to-day. And we can only and deeply regret that a name so influential in connexion with the study which is now called "the science of religion" should have in any degree been open to the influence of such a system.

Each of the volumes now before us may be said to consist of two parts, a philosophic and a scientific, or a theoretical and historical. The philosophical and theoretical is concerned with the questions as to the origin and nature of religion; the scientific and historical with the interpretation of religion in its concrete forms, religious ideas and beliefs as expressed in the language, literature, customs and laws of given peoples. Yet these two parts are most intimately connected. A man always interprets facts of mind or spirit according to his theory of spirit. He studies religion and history by the light of his philosophy, and can see no more in them than his philosophy enables him to see. Hence the significance of Professor Max Müller's theoretical principles for his scientific criticism and historical presentation of religion. On this point we must say a word or two *a propos* of his Hibbert Lectures; the other work has been too long before the public to need any further notice here.¹ The first lecture, on "the Perception of the Infinite," discusses the philosophical question. It is to us the least satisfactory in the

book. The question is much too large to be treated within so narrow compass, and we believe Professor Max Müller, had he been left to himself, would not have attempted to discuss it under conditions so little equal to its claims. But passing by the critical parts, which are but a series of brief, though searching, glances at two or three theories as to the nature of religion, with omission of all save the very slightest reference to the most rational and comprehensive theory of all—we come to our author's positive and constructive doctrine. He modifies the doctrine maintained in his earlier course of lectures, that religion is a mental faculty, which "independent of, nay, in spite of sense and reason, enables man to apprehend the Infinite under different names and varying disguises."² This as a piece of psychology was never very lucid. It is not very easy to understand how any mental faculty "that is independent of reason and can act in spite of" it can be a rational faculty. But as now modified it is still less satisfactory. "Religion, in its subjective sense of faith," is now made "simply a development of sensuous perception."³ And so he says, in answer to the question, how such a being as the primitive savage, with nothing but his five senses, ever comes to think or speak of anything not finite or infinite?—"It is the senses which give him the first impression of infinite things, and supply him in the end with an intuition of the infinite. Everything of which his senses cannot perceive a limit, is to a primitive savage, or to any man in an early stage of intellectual activity, unlimited or infinite. Man sees, he sees to a certain point; and there his eyesight breaks down. But exactly where his eyesight breaks down, there presses upon him, whether he likes it or not, the perception of the unlimited or infinite."⁴ Now throughout this statement two entirely distinct notions are confounded, the Indefinite and the Infinite. These are not only distinct, but opposite. The Indefinite is simply the undefined, what is without perceived limits; but the Infinite is the without-bounds, is what is not simply undefined, but cannot be defined. The one includes, the other excludes, the idea of relation and limitation. The senses suggest the Indefinite because they perceive the definite; but the reason conceives the Infinite. Then in what sense can "the senses" be said "to perceive"? They are not rational things; to them as senses reason does not belong; and the perception of any rational thing in history, or any reason or reasonable being in nature, is due to man's quality as a rational, not to his nature as a simply sensuous, being. A conception of "infinite things" is possible; "an im-

¹ This work has been translated into German, French, Italian, and Swedish.—Ed.

² *Science of Religion*, p. 17.

³ *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 26, 27.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 37.

pression of infinite things" or "a perception of the Infinite" is absurd. I frankly confess my inability to attach any meaning worthy of our author to such a sentence as "I maintain that before it (the Infinite) becomes a noumenon, it is an *idiatheos*, though not a phenomenon."¹ Whatever the senses perceive appears to the senses; the appearance is the objective side of the perception, the perception the subjective side of the appearance.

The influence of his empirico-transcendental philosophy pervades more or less the lectures; it is, indeed, hardly apparent in the second lecture with which we throughout cordially agree, or the third, which is an admirable account in our author's very best style of the place and value of the Vedas in the study of religions. But in the fourth, "on the Worship of Tangible, Semi-Tangible and Intangible Objects"—and in the fifth—"the Ideas of Infinity and Law"—its presence and action become very manifest. For one thing it makes in these and the next lecture the presentation of Vedic religion less ethical and more sensuous than it might have been. We could have wished that Professor Max Müller had analysed, verified and organized for us not simply the forms and characters and qualities of the deities that fill the Vedic Pantheon, but also the ethical ideas, the religious and spiritual beliefs that were at work in the heart of the Vedic society, not only creating the seeds of the philosophy that was afterwards to blossom into the *Upanishads*, but also laying the foundations of the sacerdotal polity that was afterwards to receive expression in the *Law of Manu*. And this suggests another remark—the significance of India for religion does not end at the point where Professor Max Müller leaves us. In a sense it only begins there. We see Indian religion becoming at once more spiritual and more sensuous, entering upon one of the many phases through which it was destined to pass. Yet each of these phases—Brahmanism, Buddhism, Hinduism—was the logical and natural outcome of the other, and to exhibit them in their relations to each other and to the spirit of man is to exhibit one of the most wonderful processes of evolution in religion the history of the world has to show.

It is not possible, within our limits, to give any adequate notice of this book; or any illustrations of the learning, the true and felicitous reflexions, the vigorous and searching criticism with which it abounds, or of the generous and catholic spirit which everywhere penetrates and illumines it.

In these respects it is worthy of Professor Max Müller and the subject; and to say this is the highest possible praise.

A. M. FAIRBAIRN.

A CLASSICAL DICTIONARY OF HINDU MYTHOLOGY AND RELIGION, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, AND LITERATURE. By JOHN DOWSON, M.R.A.S., late Professor of Hindustani, Staff College (Sec. pp. xix and 411). London: Trübner & Co. 1879.

Many students will hail with pleasure Mr. Dowson's handy volume (which forms the sixth of Trübner's Oriental Series) as a book that is much wanted. It is scarcely eight years yet since its only English predecessor appeared—Mr. J. Garrett's *Classical Dictionary*—published at Madras; and though there were serious slips in it, and it was too largely composed of mere extracts, it is often very useful, and is much fuller than that now before us. Mr. Dowson has not dealt so much in extracts as his predecessor; none of his articles are long; and he has condensed in each the information he has drawn from his authorities with the intelligence of a man who knows his subject. He does not draw on original Sanskrit sources, but his authorities are among the best, viz. Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, H. H. Wilson's *Īg-veda*, and *Vishva Purāṇa* (Hall's Ed.), and the writings of Monier Williams, Max Müller, Roth, Böhtlingk, Lassen, Weber, Whitney, Wiedemann de Fossion, &c. Owing to the brevity necessary in such a work, we regret that the author has not given references at the end of each article to authors where more detailed information might be found.

The mythological parts are decidedly the best; in the biographical matter we note many omissions, the names for example of Bilhapa, Rāmānuja, and Madhvacharya are missing, and the dates of the authors that are given are rarely indicated.

We trust the day is not far distant, however, when another and enlarged edition of this work will be required, and we hope the enterprising publisher will see to it that it is then greatly increased both in matter and value. Why should it not develop into a Dictionary of Sanskrit Mythology, Religion, History and Literature fit to rank with those of ancient Greek and Roman life and thought, so ably edited by Dr. W. Smith? The late H. H. Wilson projected a scholarly work, and went so far, forty years ago, as to announce his intention of preparing it for the Oriental Translation Fund. Here is the nucleus, well done, but far too restricted. Of this Professor Dowson is, modestly, well aware. "No doubt very defective" is the verdict he passes on the fruit of his own labours. He restricts himself, rather too exclu-

¹ Hibbert Lectures, p. 47.

² A Classical Dictionary illustrative of the Mythology, Philosophy, Literature, Antiquities, Arts, Manners, Customs, &c. of the Hindus. By John Garrett, Director of

Public Instruction in Mysore, &c. &c. (Sec. pp. 793; Madras: Higginbotham and Co. 1871); The Supplement, 109 pp., was published in 1873.

sively to the purely Brâhmanic subjects, to the exclusion of Buddhist and Jain ones, perhaps purposely; but the names of many of the sects, as well as of individuals mentioned in the great epics, are omitted. But, on the other hand, what we have is well done. Nothing could be better than his treatment of the *Purâṇas* and *Epics*, of such popular details as *Kṛṣṇa* and *Râma*, and of the *Avatâras*, or incarnations of *Viṣṇu*, on which so much of modern and practical Hinduism hangs. Under *Ētara* songs of the truth is told regarding the horrible immorality of much of Hindu worship and belief. Our readers will form an idea of the utility of the book from this account of the *Ēgoptri* :—

"A most sacred verse of the *Ēg-veda*, which it is the duty of every Brâhman to repeat mentally in his morning and evening devotions. It is addressed to the sun as *Sâvitṛi*, the generator, and so it is called also *Sâvitṛi*. Personified as a goddess, *Sâvitṛi* is the wife of *Bṛahmâ*, mother of the four *Vedas*, and also of the two-born or three-superior castes. Childermata's translation of the *Ēgoptri* is 'Earth, sky, heaven. Let us meditate on (shine and on) the most excellent light and power of this generous, sportive, and resplendent sun (praying that) it may guide our intellects.' Wilson's version is, in his translation of the *Ēg-veda*, 'We meditate on that desirable light of the divine *Sâvitṛi* who influences our pious rites.' In the *Purâṇa Purâṇa* he had before given a somewhat different version—'We meditate on that excellent light of the divine sun; may he illuminate our minds.' A later version by Benfey is—'May we receive the glorious brightness of this, the generator, of the god who shall prosper our works.' Wilson observes of it :—'The commentators admit some variety of interpretation, but it probably meant, in its original use, a simple invocation of the sun to shed a benignant influence upon the customary offices of worship, and it is still employed by the unphilosophical Hindus with merely that signification. Later notions, and especially those of the Vedânta, have operated to attach to the text an import it did not at first possess, and have converted it into a mystical propitiation of the spiritual origin and essence of existence, or *Brâhmâ*.' It is considered so holy that copyists often refrain from transcribing it."

As another specimen, we give the following analysis of the *Râmâyana*. After a brief notice of the versions and *Adhyâya* *Râmâyana* he proceeds :—

"The *Râmâyana* celebrates the life and exploits of *Râma* (*Râma-chandra*), the lover of *Râma*, and his wife *Sitâ*, the rape of the latter by *Râvana*, the demon king of Ceylon, the war carried on by *Râma* and his monkey allies against *Râvana*, ending in the destruction of the demon and the rescue

of *Sitâ*, the restoration of *Râma* to the throne of *Ayodhyâ*, his jealousy and banishment of *Sitâ*, her residence at the hermitage of *Vâlmiki*, the birth of her twin sons *Kuṣa* and *Lava*, the father's discovery and recognition of his children, the recall of *Sitâ*, the attestation of her innocence, her death, *Râma*'s resolution to follow her, and his translation to heaven.

"The *Râmâyana* is divided into seven *kâṇḍas* or sections, and contains about 50,000 lines. The last of the seven sections is probably of later date than the rest of the work.

"1. *Bala-kâṇḍa*. The boyhood of *Râma*.

"2. *Ayodhyâ-kâṇḍa*. The scenes at *Ayodhyâ*, and the banishment of *Râma* by his father, King *Dâsaratha*.

"3. *Araṇya-kâṇḍa*. 'Forest section.' *Râma*'s life in the forest, and the rape of *Sitâ* by *Râvana*.

"4. *Kishkindhyâ-kâṇḍa*. *Râma*'s residence at *Kishkindhyâ*, the capital of his monkey ally, King *Sugriva*.

"5. *Saundara-kâṇḍa*. 'Beautiful section.' The marvellous passage of the straits by *Râma* and his allies and their arrival in Ceylon.

"6. *Yuddha-kâṇḍa*. 'War section.' The war with *Râvana*, his defeat and death, the recovery of *Sitâ*, the return to *Ayodhyâ* and the coronation of *Râma*. This is sometimes called the *Lowhi* or *Ceylon Kâṇḍa*.

"7. *Uttara-kâṇḍa*. 'Later section.' *Râma*'s life in *Ayodhyâ*, his banishment of *Sitâ*, the birth of his two sons, his recognition of them and of the innocence of his wife, their reunion, her death, and his translation to heaven.

"The writer or the compilers of the *Râmâyana* had a high estimate of its value, and it is still held in very great veneration. A verse in the introduction says, 'He who reads and repeats this holy life-giving *Râmâyana* is liberated from all his sins and exalted with all his posterity to the highest heaven,' and in the second chapter *Benandâ* is made to say, 'As long as the mountains and rivers shall continue on the surface of the earth, so long shall the story of *Râmâyana* be current in the world.'"

The book is followed by a very complete index of synonyms and names referred to under different heads; the arrangement is most helpful to the student, and enables the author to avoid much repetition.

The whole work is introduced by a condensed account of the origin and development of the *Purâṇas*. Professor Dowson expresses the hope "that a good beginning has been made, and that a basis has been laid on which a greater and more worthy structure may hereafter be raised." The foundation is indeed good, and we trust he will at once call other scholars to his aid that the next edition may be very much larger and fuller.

५८. कति सर्वं कार्यं युष्मद्वा गणनायकः विष्णुमित्रसवः पायाद
 पायाद्वर्णनायकः सतः या उ सिवा निष्ठयन्मो लो सातिज्ञाद्वयी
 सुमिदुसिग्नानाद्वर्णनायकः सतः या उ सिवा निष्ठयन्मो लो सातिज्ञाद्वयी
 दयालुर्जीवतवाहनः ७ विजयप्रसिद्धः ॥ इदं निष्ठयन्मो लो सातिज्ञाद्वयी
 पयः पाषाणाय न कृतिस्मगनुडा बलुसंभवदं । तस्मात्वायनिष्ठिल
 प्रपतिमोलिन्नननननुति कुनितनिर्मल पादपीठः ॥ श्रीसारसंका
 ७ वसारसिकः कयदी सीता नवं सतिला काटयति ध्वजवत् तस्मा
 दध्वजवत् नयः पुलसक्तिना मासी मासजः सुगुणत्रयि तना जनीते
 निर्विघ्न संगममुत्पन्निल विनिवर्त्ते निःकंठकंठगतिना घमकारि
 एनाततध्वजसुताटयमिना विस्त्रया मलिः ॥ सितः सृष्टि नि
 नायानात्रिकनिलकयदी लघुः यदी ययससाजगति सपन
 सुतीक्ष्णतन सातिसुगवा नेणन वससीन दुःश्रुति विः तस्मादय
 नवद्विधतियदवीया त्रयवित्रीकृता सख्यवलाप्य मदीयतिल
 कः श्रीवद्युवक्लः सुतः सगामा गणन गिलासिल तया न निकदं
 नारुगसर्पिषायन विनायका विरविता विद्विषिणदंतिनः ॥ तस्मा
 ज्ञातस्रज्जा नजनिक ७ वा नदि तास्यला कः सा पाः श्रीकृष्ण
 जाजादिवसक ७ वधस्रनिः सखदोषः सला र्वादादसायि
 कयवयदविगाकी नैनामि स्वनासा सोयाना नी व स
 लपल ततलुरुतां स्रष्टुमा गोघनानां सा ता तस्यत
 तस्मात्ता कलेयसा गणिः प्रकाशीकृता सख्यवलाप्य

वलीवलव तं धीगामिना जोभन व वाया क र्णक
 क्षीलिप्रतल तं यस्मिं ग तस्य य तो जीआद्यालप
 सासुतप्ररु तयः स विंति न स्कारि ताथ त आ द्विस्मयकारि
 क्षा निरनित प्रकात कीर्तिः सुतः धीमा वृद्धाद वरु यति मरु
 रुव क वृद्धा मलिः दादे एडे कवल च य स स रुसा सं ग्रा म रंगा
 गाल ना घ श्रीः स्वयम च वक्षसि र तिं वा क सु ना नि नि वा जय त उ
 वरु त्रा तः पु ना नि व तेष दु व्य न तः धीमा त रू यु वः स घ नि त्रिः
 य ना जितः क र्णः गाल त यः सा का सा च न व पु वि क्षि रूः प्र ता
 या दी मि मा र्त्र एः काल द ए श्या या दि ष्या स र ल ग त सा म ता पु प
 सा यि ज ग ति र कि ता य न म ज य ति य त्वा प्रे ना मा स र ल ग त व रू य ज न दे व
 य न स्ता गु त मा ग ता य वि कि त ग्रा मा य ना ना वि व य नि वि द य द त ना मि
 व लि त र ग्रा किं का नि त र्नि स मा मा म ल सु व कि ति रु ती द त्र वा य ना स य न
 श्री वि उ द क र म ट या त र च कि मा त लो ता धी मा न रू व द तु व रू डा द व ना
 मा रू या ल म म क म लि स न या न य रूः य च पि प स र नि ता नि ज नाः स
 म स्ता या मा र क बु कि त ग्रा व ल ना सु व ति त द ता व त ना नि क स नि थ य
 ज्ञा तः स ता स स्ता द प्रा ना नि कु ला व लि क द ल नि दे ओ नि ती ला द व त ग द्वा
 शि स व प व से च स रि ता द ष्ट्या वा सा म च र क ष्ण पि पि उ ना ज या ज ग द ल
 यः की ल धि द्वा ग तः त द्वा द्वा व रू डा द व स उ श्री छि त्र रा जा द य ति र्
 रू व धी ला र व सः सि सु ना यि य न ती तः य रा मु त्र ति मु त्रा त ना ल वा
 ल का नि रु व रुं स ता य य क ठ प र स द्वा र ल ति का नि नि रं ज ना नि

A NEW SILARA COPPER PLATE GRANT.

BY KĀSINĀTH TRIMBAK TELANG, M.A., LL.B.

THIS is a grant made by a prince of the Śīlāra dynasty. The plates belong to Mr. Rāmachandra Śivraṁ Desāi of Khārepātān, and were handed over to me several months ago by Rāo Sāheh Gajānān Kṛishṇa Bhūṭavaḍekar, then Subordinate Judge of Deogaḍ, and now in the service of the Baroda state. The plates were found many years ago at Khārepātān, buried under ground; and it is now impossible to get any further information regarding their acquisition. They consist of three sheets, about 8 inches in length by about 4½ inches in breadth, joined together by a ring of the usual shape, bearing, for a seal, the figure of a man seated cross-legged and with joined hands. The grant is, as usual, engraved on both sides of the middle plate and on the inner sides only of the first and third.

The characters are the old Dēvaṇāgarī, the

script being in many cases written before the letter with which it goes, instead of over it, as in the modern Dēvaṇāgarī. There are sundry instances of that confusion between *ṣ* and *ś* which may be noted in other plates also,¹ and there is also a somewhat noticeable tendency towards doubling some letters.² The substitution of a *ṣ* for *ś*; the similarity of *ṣ* and *ś*; and the use of the *vagraha*,—are some of the other points worthy of note in the style of writing in this grant. The language is throughout Sanskrit, the greater portion of the document being in fairly good verse, while a small portion at the end—which is the only part directly referring to the actual grant made—is in prose, and somewhat involved, and not always correct, prose. The date is given in letters and figures as 1010, or, according to the view of Mr. J. V. Fleet, 1017³ of the Śaka era.

Transliteration.

Plate I.

- [¹] लभते सर्वकार्येषु पूजया गणनायकः । [11]⁴ विप्रविप्रन्त वः पायाद-
 [²] पायाङ्गणनायकः । [11] स वः पातु तिस्रो निर्य यन्वीली भाति जाद्वरी । [11]
 [³] सुमेरुसिखरीङ्गच्छदच्छन्दकलोपमा । [11] जीमूतकेतुतनयो नियतं
 [⁴] दयालुज्जोमूलवाहन इति विजगत्सिद्धः । [11] देवं निर्गं लुपमिवाकल-
 [⁵] यन्प्राप्ये यो रक्षतिस्म गुरुद्वारलु सखेचूडं । [11] तस्यान्त्ये निखिल-
 [⁶] भूषतिमौलिनूजरज्जुतिच्छुरितनिर्मलपादपीठ । [11] सीसाहसांक
 [⁷] इव साहसिकः कपर्दी सीलारवंसतिलको नृपतिर्जन्मः (व) । [11] तस्मा-
 [⁸] दभूच्च तनयः पुलसक्तिनामा सीमासभः गुरु(र)गुरुदितराजनीतिः । [11]
 [⁹] निश्चिन्त्य संगरमुखेखिलवैरिभ्यो निःकण्ठकं जगति राज्यमकारि
 [¹⁰] येन । [11] ततश्च समभून्मुतो नृपतिरोविभूषामणिः । सितः सृणिरि-
 [¹¹] वापरोरिऋणिषो कपर्दी लघुः । [11] यदीययत्तसा जगत्पतिसयेन
 [¹²] सुशीकृते न भाति सुरवारणो न च ससी न दुग्धांनुधिः । [11] तस्मादप्य-
 [¹³] प्रवर्द्धभूतिपदवीपार्श्वं पवित्रीकृतातेषस्मापलयो महीपतिल-
 [¹⁴] कः श्रीकृष्णु[1]वचः सुतः । [11] संपाभांगणरंगिणासिलतया लूनैकद-
 [¹⁵] ता हतासत्त्वे येन विनापका विरथिता विद्वेषिणो दंतिनः । [11] तस्मा-
 [¹⁶] ज्ञातस्तनूजो रजनिकर इवानंदितासेपलोकः स्लाघ्यः श्रीशश-

¹ See for one instance the inscription at Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. VI, Plate xi.

² Cf. *Jour. B. R. E. A. Soc.* vol. X, p. 349.

³ Inasmuch as the expression is "1016 years of the Śaka king having elapsed," Cf. Burnell, *Monisms of S. I. Palaeography* (2nd ed.) p. 72n. Having compared the figures and names of years given in some of the plates

which we possess, I am inclined to agree with Mr. Fleet's view.

⁴ The original has a line thus 'at the close of some only of the hemistichs. In the transliteration double lines thus [11], have been inserted everywhere in brackets. In the prose portion the perpendicular lines are printed only where they are found in the original.

- [¹⁷] राजो दिवसकर इव ध्वस्तनिःसेवदोषः ।[1] संभोयो द्वादसापि
 [¹⁸] व्यरचपदचिरात्कीर्त्तनामि(नि) स्वनाम्ना सोपानानीव म-
 [¹⁹] न्ये प्रणततनुभूता स्वर्गमा गोद्यतानां ।[1] धाता तस्य त-
 [²⁰] तस्ततोऽजल्यसोराशिः प्रकासीकृतासेऽभ्यावलयो

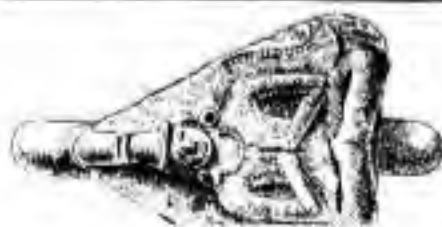
Plato IIa.

- [¹] बली बलवता श्रीगोगिरा जोभवत् ।[1] चापाकर्षणक-
 [²] र्मणि प्रवणतां यस्मिन्(या) ते सू(सं)पत्तौ भीष्मद्रोणपु-
 [³] धासुतप्रभृतयः सर्वे तिरस्कारिताः ।[1] तस्माद्विस्मयकारि-
 [⁴] हारिचरितप्रज्ञा(स्या)तकीर्त्तिः सुतः श्रीमान्वज्रदेवभूपतिरभू-
 [⁵] दूचकचूडामणिः ।[1] दोर्दण्डैकबलस्य यस्य सहसा संघामरंगा-
 [⁶] गणे राज्यश्रीः स्वयमेव वक्षसि रति चक्रे मुरारि(रे)रिव ।[1] जयंत इ-
 [⁷] व वृक्षरेः पुरारिरिव पद्भुजः ।[1] ततः श्रीमानभूत्पुषः सञ्चारिवोऽ-
 [⁸] पराजितः ।[1] कर्णः जायेन यः साक्षात्तस्येन च युधिष्ठिरः ।[1] प्रता-
 [⁹] पार्ष्णिमालेण्डः कालदण्डश्च यो द्विषो ।[1] तरणागतसामंता अप-
 [¹⁰] रापि जगति रक्षिता येन ।[1] स जयति यथार्थनामा तरणागतवज्रपंजरो देवः ।[1]
 [¹¹] येन स्वागतमागताय विहितं सोमाम मानाविधं येनैवैयपदेवनाग्नि-
 [¹²] चलिर्त्तं राज्यं स्थिरं कारितं ।[1] मिलमाम्ममण्युभक्षितिभूता दत्तं च येनाभयं तस्य
 [¹³] श्रीविस्दकरामनुपतेरन्यत्रिकमावर्ण्यते ।[1] श्रीमानभूतदनु वज्रदेवना-
 [¹⁴] मा भूपालमस्तकमणिस्वनयो नयतः ॥ अद्यापि यस्य चरितानि जनाः स-
 [¹⁵] मस्ता रोमांचकंयुक्तमावलतास्तुर्वति ।[1] तज्ज्ञाता च तर्त्ताकिसरिणूपो
 [¹⁶] जातः सत्तां सम्मत्ता दूतारतिकुलाचलैकदलनि(ने)दंभोलिलीलां दधत् ।[1] गत्वा
 [¹⁷] क्षैसव एव सैव्यसहितो दृष्ट्वा च सोमेश्वरं तस्यापि पितुराजया जगदलं
 [¹⁸] यः कीलपिनागतः ।[1] तज्ज्ञातुतो वज्रदेवसुनुः श्रीश्लिष्टराजो नृपतिर्वै-
 [¹⁹] भूत ।[1] श्रीलारवंतः सिसुनापि येन भीता परामुञ्चतिमुञ्चतेन ।[1] लंवा-
 [²⁰] लकानि कुचकुम्भतदोपकंठभ्रष्टहारलतिकानि निरंजनानि ।[1]

Plato II b.

- [¹] उन्नाततीक्ष्णकरवालविदारितस्य योन्तःपुराणि परिपयिजनस्य र(च)-
 [²] के ।[1] इतारिजारीनिचोभस्तेकसंवर्द्धनादिन ।[1] व्रद्धाण्डमण्डपं ज(य)स्य कीर्त्तिव-
 [³] लयधिराहति ।[1] दृष्टारातिषु कोपकालदहनः ।[1] सोभाभ्यनारायणो वार-
 [⁴] स्त्रीषु ततोनुजः समभर्त्त(व)न्नामार्जुनः वमापतिः ।[1] पस्यामानुषमूर्त्तिर्त्तं भुज-
 [⁵] बले दूरावितय(य्य) द्विषो निद्रातीव रणागणव्यसनिनी दोर्दण्डकण्डूलता ।[1]
 [⁶] यदसमसिन्निरान्तर्मसंगेपेत्त(म)दानप्रतरदनिलमुष्पत्त्वोत्तसोदिग्गजे-
 [⁷] द्वाः ।[1] अरिभगरविद(दा)होदामदिग्वापिधूमप्रसरमयनिर्मिललोचना मो-
 [⁸] मिषंति ।[1] तदनु तदनुजन्मा मूर्त्तिमान्मीनकेतुः क्षतरिषुविभवोभूम्यमु-
 [⁹] णिः क्षोणिपालः ।[1] विभूतधनुषि ज(य)स्मिन्नाजिनीराजनति बलभिदपि बली-
 [¹⁰] यान्वाधिकं चापमौक्षत् ।[1] तस्मिन्(स्मिन्) नृपः(पे) प्रवरकीर्त्तिसरीरभाजि नागार्जुन-
 [¹¹] स्य तनयो नयचक्रेदो ।[1] भूषांभतत्परमधर्मवितुद्वेदः सीलार-
 [¹²] गोत्रनृपरव्रमनन्तपालः ।[1] जाति दायदवैरिव्यसनिनि समये यैर-

उवाततीकृतनुतालविदावित्तस्योन्नः पुत्रालिपिपेधितस्य
 कौतुकिना त्रीणि त्रासस्सकमेव न्नादि तत्र स्वात्तलपेडस्य तीर्त्तिव
 त्तिविना कतिप्रायतिष्ठत्तापकालदहनस्योत्तमा नयत्तावा
 श्रीश्रुत तातुः समुत्तव त्रागा कुलः क्वायतिः यस्यामानुषमस्ति ते सु
 वल्लभ त्रात्रिस्तद्विद्यानि द्राती वरलंगलकसनिनीया द्दुकपुलता
 यदस्मत्सिति त्रात्रिस्तद्विद्यानि द्राती वरलंगलकसनिनीया द्दुकपुलता
 द्रातात्रिस्तद्विद्यानि द्राती वरलंगलकसनिनीया द्दुकपुलता
 मिथ्येति तदगुनदुत्तमा त्रात्रिस्तद्विद्यानि द्राती वरलंगलकसनिनीया द्दुकपुलता
 लिः कालि यालाविष्टत वरुषिद्विस्ततादिनी त्रात्रिस्तद्विद्यानि द्राती वरलंगलकसनिनीया द्दुकपुलता
 यात्राधिकं वा यमोक्तु त्रात्रिस्तद्विद्यानि द्राती वरलंगलकसनिनीया द्दुकपुलता
 सातनायाने यव त्रावदी क्वायत्त त्रात्रिस्तद्विद्यानि द्राती वरलंगलकसनिनीया द्दुकपुलता
 ला त्रात्रिस्तद्विद्यानि द्राती वरलंगलकसनिनीया द्दुकपुलता
 वा त्रात्रिस्तद्विद्यानि द्राती वरलंगलकसनिनीया द्दुकपुलता
 तातुग्रा न्याय त्रासी श्रुत यव त्रावदी क्वायत्त त्रात्रिस्तद्विद्यानि द्राती वरलंगलकसनिनीया द्दुकपुलता
 एव कुल य त्रात्रिस्तद्विद्यानि द्राती वरलंगलकसनिनीया द्दुकपुलता
 नास्ति नाम का म् उन्नक द्दुत्तमा त्रात्रिस्तद्विद्यानि द्राती वरलंगलकसनिनीया द्दुकपुलता
 यं वेदा यावत्त त्रात्रिस्तद्विद्यानि द्राती वरलंगलकसनिनीया द्दुकपुलता
 भिगतं यं वमस्तारादभस्तारा म् तावति त्रात्रिस्तद्विद्यानि द्राती वरलंगलकसनिनीया द्दुकपुलता
 उद्दी श्रुत वास्तवा य त्रात्रिस्तद्विद्यानि द्राती वरलंगलकसनिनीया द्दुकपुलता
 कल्ले कश्चरदी य द्दुत्तमा त्रात्रिस्तद्विद्यानि द्राती वरलंगलकसनिनीया द्दुकपुलता
 यकालान्त लगागदगद पद्म पद्म त्रात्रिस्तद्विद्यानि द्राती वरलंगलकसनिनीया द्दुकपुलता
 पयिता म् द्दुत्तमा त्रात्रिस्तद्विद्यानि द्राती वरलंगलकसनिनीया द्दुकपुलता

[illegible]



- [⁵³] वातप्रभवैर्धस्ता(?)ध्वस्ता) देवद्विजातिप्रमथनविधिना कौकणधोविरेषा ।।।।
 [⁵⁴] तानुपान्तापरासीन्मुनपवनमहात्मेन्दधाराम्बुरासै क्षिप्तोभैश्वंद्रवि-
 [⁵⁵] श्वे बहुलपतिसखा यः स्वकीर्तिं लिलेख ।।।। निन्तामणो(?) प्रणयिनां नय-
 [⁵⁶] नाभिरामे कामे कुरंगकदृशां जगदेकवीरे ।।।। निर्धैरवीरमवनीवल-
 [⁵⁷] यं विधाय धर्मेण पालयति तत्र नैरदधे ॥ अथ स्वकीयपुण्योदयान्तम-
 [⁵⁸] धिगतपंचमहाशब्दमहासामंताधिपतितगरपुरपरमेस्वरशीलारने-
 [⁵⁹] न्द्रजीमूतवाहनान्वयप्रभूतसुवर्णमरुद्धध्वजाभिमानमहोदधिनिःसं-
 [⁶⁰] कल्लेखरदीरचरितभीरताव  तार भरिबीपपतनकेदारको-
 [⁶¹] पकालानलत्यागजगज्जंघंघ  डाचार्यपश्चिमसमुद्राधिपतिरा-
 [⁶²] ययिना(?) ता)महसरणागतवज्रपंजरप्रभृतिसमस्तराजावलीविराजि

Plate III.

- [⁶³] तमहामण्डलेस्वराधिपतिश्रीमदनंतदेवकल्याणविजयराग्ये निजभुजोपा-
 [⁶⁴] जितानेकमंडलसमेता पुरीप्रभु  स्वचतुर्दशयामसर्वांसमं(?)नितां स-
 [⁶⁵] मस्व(स्व)कौकणभुवं समनुसासति त  धैतद्राग्यचिन्ताभारं समुद्रति म-
 [⁶⁶] हामाश्विनौवितकवसिदः । महाराधिविपरीकश्रीरिविभूः । भांडागा-
 [⁶⁷] रेषधमच्छेण(?)दीनेनमहाप्रधानश्रीमहादेवप्रभुः । द्वितीयच्छेपादी-
 [⁶⁸] सेनप्रधानश्रीसोमणैयप्रभुः । एवमादिश्रीकरणे प्रवर्तमाने स य म-
 [⁶⁹] तामंडलेस्वरा(?)श्रीमदनंतदेवराजः सर्वांस्त्र्यं(?)क शम्भेद्वज्रमानकान् भग्नान-
 [⁷⁰] पि राजपुष्यमपिपुरोहितामात्यप्रधानान्यप्रधाननियोगिका(?)स्वशाराष्ट्रपति
 [⁷¹] विषयपतिनगरपतिसामपतिनियुक्तानियुक्तराजपुष्यजनपदा(?)
 [⁷²] स्ववाहेजमननगर्यौरु(?)वि?)प्रभुवीश्व प्रणविपुतासरकारसमादे-
 [⁷³] सेः सोदितयस्तु कः संपिदितं यया ॥ सकृन्पुत्राकीर्तयत्कसरदशस-
 [⁷⁴] तेपु षोडशाधिकेषु भावसंवत्सारेतर्ग्येवमाघमुद्रपतिपदायां यवा-
 [⁷⁵] कतोपि समन् १०१६ महामंडलीकश्रीमदनंतदेवेन श्रीमद्वलिप-
 [⁷⁶] नीयमहाप्रधानदुर्गेश्वरसुतमहाप्रधानधीभाभणशेष्ठिनस्वजा-
 [⁷⁷] तामहासांघिदि(?)वि?)प्रदीकश्रीधनमशेष्ठिनः तयोर्गोपवहणं श्रीशान-
 [⁷⁸] कतयानामपुरस(?)तु?)परकथेमुल्यादिषु नैलाकुलिषु चतुर्दशस-
 [⁷⁹] कुंकणाभ्यंतरेषु यं(?)प?)ववहणं समागच्छति तस्य सत्सुकं नौरिककर्म-
 [⁸⁰] करणां(?)मपि प्रवेत्ते निर्गमेपि श्रीकुंकणचक्रवर्तिना श्रीमदनंतदे-
 [⁸¹] न(?)राजा सीलारदत्तताम्ब(?)सातननिवर्द्ध सुत्कं परिस्रक्तं ॥ तत्पु-
 [⁸²] त्रपौवादीमां(?)नां) श्रेष्ठिपाणमशेष्ठिहुडुकलशेष्ठिमालैयादीना-
 [⁸³] मपि प्रतिपालनीयं ॥ उवा(?)वि?) चैतत् श्रीधरपंडितेन रायशर(?)स्थि-
 [⁸⁴] तेन कुंकणचक्रवर्तिनं श्रीमदनंतदेवं समारापयिवा ॥ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॥

Translation.

May that Chief of the Ganges (*Gangapati*) protect you from harm, who is humoured with woodship in all undertakings, and who destroys obstacles.

May that Śiva always protect you, on

whose great glimmers the Ganges like a clear light of the moon rising over the summit of Saurāṣṭra.

Jīvaśaivākāśana, the son of Jīvaśaivākāśana, is renowned in the three worlds as ever humane; for verily, treating his own body as

a blade of grass for the sake of another, he rescued Śaṅkhaśūṇḍa from Garuḍa.⁸

In his family was born the prince Kāparāḍi, an ornament of the Śiṅhāra dynasty, whose clean footstool was streaked with the beams of the fresh jewels in the diadems of all kings of the earth, and who was bold like Śeṣāśāśaṅka.⁹

To him was born a son, named Pālāśakti, who was, as it were, the utmost limit of the polity proclaimed by the Preceptor of the Gods,¹⁰ and who having vanquished the whole multitude of his foes in the midst of the battle-field, reigned over the earth unmolested.

He had a son Kāparāḍi the younger,¹¹ the head-ornament of kings, who was, as it were, a second sharp goad to his elephant-like enemies, and whose glory rendered the universe so excessively white,¹² that the elephant of the gods, the moon, and the milky ocean shone not (*before it*).

To him, too, was born a son, Śrī Vātpravaṇa,¹³ an ornament of the lords of the earth, who was the seat of great splendour, who had purified the entire sphere of the earth, and who, sporting in the battle-field, cut off with his sword one tusk of his adversaries' elephants, and rendered them devoid of masters.¹⁴

He had a son, the king Zanṣa, worthy of praise, who delighted all people like the moon, and destroyed all evil like the sun who destroys night,¹⁵ and who in his own name erected full twelve temples¹⁶ at Saṁbhū, which were steps methinks for (*the use of*) those suppliants of his who were labouring on the path to heaven.

Then came his brother Śrī Gaṅgi, the brilliant name of whose glory was spread (*in all directions*), who had lit up the whole sphere of the earth, who was powerful among the men of

power, and on whose engaging in the work of drawing his bow in the battle, Bhīṣma, Droṇa, the son of Prithā,¹⁷ and others were all cast into the shade.

To him was born a son, the illustrious Vājjaḍāḍva, whose renown was noised about owing to his astonishing and attractive exploits, who was the head-ornament of the circle of the earth,¹⁸ and upon whose bosom, his strength being in his arm, the goddess of royal splendour, suddenly appearing of her own accord in the midst of the battle-field, enjoyed pleasure as (*on the bosom*) of Marīci.¹⁹

To him was born an illustrious and righteous son, Aparājita, like Jayanta to Indra, like Kārtikeya²⁰ to Śiva. He was Karṇa himself in munificence, Yudhisṭhira in veracity, the brilliant sun in prowess, and the staff of Kāla to his foes.²¹ Victorious is he who protected in this world subordinate chiefs who came for shelter, and others also²²—the king, who deserves his name of 'adamantine cage for those who come for shelter'.²³ In various ways, he welcomed Goma, when he came; he alone confirmed to the name of Aiyapadāva the sovereignty which had been shaken; he afforded security to the kings Bhīṣmā-mānamahudha.²⁴ What more need be said of that king Hama bearing the title Śrī?

After him came the illustrious head-jewel of kings, his son Vājjaḍāḍva, well versed in polity, whose exploits all people even yet extol with their bodies clothed, as it were, with hair standing on end.

Then came his brother the king Arīkesari, respected by the good, who played the part of the thunderbolt in the destruction of his proud foes, who were like the great mountains

⁸ This story forms the subject of the *Nipāṇa Nāṭka*, translated by Mr. P. Borel. See also *Tree and Serpent Worship* pp. 169–170; *Ind. Ant.* vol. I, pp. 141, 142.

⁹ See also to Śaṅkhaśūṇḍa, Halpa's *Vāsa* edited Introd. p. 18.

¹⁰ i.e. Bhīṣma to whom a work on the science of Politics is attributed. See *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* vol. VII, p. 68; and also *Panchatantra* (Bombay, Sanskrit series) *Tantra* iv, p. 7 line 10, and note thereon.

¹¹ This is the first exception I have seen to the general usage complained of by Mr. Fergusson. *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* (N. S.) vol. IV, p. 66.

¹² Glory or fame with our poets is always white. Cf. *Ragavachan*, II. 29. The elephant of Indra is also white.

¹³ See *Ind. Ant.* vol. V, p. 277 note.

¹⁴ There appears to be a double entendre here. Vināyaka means both devoid of masters, and Goppati, who is supposed to have only one tooth.

¹⁵ Here is another double entendre.

¹⁶ Paṇḍit Bhagvāṇḍī tells me that he has seen ॐॐॐ

used in this sense elsewhere. To me this sense of the word is quite new. ¹⁷ i.e. Arjuna.

¹⁸ This phrase is a very common one.

¹⁹ i.e. Vāṇa, his wife being Śrī or Lakshmi—the goddess of splendour. ²⁰ The war-god.

²¹ Kāla means Yama—the God of Death, one of whose names is Danādāra, the holder of the staff.

²² The original is somewhat obscure here.

²³ This appears to have been a title of the Śiṅhāra. But see also *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* vol. V, p. 170, Inscription No. viii, and Major Graham's *Kandahar*, Ins. No. 17, p. 457, where the inscription belongs to the same family as Wathen's inscription.

²⁴ This is conjectured to refer to Bombay (*Asiat. Rec.* vol. I p. 352). I do not understand the original. Some light may, possibly, be derived from *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 63, Yule's *Murco Polo*, vol. II, p. 331. A Rājā Bhīṣma of Dēvāgiri (S. 1110–1115) is mentioned in Wathen's Inscription No. 9. And see *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* vol. V, p. 178; *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. IV, p. 164; and *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 360.

of the universe;²² and who, even in childhood, having with (his) army gone to and visited *Samāśvara*, offered up²³ before him the whole earth by direction of his father, and then returned.

Then *Śrī Cūhittarāja*, the son of his brother, *Vajjadādēva*, became king, who being himself an exalted personage, even though a child, greatly exalted the *Silāra* dynasty. The wives of his antagonists, who were cut down by his unsheathed sharp sword, had, owing to him, their hair hanging loose, their necklaces fallen off from the vicinity of the edges of their breasts, and their eyes devoid of collyrium.²⁴ His fame, like a creeper, climbs the universe which is like a shed, as if it had been reared up by being watered with the tears of the women of his destroyed enemies.

Then his younger brother *Nāgārjuna* became king, who, in his anger, was like the fire of destruction to his proud foes, and in graciousness like *Kṛiṣṇa* to the courtesans,²⁵ and on hearing of whose superhuman and excessive strength of arm, the itching of the arms of his enemies for the battle-field goes, as it were, to sleep. The guardian elephants of the several quarters²⁶ of the universe do not open their eyes, having their flow of rut-water dried up by the wind blowing over the rut-water of the intoxicated *Gandha* elephants²⁷ in his matchless camp, and having their eyes closed through fear, in consequence of the spreading of the excessive volumes of smoke enveloping all the quarters which issued from the conflagration of the cities of his enemies.

After him his younger brother *Mumunji* became king, who was Cupid himself incarnate,²⁸

who had destroyed the power of his enemies, and on whose taking up his bow after the ceremony of waving lights before the horses, even the mighty *Indra* cast aside his yearly bow.²⁹ Upon that king assuming an excellent body of renown,³⁰ *Anantapāla*, the son of *Nāgārjuna*, conversant with the whole circle of politics, whose body was purified by the highest piety, and who was an ornament of the princes of the *Silāra* family, became king. With the wind-like force of his arm (?) he cast into the ocean of the edge of his sword³¹ those wicked lumps of sin³² who at a time of misfortune from relatives that had become hostile, having obtained power, devastated this whole *Konkan* district, by harassing gods³³ and *Brāhmanas*; and then he a friend of the lord of . . . stamped his own fame on the face of the moon.³⁴ While that moon-like prince, who is a wish-giving jewel to his friends, who is a Cupid pleasing to the sight of the fawn-eyed ones, who is the one hero of the world, is righteously protecting the whole sphere of the earth, after having rid it of enemies:—

Now in the happy and victorious reign of the illustrious *Anantādēva*, the chief of the *Mahāmadalāivara*, who by means of his own spiritual merit has obtained the five great titles,³⁵ who is the chief of the great *Sāmanas* (*sub-ordinate chiefs*), who is born in the family of *Jīmūtavāhana*, the *Silāra* prince, lord of the excellent city of *Tagara*, who bears of the standard of the Golden Eagle,³⁶ . . . the lord (?) of *Lankā*, nonchalant in the great ocean . . . the Firm of Destruction in his wrath . . . who is adorned with all the royal titles³⁷—

²² These are said to be seven. See *Mahābhārata*, *Bhishma Parva* (Bomb. Ed.) p. 81 and the references given in *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 137.

²³ Literally fastened (?). See remarks on this *infra*.

²⁴ These are all marks of widowhood.

²⁵ i.e. among the troops of *Gokul* as applied to *Kṛiṣṇa*.

²⁶ The eight quarters, east, south-east, south, &c., each of which is supposed to have a guardian elephant.

²⁷ This is the highest kind of elephants, supposed to give out a special smell, from which the name.

²⁸ Cupid himself is 'bodiless.' See the story in *Ku. veda* *Śukla*, canto IV.

²⁹ Cf. *Raghu*, IV. 25. The ceremony is still performed on the *Dasarā* day, which is regarded as the auspicious day for setting out on an expedition. The 'yearly bow' is the rainbow.

³⁰ i.e. on his death.

³¹ A common expression, cf. *Pharagirda*, Act III.

³² Or reading the original differently, so it may be read, — those lumps of fearful injustice.

³³ The temples, &c. of the gods, that is to say.

³⁴ This appears to be some hyperbole about the moon's spots, like those of which our poets have a large number.

³⁵ See *Jour. Ind. Arch.* vol. X. p. 345; and *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 251.

³⁶ This is the device of the *Silāras*, and appears on the seal

of Dr. Buhler's Plate, *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 276. Dr. Buhler (*ibid.* *Palassy*, p. 756) seems not to have been aware of this. But see now *Ibid.* (2nd ed.) 107. At p. 281 of *Ginsbury's Kōṭhāpura* (Government Collection) the device is alluded to in the phrase *śaṣṭhāra āgareśaṁdhaka*. Sir Walter Elliot (*Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 34) says: "It is remarkable that both the Yādus and the Kōṭhāras had adopted the golden eagle as their cognis, which the prince seems unwilling to allow to his feudatory." One of the other titles in the text is *राजपतिनाथ* which occurs in Wather's Inscription No. X. p. 232a b. See also *Asiatic Researches* vol. I. p. 330. In Wather's Inscription No. X. the expression *सर्वभूषणनाथ*, also occurs. In Dr. Buhler's (*Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 278) *सर्वभूषणनाथ*. Mr. T. W. Rhys Davids then says: "The *śaṣṭhāra* among kings. — (This, I think, is Wather's rendering, see *J. R. A. S.* vol. V. p. 156) — first among kings? The text expresses this in a more exact manner."

³⁷ Dr. Buhler renders this by "resplendent amongst the sun of rulers" (*J. R. A. S.* vol. IX. p. 310). The expression occurs at *J. R. A. S.* vol. XII. p. 7; *J. R. A. S.* vol. V. *Ins. no.* No. 7 and No. 9; *J. L. S.* of *Ramajay* vol. III. p. 318 (2nd ed.); *Ind. Ant.* vol. VIII. p. 94; and Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Reports* vol. VI. Plate 31. At *J. R. A. S.* vol. XIII. p. 3, the expression is *सामान्तिक*.

Lord of the Western Ocean, the grandfather of the king, adamantine cage for those come for shelter³³ and so forth—and who rules over the whole of the Kōṅkay district, including four-
 teen hundred villages of which the chief is Pari; and embracing many provinces acquired by his own arm; while the great Minister Śrī Navvitaṅka Vāṇiḍa bears the burden of anxieties about this kingdom,³⁴ and the great Minister of peace and war is Kāḍiḷiḷaḷḷa, while in the first rank at the Treasury is the great Minister Pāḍiḷaṇṇa³⁵ Śrī Mahādōvaiya Prabhu, while in the second rank is the Minister Śrī Somapāya Prabhu; while such is the ruling administration,³⁶ that illustrious Mahāmaṇḍalēvara king Aṇṇatadōva, announces with salutations, honour, respect, and directions, to all princes, councillors, priests, ministers, principal and subordinate officers,—both those connected with himself and others,³⁷ as also all heads of *rāṣṭras*, heads of *vāḍayas*,³⁸ heads of towns, heads of villages, royal officials specially appointed or not,³⁹ country people, as well as town people of the town Rāṇjamaṇṇa⁴⁰ of the three classes, and so forth; “He it known to you, that on the first day of Māgha Śuddha falling in the year Bhāva, one thousand and sixteen (*in figures*) 1016 years of the Śaka king having elapsed, the Mahāmaṇḍalika, the illustrious Aṇṇatadōva, the emperor of the Kōṅkay, has released the toll mentioned in this copper-grant given by the Śrī-

lāras, in respect of every cart belonging to two persons,—the great Minister Śrī Bhābhāṇa Sreṇṭhi,⁴¹ the son of the great Minister Durgāśreṇṭhi of the glorious Valipavāna,⁴² and his brother Śrī Dhāṇama Śrēṇṭhi, the great minister of peace and war,—which may come into any of the ports,⁴³ Śrī-Sāhāṇka, as well as Nāṅapur, Surpāvaṅka, Chennali, and others, included within the Kōṅkay Maritime Hamlet,⁴⁴ as well as the toll in respect of the ingress or egress of those who carry on the business of⁴⁵ This should be preserved (*i.e. continued*) also to their sons, grandsons, &c. Śrēṇṭhi Pāṇama, Śrēṇṭhi Kōḍukala, Śrēṇṭhi Mālayya, and so forth. This has been procured by Śrīdhar Paṇḍit who is stationed at Rāyavār, and gratifies the illustrious Aṇṇatadōva, the Ruler of the Kōṅkay.”

Remarks.

“The Sillhas,” wrote the late Col. Meadows Taylor in 1870,⁴⁶ “were local princes, tributary to the Chālukyas. Their territories lay around Kolapur, which was then their capital, and their inscriptions upon temples and copper tablet grants prove them to have held extensive, though not perhaps independent, sway over a large portion of what is now styled the Southern Marāṭha Country. An inscription of A.D. 1135 enumerates eight successions up to the founder of the family, which would place their

³³ This title is claimed by a Chāḷukya, *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. V, Inscr. B. And cf. as all the titles *Ind. Ant.* vol. V, p. 277.

³⁴ Cf. the expression in *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. V, Inscr. 8 सुवर्ण-महामहामन्त्री.

³⁵ See remarks on this at *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII, pp. 330-33.

³⁶ See *Ind. Ant.* vol. V, p. 282; *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII, p. 334. In Inscr. No. 9 at *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. V, अक्षरगणित (last line of first page) seems to be a misreading for अक्षर.

³⁷ This may apply to the words following also as well as to those that precede.

³⁸ *Ind. Ant.* vol. V, pp. 113, 115, 137, 200; also *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. V, p. 352; *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. X, p. 25.

³⁹ Conf. the passage referred to in the last note. Here I take विपुल and अविपुल as adjectives to सुवर्ण which immediately follows, otherwise, it is hard to distinguish between विपुल and अविपुल. The distinction may be between those specially appointed by the Central Government and those who come in, perhaps, by right of inheritance, &c.

⁴⁰ I do not understand this. The same expression occurs at *Ind. Ant.* vol. V, p. 278; and *Asiatic Researches* vol. I, p. 341.

⁴¹ It is noteworthy that the granters are described as at once ‘Ministers’ and ‘Sreṇṭhis.’

⁴² Rāṇḍaḷa also, the successor of the great Chāḷukya at Rāṇḍa, is both a Śrēṇṭhi or Sreṇṭhi, and Vijayantideva—protector of the flag.—*Ed.*

⁴³ The name here should apparently be Valipattana; conf. *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. I, p. 277 (2) and is an unpublished photo of which I have been furnished only with a transcript and not

the original—which belongs to the branch of the Sillhas to which the plate at *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. I, p. 217 also belongs—and which is further similar to that plate in commencing with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and ending with the Sillhas, one of the princes is described as अविपुलमहामहामन्त्री विपुलमहामन्त्री, which indicates that विपुलमहामन्त्री was on the scene. In another passage in the same plate, the place is called अविपुल. May it be identified with the Pāṇipattana, or better, perhaps, the Valipattana—mentioned respectively in the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* and in Ptolemy? See *Ind. Ant.* vol. VIII, p. 145.

⁴⁴ The original is वेलापुर, which Parthi Bhattacharya has told me signifies ‘port.’ The word occurs in the line quoted in the last note.

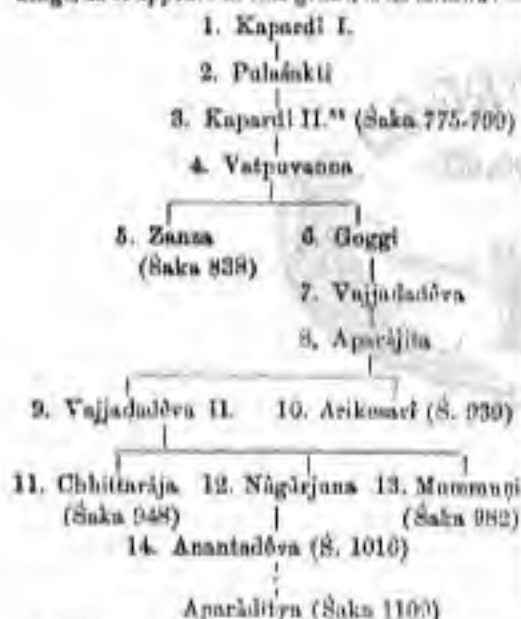
⁴⁵ *i.e.* villages of course. See Mr. Fleet’s inscriptions in this Journal *passim*. The original here as well as in the last sentence in the plate reads Kōṅkay instead of Kōṅkay as in an earlier statue. See as to the Kōṅkay—Nairna, p. 1; Yule’s *Marco Polo* vol. II, p. 331; *Asiatic* vol. I, p. 320; *Ind. Ant.* vol. V, p. 277; and *Asiatic Researches* vol. IV, p. 341, again referred to *supra*; and Pāṇḍita Saṅkṣipta XIV, 32, quoted by Dr. Bala Dēvi at *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. VII, p. 60; and *Ind. Ant.* VII, 162.

⁴⁶ The original is मौरिक which I do not understand. Can it have any connexion with the Marāṭhi word मौरि and can it mean something like ‘a carrier of goods by sea?’

⁴⁷ It is remarkable that this plate contains none of those extracts from the Mahādōvaya which are usual in such documents, and even in similar grants of the same dynasty. I do not know how this is to be accounted for.

⁴⁸ *Student’s Manual of the History of India*, p. 71.

origin about 907 A. D." In the light of the information which we now possess, this is not altogether accurate. And, indeed, it is obvious that Colonel Taylor in this passage only refers to one branch of the Silāra²² dynasty—the branch to which the various inscriptions found in and about Kolhāpur appertain. There are, however, three different branches of that dynasty, disclosed in the various documents at present accessible. These documents were discussed pretty fully by Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl Indrījī in a paper in the *Jour. Bombay Br. R. Asiatic Society* (1877), vol. XIII. pp. 1ff. He there distinguishes three different branches of this dynasty, which, nevertheless, appear to have flourished contemporaneously. The grant before us belongs to the first branch of Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl. And the series of kings, as it appears in this grant, is as follows:—



²² This name appears in sundry different forms in the various inscriptions which we now possess. In the Plate of *Jour. Ind. Soc. of Bombay* vol. III. p. 429, the form is Silāra. In Dr. Bühler's Plate the form is Silāra as well as Silāra. In Wallace's Plate No. IV. (*J. R. A. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 291) the forms are Silāra (query whether this is a mistake in the engraving or in the decipherment?) and Silāra. In our own plate, it is Silāra and Silāra, (which may be the same), Silāra, which occurs once, is probably a mere slip. See also *J. R. B. R. A. S.* vol. I. p. 217; *J. R. A. S.* vol. II. pp. 381, 394; vol. IV. p. 119 and note there, and p. 114 where an explanation of the name is suggested. Mr. Nairne always calls the dynasty the Silāra dynasty. It may be here added that Dr. DeGuishe seems not to be correct in his observations on "the Tagara, and the Silāra" at *J. R. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. p. 61, in speaking of the two as distinct and of one as a branch of the other. In truth, Tagara is not the name of a dynasty at all.

²³ Prof. H. H. Wilson's remark on this prince at *J. R. B. R. A. S.* vol. IV. p. 169, note, is incorrect; cf. also *J. R. B. R. A. S.* (N. S.) vol. IV. p. 85.

It will be observed that this coincides with what is deducible from Dr. Bühler's Plate,²⁴ so far as it goes. The first king of this series—for Jīmātavāhana and Jīmōtaketa cannot be looked upon as historical,—would appear to have flourished somewhere about the beginning of the 8th century of the Christian era. The third king Kapardī II. is identified by Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl with the "Kapardī . . . meditating on the feet of Palaśakti," who is mentioned in two of the Kāgheri inscriptions,²⁵ and the identification may be accepted without hesitation. It affords a very safe and tangible basis for the chronology of the Silāra dynasty. Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl gives the Śaka year 775 as the date of the first Kapardī. That appears to be an inference from the date of the second Kapardī, allowing twenty years a piece to his two predecessors. The inference is not inadmissible, especially having regard to the fact that the Kāgheri inscription of Śaka 775 speaks of the already flourishing and victorious reign of Kapardī II. It is not unlikely, indeed, that the reign of Kapardī I. commenced somewhat earlier even than the year 735 of the Śaka era.

Of the kings who came after Kapardī II. none requires any notice here till we come to Aparājita the son of Vajjadādōva. With regard to him Dr. G. Bühler writes as follows²⁶: "It is also probable that a king has been omitted between Aparājita and Vajjadādōva II., or at least the real name of Aparājita has been left out, for the verse in which the names of Kāśidōva and Vajjadādōva occur is mutilated." There is no reason, however, to suppose any such omission in our plate as there is in that on

²⁴ *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 259.

²⁵ *J. R. B. R. A. S.* vol. XIII. pp. 11, 12.

²⁶ *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 277. A remark ought to be made on king Wata. He appears to be the king mentioned by the Arabian geographer Masūdī as reigning at Saimur in 916 A.D. Masūdī states that there were 10,000 Mussulmans in Saimur, and that the king was under the Hāshim, and had the title of *Zanbil* when he visited the place. (B. de Maynard and P. de Coimille, *Les Princes d'Or.* tom. II. pp. 85-87; *Revue Ind. Muséum* etc. *Ind.* p. 291.) Dr. DeGuishe's identification of Masūdī's "Zanbil" with the Silāra "Śat Chhittarāja Rājā" (*J. R. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. p. 55) is not correct, and this, if on no other ground, but because Zanbil lived in 916 A.D., "Chhittarāja" lived in 1027 A.D. I may take this opportunity of stating that I am indebted to Dr. Bühler's papers in the *J. R. B. R. A. S.* for reference to a number of the authorities relied upon in this paper. Others of the references I obtained from Mr. Nairne's *Kolhāpur*, from which Dr. DeGuishe also seems to have got some of his information.

which these observations were made. And although the number of stanzas devoted to *Aparājita* is relatively larger than the number devoted to any of the other princes except *Chhittarāja* and *Anantadēva*; and although, too, there is some little doubt as to the meaning of a part of one of these stanzas; still there is nothing here to suggest the existence of any prince in the series between the two *Vajjadādēvas*, other than the one prince described in the stanzas in question. It may, perhaps, also be noted as a point leading to the same inference, that the second *Vajjadādēva* was, in all likelihood, the grandson of the first;⁴⁴ and therefore, too, though it is, of course, quite possible, it is not probable, that between the two *Vajjadādēvas*, there was any other prince than the one we have mentioned in our list. What was the true name of that prince, is perhaps a question presenting somewhat greater difficulty. Dr. Bühler doubts if *Aparājita* is the true name. In another place, he says: "I feel somewhat doubtful about the name of this king, which alone among so many *Dakṣ* forms is pure Sanskrit. But it seems to me impossible to refer the two verses in *Vajjadādēva II*, mentioned in verse 10, and *Aparājita* is the only word which can be taken for a name. Perhaps it is a *biruda*."⁴⁵ I own I do not feel much pressed by the reason here given by Dr. Bühler for his conclusion. In the list above set forth by us, we have the names *Aparāditya*, *Anantapāla* or *Anantadēva*, *Nāgārjuna*, and we may add *Arikasari* and *Kapardi*, which are Sanskrit names undoubtedly belonging to princes of the *Śilāra* dynasty. At the same time, I agree that *Aparājita* is, in all likelihood, only a *biruda*. Perhaps the name is *Śrī Rāma*. The compound of which it forms part, viz. श्रीरामदेवराज्य (the plate in the *Asiatic Researches* seems to read श्रीरामदेवराज्य) is not quite explicit. And I do not think, therefore, that we are yet in a position to settle the question. But we may, I think, safely reject the translation in the *Asiatic Researches* which renders it as the 'king *Śrī Biraduka*'.⁴⁶ The whole stanza requires a very

considerable amount of further elucidation—for which the facts accessible to us at present are not at all adequate.

We come next to the King *Arikasari*, who, we may say with certainty,⁴⁷ is identical with the *Kaśidēva* of Dr. Bühler's plate. It is not, however, easy to understand what transaction is referred to here in connexion with *Samdēva*. That *Samdēva* names the famous *Somanāth* which gave occasion in this century to one of Lord Macaulay's best orations, there can, I think, be little doubt. In a stone-club inscription now in the possession of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and appertaining to the time of the *Śilāra* king *Aparāditya*, who stands last in our list, the "God *Somanāth* of *Surāstra*" is distinctly referred to apparently as a favourite deity of the *Śilāras*.⁴⁸ The grant in the *Asiatic Researches*, which is by *Arikasari* himself, might have been fairly expected to help us on this point. But the stanza there appears to have been identical with the one in our plate, though the translation is very defective and erroneous.

On *Chhittarāja* nothing need be said, further than that, if we may safely judge from the number of stanzas referring to him in our plate, he appears to have had a living reputation even in *Anantapāla*'s days. We next come to *Nāgārjuna*. He appears to be probably identical with the prince of that name referred to in inscription No. 17 among the *Kolhapur* Inscriptions in the volume by Major Graham on *Kolhapur* among the *Government Selections*. It is difficult to speak on the point with any confidence, because I am unable myself to read the text of the inscription, and a friend whom I consulted about it is also unable to afford me any help. I have therefore only the statement of the "substance" of the inscription in Major Graham's volume. At the same time I ought to mention, that Major Graham ranks *Nāgārjuna* among the rulers of one portion of "the principality of *Kolhapur*"—and apparently places him between the years 1218 and 1235 A.D. But on this last point I am not quite certain.

⁴⁴ *Comp. Jour. R. A. S. (N. S.)* vol. IV, p. 38.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* Ant. vol. V, p. 230, note.

⁴⁶ The word *देव* which is clear in the plate there given is omitted in this translation. I may, perhaps, be permitted to express my concurrence with Dr. Bühler in his remarks on the paper in the *Asiatic Researches* (*Ibid.* Ant. vol. V, p. 237). Unluckily the original plate cannot now be procured though I had inquiries made for them in Thibet.

⁴⁷ *Parit* Bhagadāt says only "may be the same."

⁴⁸ The actual grant there appears, however, to be by one "Śrī Lakṣman Nāyik, son of Balaṅk Nāyik." It is not quite easy to decipher fully. The grantor is described as *Māhānāyik*, the grant master, and the grant speaks of *श्रीराष्ट्रदेवश्रीमदनन्ददेव*. It is dated "Samvat 1190." (*Chhinnāṣṭakāṣṭak* *Chhinnāṣṭak*, 6 Sunday.)

The next prince in the line is *Māmuvāṇi*, as he is called in the plate before us. In the Ambarnāth inscription which records a grant made by a king of the Silāra dynasty the king calls himself *Māmuvāṇi*.⁵³ It is not, I think, a very bold proceeding to identify that *Māmuvāṇi* with our *Māmuvāṇi*. The dates are not against the identification, and perhaps *Māmuvāṇi* was the real name of the king, which was altered for the sake of the metre into the more smooth and euphonious one which we find in the plate before us. If this identification is correct, Dr. Bühler's suggestion,⁵⁴ that the correct name of this prince is *Vāṇi*, appears to be untenable.

There are one or two other points also, of some importance, which our plate enables us to determine finally. Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl, in his remarks on the Ambarnāth inscription, had suggested that *Māmuvāṇi* was probably the son or successor of *Ukhittarāja*.⁵⁵ When that suggestion was made, the materials for deciding the point were very far from being full. Our plate, however, now settles the question, in a way that, equally with Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl's suggestion, accounts for the facts on which that suggestion was based. Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl, in the paper referred to, argued from the identity of names of one of the officers mentioned in the Ambarnāth inscription and in Dr. Bühler's plate, that *Māmuvāṇi* was probably a son or successor of *Ukhittarāja*. A similar argument may be used in support of our identification of *Māmuvāṇi* and *Māmuvāṇi*. For the First Lord of the Treasury, if we may so call him, in *Māmuvāṇi*'s time—*Mahādēvayya*⁵⁶—continues to hold the same office, at the time of our plate also, a circumstance strongly indicative of a close chronological proximity between *Māmuvāṇi* and *Anantapāla*. It is also to be noted here, that the high offices of state, mentioned in our plate as having been held by *Mahādēvayya* and the others, appear to have been enjoyed by these "southerners" for a very considerable period. For we see some *ayya*s mentioned as far back as in the grant of *Aṭṭakārī* in the *Asiatic Researches*,⁵⁷ which is the

earliest we have among the grants that record details about the period to which they belong. The next prince in our series is *Anantapāla* or *Anantadēva*, the grantor in the plate before us. The civil strife, which is referred to in the verses devoted to him, is one about which no other information is at present accessible, unless, indeed, it was the beginning of that conflict which is referred to in a boast made in the grant published in the *Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society*.⁵⁸ With reference to that grant, Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl says:—"The *Vijayārka* dēva of this branch is described as having re-established the sovereignty of the dethroned kings of the province of *Sthāṇka* and *Gōa*. This shows that he restored the last power of the two branches of his dynasty, viz., the first at *Thāṇka*, and the second at *Gōa*."⁵⁹ The original fully bears this out. *Vijayārka*, however, appears to have reigned about the Śaka year 1065. The occurrences, therefore, to which reference is made in our plate cannot have been those in which *Vijayārka* took part. But it is not impossible that, although *Anantapāla* boasts of having rid the country of his foes, who appear to have been some of his own kinsmen—*dēvāḍa*—there may have been a renewal of the disturbances after the Śaka year 1016, resulting in that misfortune to the *Thāṇka* Silāras from which *Vijayārka* rescued them. But, on the other hand, we cannot, in the present state of our materials, come to any conclusion on these questions.

Of the period between *Anantapāla* and *Aparāditya*, the last prince mentioned in our series, we know at present very little. Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl in 1877 thought, that the gap between *Māmuvāṇirāja* and *Aparāditya* in the genealogy of the first branch, might be accounted for by the destruction of the sovereign power above alluded to.⁶⁰ We have seen, however, that the gap is not so large a one as the Paṇḍit supposed. Our plate brings our information down to the Śaka year 1016. *Aparāditya* appears to have reigned⁶¹ in the Śaka year 1109. How long before that year his reign had commenced it is not yet possible to

⁵³ *J. B. R. E. A. S.*, vol. XII., p. 332.

⁵⁴ *J. B. R. E. A. S.*, vol. XII., extra No., p. 32.

⁵⁵ *J. B. R. E. A. S.*, vol. XII., p. 332.

⁵⁶ *J. B. R. E. A. S.*, vol. XII., p. 332.

⁵⁷ *As. Res.*, vol. I., pp. 361, 363, 367.

⁵⁸ Vol. III., p. 420.

⁵⁹ *J. B. R. E. A. S.*, vol. XIII., p. 17.

⁶⁰ *J. B. R. E. A. S.*, vol. XIII., p. 17. Compare also notes No. 10 to vol. XII., p. 52 (Dr. Bühler).

⁶¹ The suggestion of Prof. Wilson (*J. B. R. E. A. S.*, vol. II., p. 307) repeated by Mr. Nairne (*Kosambi* p. 7), and by Dr. DeCunha (*J. B. R. E. A. S.*, vol. XII., p. 54) is now entirely negatived by the information given by Dr. Bühler.

say—as both the Parol Inscription and the stone slab inscription already mentioned as being in the possession of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society are dated in the same year. Dr. Bühler's *Account of his Tour in Kāśmīr* affords us, however, some further information on this point. For it appears that a work composed in Kāśmīr between 1135 and 1145 A.D. makes reference to an "ambassador of Aparāditya, king of the Kośkaps,"¹¹ named Tōjakaṇṭha, being then in Kāśmīr. If so, I think, we may safely assume that Aparāditya cannot have commenced to reign much later than 1135 A.D. or 1057 of the Śaka era.¹² And then the hiatus in our Śilāra lists appears to be reduced to very modest dimensions, indeed, viz., scarcely forty years.

If these arguments and conclusions are correct, it is difficult to trust the boast of Vijayārka in Dr. Taylor's Inscription as of any greater value than a rhetorical flourish. At the best, it can be only a very great exaggeration of a very small historical fact. For see how the case stands:—According to Dr. Bühler's account, which appears from our present materials to be perfectly correct, Aparāditya must have succeeded to the throne in any case before the Śaka year 1060,¹³ and he appears to have still been on the throne in the Śaka year 1109. Now Gayadardāditya, the immediate predecessor of the Vijayārka who claims to have re-established the Thāpā Śilāras on their throne, certainly reigned till the Śaka year 1058. The first document of Vijayārka's reign that is accessible to us is dated in the Śaka year 1063,¹⁴ Vijaya therefore cannot have begun to reign much if at all before Aparāditya. The last date in his reign that we know of is the Śaka year 1073, and the first in that of his successor Bhujadeva II. is 1101, so that his reign must have closed at least eight years prior to that of Aparāditya. We have, therefore, this result:—The whole period of the reign of this Vijayārka, who claims to have re-established the Thāpā Śilāras, is itself covered, or nearly covered, by the

reign of one of these Śilāras themselves. There are then, it seems to me, three alternative explanations of these facts:—either there was a revolution in the kingdom of Śri Śthānakā between the Śaka years 1058 and 1064; or the statement in Bhājādāva's plate is a mere rhetorical flourish having little or no historical basis; or Aparāditya does not belong to this branch of the Śilāra dynasty. The third alternative may, I think, be summarily rejected, both on the grounds adduced by Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl,¹⁵ and on the grounds of the connexion of this Aparāditya with the town of Thāpā,¹⁶ and the coincidence of sundry expressions in Dr. Bühler's plate with expressions in the Parol Inscription and the stone slab inscription obtained at Thāpā, now in the possession of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. The facts stated by Dr. Bühler¹⁷ in his account of his Kāśmīr tour also corroborate that conclusion. The first alternative also appears to me, I own, upon the facts set forth above, an extremely doubtful one. The second alternative appears to be the least improbable of the three. It is not necessary to reject the statement in Bhujadeva's grant as altogether a myth and unhistorical. It is, perhaps, only an exaggerated statement out of compliment to the grantor's line of the success afforded by Vijayārka to his brethren at Thāpā in some local, possibly dynastic, disturbance, such as is referred to in our plate in the verses devoted to Anantapāla. I must add that there are two other possibilities not covered by the alternatives mentioned, viz., that Aparāditya himself may not have had an uninterrupted reign, or that Dr. Bühler's date for the Kāśmīr work to which he refers may be erroneous. No evidence is available on either point, and we must leave both here without further discussion.

We have now gone through the whole series of princes of the Śilāra dynasty at present known to us. The series appears to be complete save for the period intervening between the reign of Anantapāla and Aparāditya.¹⁸ If

¹¹ See *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. (extra No.) p. 51, 52.

¹² This doubtless makes Aparāditya's reign a very long one—being upwards of 52 years. But there is nothing unlikely in one individual power in a long one—reigning more even than 52 years, like George III. of England or Louis XIV. of France.

¹³ The latest date to which Dr. Bühler attributes the Kāśmīr work alluded to above.

¹⁴ See *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. XIII., p. 16.

¹⁵ *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. p. 555.

¹⁶ Which is expressly mentioned in the stone-slab inscription referred to.

¹⁷ *J. B. R. A. S.* (extra No.) vol. XII. pp. 51, 52.

¹⁸ Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl has already adduced reasons for supposing this Aparāditya or Aparārka to be the same who has given his name to the well-known commentary on Yāgyavalkya (*J. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. p. 335; see, too, Extra No. p. 52). Dr. Bühler has pointed out that Aparārka is cited by an author of the beginning of the 13th century (*J. B. R. A. S.* vol. IX. p. 161).

one may judge from the evidence now available, it is probable that there were two kings between these two. But upon this point, and on the point relating to the revolution above referred to, further materials must be awaited.

There is one question of considerable interest which is now satisfactorily settled by the plate before us. In 1869, the late learned Dr. Bhāu Dājī, having read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society a paper regarding the inscription at Ambarnāth, a short discussion took place concerning the date of that inscription and of the Ambarnāth Temple. Mr. Burgess pointed out the architectural difficulty in accepting the date of the inscription, as read by Dr. Bhāu, as giving the correct date of the Temple, and he referred also to Mr. Fergusson's opinion on the point. Dr. Bhāu dissented from these opinions, and expressed himself to the effect, that from the character of the letters, he would assign the inscription—and consequently the Temple also—to the ninth century³² A.D. In 1876 Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl gave us a revised transcript of the inscription, and made out the date to be 982 instead of 782 as Dr. Bhāu Dājī had read it.³³ And in the discussion upon the Paṇḍit's paper, I am reported as having observed³⁴ that there was no doubt about the numerals in the text (viz., the Ambarnāth inscription³⁵)—the date arrived at being confirmed by an unpublished plate in my possession.³⁶ That plate is the one which forms the subject of these remarks. It is now quite plain that since Anantapāla flourished in the Śaka year 1010, his predecessor and uncle could not have reigned as early as Śaka 782, but must have reigned somewhere about Śaka 982. Accepting that latter reading of the date, Mr. Fergusson's and Mr. Burgess's views about the date of the Temple receive most remarkable confirmation. Mr. Burgess, on the occasion in question, also pointed out that the style of architecture of the Ambarnāth Temple associated it with the Temple of Sumanāth.

That, too, appears to me to be an important circumstance, having regard to the reference to Sumanāth in the plate before us, and in the Thāṇḍā inscription of Aparājitya. We shall have to say a word on this subject in the sequel.

Two lessons of general application for the future may, I think, be derived from these facts. The first is, that chronological inferences based *exclusively* on the character of the writing in old documents must be accepted with very considerable caution. The tendency towards regarding that as the all-important element—in such investigations, is to be observed in sundry quarters.³⁷ The second lesson is, that inferences derivable from the style of architecture of any building are entitled to considerable weight in chronological inquiries—as much weight, I should say, as inferences from the style of writing in copperplates and inscriptions.

A point of considerable interest connected with this dynasty is raised by the title which all branches of it seem to have retained—viz., *Tigraṇaprasādādhikara*. That title finds a parallel, among others, in the title of the Kadambas.—*Hemavāṇapradādhikara*.³⁸ Probably the original stock from which the three branches of the Silāhara afterwards branched out belonged to the city of Tagara. What is that city? Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl, after an elaborate examination of Colonel Wilford's suggestion on this point, dissents from it, and identifies Tagara with the modern Junnar.³⁹ I do not find much difficulty in agreeing with the negative side of Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl's reasoning; but as respects the positive portion of it, I own that though there is a good deal in the arguments he adduces, I cannot persuade myself that he has satisfactorily surmounted the initial difficulty in his theory, viz., that whereas Junnar is to the west of Paithāna, Tagara is stated by Arrian (as quoted by Col. Wilford) to be towards the east.

³² J. B. R. A. S. vol. IX, p. xxviii, et seq. Mr. Fergusson and Mr. Burgess's estimate of the age both of the characters of the inscription and of the Temple appears from the facts we now know, to have been much more correct. See also J. B. R. A. S. (N. S.) IV, p. 147 note.

³³ J. B. R. A. S. vol. XI, p. 331.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xxiv.

³⁵ See Cunningham's *Bhilai Types* p. 295; *Yamunotri of the Indus*, *Corps of Orientalists* pp. 302–303; *Ind. Ant.* vol. p. III, p. 267.

³⁶ As in this case Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. Reports*, vol. VII, p. 97–99.

³⁷ See on this last point, *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII, p. 303.

³⁸ J. B. R. A. S. vol. XIII, p. 8. It is interesting to note in connexion with this proposed identification, that in the early Gupta Mahārājan rule, in this part of the country Junnar was the capital of a district, which included some part of the Kōḷāra (see Nairn, p. 27). The head quarters of the army which conquered the district, had also been at Junnar (Nairn, p. 25). *Ind. Ant.* vol. II, p. 43 ff.; and *cont. Arch. Surv. R.* *Ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 54, 55.

of Paithana. Paṇḍit Bhagvānāl may be right, and perhaps further materials will show that he is right, in thinking that Arrian made a slip in saying "east" when he should have said "west." All I say at present is, that the identification which proceeds on the basis of such a slip having been committed does not yet satisfy my mind.*

While on this subject of Tagara, we may, perhaps, refer here to the other matters of geographical interest in the plate. The first interesting name to be noted is *Srī Sthānaka*, which has been satisfactorily identified with *Thāpā*. *Thāpā* appears in former days, from sundry other authorities, to have been a place of very much greater note than it is now, having been a port of considerable trade¹ till the times even of the Mussulmans. *Albīrūnī* appears to speak of it under the name of *Tala*, which he says was the capital of the *Koṭhaka*, and the *Koṭhaka*, we may observe *en passant*, is distinguished by *Albīrūnī* from the country of the *Marāṭhā*.²

The next name to note is *Puri*, which has been identified by some with *Thāpā*, but this identification has been dissented from.³ Our plate certainly does not support the identification, while its mention of both *Puri* and *Srī Sthānaka*⁴ may be regarded as some, though not very strong, evidence against it. I can say nothing about *Hanjamaṣa*,⁵ or *Rāyavāra*, and about *Nāgapur*, I can only suggest it as probable, that it may be identical with a village

near *Alibāg*—between *Alibāg* and *Rāvadaṇḍī*—named *Nāgīnva*, which is substituted by syncope for *Nāgūgnīv*, or *Nāgagrāma*, the same as *Nāgapur*. Or, may not *Nāgapur* have something to do with *Nāgothpāṇ*? In any case the modern *Nāgpur* of the *Bhoṣṭā* is not to be thought of. I have not found the *Nāgapur* of our plate referred to anywhere else. *Sarpāraṅka*, as our plate seems to have it, is probably only a miscopy for *Sarpāraṅka*⁶—the modern *Sopārā* near *Bassein*. It is a place of considerable antiquity, being in all likelihood the same as the *Sopara* of the *Nāsik* inscriptions.⁷ *Sopārā* under various disguises of name is familiar to the medieval travellers and geographers. *Chemulī*⁸ is almost certainly the modern *Chetwāl*, or, as it has been sometimes called, *Chenl*. This place has a history extending over several centuries, going back, indeed, even as far apparently as the times of *Ptolemy*, who mentions it under the name *Simylla*⁹ and *Timoulla*. From the various disguises which the name had assumed in the works of foreign geographers and travellers—such as *Ptolemy*, *Hiwen Thsang*, and *Albīrūnī*—*Col. Yule* had said "that the old name was something like *Chaimul* or *Chauwul*."¹⁰ This happy guess is fully corroborated by our plate, and the identification of the place with *Chenl*,¹¹ also suggested by *Col. Yule*, may be accepted, more especially having regard to the current native pronunciation of the name.

We come lastly to *Somēyara*, which, as we have already pointed out, may safely be iden-

* As regards *Tagara*, reference may be made to *Epiphron's Index* pp. 34-5; *Meadows Taylor's Memoir* pp. 71-72; *Nairn's Konkān* p. 9 (the opinion here expressed is questionable); *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. IV, p. 35 note; vol. II, pp. 384-396; *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. X, p. 339; *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 76; vol. VII, p. 183; vol. VIII, p. 144; *Jour. Lét. Soc. Érud.* vol. III, p. 411; and note at p. 418, where *Asiatic Researches* vol. IX, p. 45 is quoted, but that does not advance the question at all. The expression *सप्तप्रदेश* has numerous parallels. See *inter alia* *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. IV, p. 80; *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. V, inscriptions Nos. 8 and 9; *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. X, p. 34; vol. XII, p. 67, 303; and *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, 162.

¹ See *inter alia* about *Thāpā* *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII, p. 61; *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII, pp. 184-5; *Yule's Cathay* vol. II, p. 297, also vol. I, 57 et seq., where we have some information about *Tate* which might be useful in our own day! *Nairn's Konkān* pp. 19, 11; *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. II, pp. 384-86. The translation of *सप्तप्रदेश* at *Asiatic Researches* vol. I, pp. 361-64 is, of course, erroneous.

² See *Jour. Asiaticque* serie IV, tome IV, pp. 235-64. I am obliged to my friend Mr. P. M. Mahla for explaining to me the French original. See too *Nairn*, p. 8.

³ *Ind. Ant.* vol. V, p. 277, and vol. VII, p. 184; *Nairn*, p. 21; *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. X, pp. 329-31, and vol. XII, 81; *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. II, pp. 384-395.

⁴ See *Asiatic Res.* vol. I, p. 301; *Ind. Ant.* vol. V, p. 278.

⁵ See *Jour. Érud.* Geog. Sec. vol. VII, p. 152.

⁶ *Nairn's Konkān*, p. 16; *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. X, pp. 316-42; *Yule's Cathay* vol. I, p. 227; and *Ind. Ant.* vol. X, p. 321, vol. II, p. 96. On all these parts the word, though, perhaps, inferred in remarks of *Col. Yule* (*Cathay*, vol. II, p. 418) may be of practical moment.

⁷ See *Tringa, Ind. Champ. d'Orient*, p. 328. It may be interesting to note, that *Sarpāraṅka* is mentioned in the *Vana Parva* of the *Mahābhārata* as a "most holy" place, where the *Pāṇḍavas* spent some time on their way from the *Dravida* Country to *Prabhāsa* (see also 118, *Romh.* ed.) It was the *Satavāha* of the *Arah* Geographers. *Mas'ūdī* says it and *Tanah* were on the coast of *Lar*, and subject to the *Rāṭhās*. *Peñska's Hist.* tom. I, p. 381. *Albīrūnī* says it was 5 *parasangs* from *Tanah*; see *Ind. Ant.* vol. I, p. 321. It is also frequently mentioned in the *Bendīsh* Cave inscriptions.—*Ed.*

⁸ As *Ind. Ant.* vol. I, p. 329, *Col. Yule* expressed a desire "to learn the oldest native spelling of the latter name"—viz. *Chenl*. Our plate now supplies that I think. Probably, however, the name should be *Chemulīya* and not *Chemulī*. In the plate at *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. I, p. 219, a place named *Chemulīya* seems to be mentioned, which is probably the same as that we are now discussing. And in our plate we may read the name as *Chemulī* or *Chemulīya*.

⁹ See *Yule's Cathay* vol. I, p. cxcii; *Nairn* p. 12; *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII, p. 50 et seq.; *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII, p. 183.

¹⁰ *Yule's Cathay* loc. cit.

¹¹ See also about *Chenl*, *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII, p. 183 and vol. VIII, pp. 146-48. I incline to think with *Pañḍit Bhagvānāl*, that *Chemulī* is *Chemulā* in *Trombay*, at the head of *Bombay* harbour.—*Ed.*

tified with *Somanāth*. In our time, it is true, the *Koṅkan* and *Somanāth* are not closely connected in our minds. But in former days, even as late as six centuries ago, *Somanāth* and *Thāṇā* seem to have belonged to one political division of the country. "Gazerāt," we are told for instance, "is a large country, within which are *Kambāyat*, *Somnāt*, *Konkan*, *Tāna* and several other cities and towns."¹⁰² And this affords some explanation of Albrūn's words alluded to above, in which he distinguishes the *Koṅkan* from the country of the *Marāṭhās*. One further remark we may make here, which is suggested by the circumstances now brought together regarding "*Somnāt*." The temple of *Somanāth* is stated by the late Mr. Justice Forbes¹⁰³ to be similar in some respects to the Temple of *Ambarnāth* at *Kalyāṇ*. And, as we have already seen, Mr. Burgess in the discussion above alluded to regarding the *Ambarnāth* Inscription, also pointed out the similarity.¹⁰⁴ In view of the information which the writings of the mediæval geographers furnish, that fact is one of considerable interest. For it is not improbable that the *Silāras* being devotees of the "*Somanāth* of *Surāṣṭra*," and there having been such constant intercourse between the immediate dominion of the *Silāras* and the district in which the Temple of *Somanāth* is situated, it is not, I say, improbable that the restoration of the Temple of *Ambarnāth* under the directions of a *Silāra*¹⁰⁵ prince was made consciously upon the model of the *Somanāth* Temple.

Returning now from this geographical digression, we proceed to consider the political status of the *Silāras*. They do not, then, appear

to have been entirely independent sovereigns. The titles *Mahāmāndalsarā*, *Mahāmāntāpāli*, *pati*—although coupled with the titles, *Rājā*, and *Kaṭhapa-shakavartī*—seem to point to a subordinate position. And this conclusion is clinched by the fact which Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl has brought out with the aid of the *Kashmiri* Inscriptions: namely, that the third historical king in this line—*Kapardī II.*—in spite of the boast, as it remembered, made in our plate and elsewhere, about his being the head-jewel of all kings, and of glory which eclipsed the glory of every one else in the world and out of it, was but a subordinate of a king *Amoghavarsha*. Of this latter king, Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl says that he probably belonged to the *Rāshtrakūṭa* race.¹⁰⁶ I venture to think that we are safe in taking it to be historically certain that this *Amoghavarsha* is the first king of that name in the *Rāshtrakūṭa* line. The dates appear to me to support the identification.¹⁰⁷ And it is further corroborated by the fact which appears to be made out pretty satisfactorily by Dr. Bühler and Dr. Bühler, that the *Balīkara* princes, of whom the mediæval geographers speak, are identical with the *Rāshtrakūṭas*;¹⁰⁸ for those same geographers distinctly state that the *Koṅkan* formed part of the territories of those *Balīkara* princes.¹⁰⁹ It is plain, therefore, that at least at the time of *Kapardī II.* the *Silāras* were only feudatories of the *Rāshtrakūṭas*.¹¹⁰ At the same time, it is not impossible that they may have afterwards thrown off the yoke of their masters, and ceased to be feudatories.¹¹¹ The princes of the branch of the family which reigned at *Koṭhāpur* appear to have been feudatories of the *Chālukyas* in the twelfth century A.D.¹¹² But there is no evidence showing that the *Silāras*

¹⁰² *J. B. R. A. S.* (N. S.) vol. IV. p. 344; also Yule's *Marco Polo* vol. II. pp. 35-37. Yule's *Cathay* vol. I. p. cxxxv. note; Nairne p. 30. A *Śrī Somanāth* is mentioned in one of Mr. Fleet's *Yādava* Inscriptions; see *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. p. 20.

¹⁰³ *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. VIII. pp. 35-37. See also 44 to *Somnāth*, Elliot's *History of India* vol. I. p. 37.

¹⁰⁴ *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. IX. p. cxxxix.

¹⁰⁵ Dr. Bühler's conjecture—that *Māyākeṛṇṇa* was a *Yādava* prince repeated by Mr. Nairne in his *Koṭhāpur*, p. 15 (see also *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 337) may now be treated as erroneous; Mr. Ferguson also (*J. B. R. A. S.* (N. S.) vol. IV. p. 137) was misled by Dr. Bühler's incorrect reading of the *Ambarnāth* date into an argument in favour of his theory of the "*Balabāli Samvat*."

¹⁰⁶ *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. XIII. p. 13. Perhaps Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl's cautious expression was due to the fact that the crest recorded in the *Kashmiri* Inscriptions is not mentioned in any *Rāshtrakūṭa* plate. But perhaps it was not thought important enough.

¹⁰⁷ I must add that Dr. Bühler's "adjustments" of the *Rāshtrakūṭa* seem to militate against this, to some extent (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 59). But I venture to think, that they require reconsideration with reference to the *Kashmiri* Inscriptions brought forward by Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl. In addition, when Dr. Bühler takes to be *Amoghavarsha*'s father, is, according to Bhagvānlāl's interpretation of one of those inscriptions, *Amoghavarsha* himself.

¹⁰⁸ *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 61.

¹⁰⁹ Yule's *Cathay* vol. I. p. cxxxviii. Sir H. M. Elliot's *History of India* vol. I. p. 3 of sup. and p. 351 of text; Nairne p. 40; *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. p. 30. At *Asiatic Researches* v.3. IX. p. 179, we have some conjectures about the *Balīkara* or "*Balarāya*" princes.

¹¹⁰ Cf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 66.

¹¹¹ Cf. Burnell, *Manuals of S. I. Palaeography* (2nd Ed.) p. 25.

¹¹² Cf. *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. IX. p. 203; see also *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. IV. pp. 32-34; Nairne, pp. 20-21.

ruling at Thāṅṅ were also feudatories of the Chālukya. And possibly, Aṇṇṭapāla's calling himself *Chakravartī*¹¹² of the Koṅkaṅ coupled with Aparāditya's despatch of an ambassador to Kāśmīr¹¹³ might be taken as some index that the later Śiṅṅas treated themselves as independent sovereigns. On this view the expressions *Mahāsamudraka*¹¹⁴ and so forth, would be explicable on the theory suggested by Mr. Newton regarding the term *raja*—that "in common with other similar titles, it must have come to be looked on as indicating authority only and not subordination."¹¹⁵ In Marco Polo's time the Koṅkaṅ was still under Hindu princes—were they Śiṅṅas?—whom Polo describes as being 'tributary to nobody.'¹¹⁶ The point is one, however, which cannot, I think, be settled finally in the present state of our materials.

From the numerous references to Śiva in the Śiṅṅa inscriptions, the family may well be inferred to have been devotees of Śiva.¹¹⁷ Jīvaśravāṇa's name, however, certainly suggests Buddhist associations.¹¹⁸ Probably the creed of the prince was not of a narrow sort, and the evidence is daily accumulating, which shows that in days so late even as the 10th and 11th centuries of the Christian era, sundry Hindu Princes showed considerable catholicity of spirit as between Hindu, Buddha, and Jain. The branch of the Śiṅṅas, whose inscriptions are noted in Major Graham's volume on Kollāpur, seems to have made grants alike to Brāhmins and to Jains.¹¹⁹ And it may be remarked that the inscription regarding the grant of the Koṅkaṅ to Kapardī II. is engraved on a Buddhist cave.

Tolls—which form the subject of the exemption recorded in the plate before us—appear to have been not an uncommon source of revenue in

former times. Among the inscriptions collected by Major Graham¹²⁰ too, there are several which record grants of tolls. As the trade at Thāṅṅ, Chāmālyā, and Supārā appears to have been considerable,¹²¹ the exemption granted by our plate cannot have been quite insignificant.

The names of the grantees and of some of the ministry are also remarkable. They all seem to be southerners. These "southerners" are also to be noticed in Dr. Bühler's plate, and in the Ambarnāth Inscription, as well as in the plate in the *Asiatic Researches*, and in Dr. Bühler's plate of the Rāshtrakūṭa Govinda III. It is evident, therefore, that the "ayya" community occupied a position of considerable influence in those days even at the courts of princes, who were not directly ruling in the south. Upon the name of Aṇṇṭa Pāṇṇu Prabhu, which occurs in the Parel inscription, Mr. Wathen remarks as follows:—

"It is singular, however, and in support of the pretensions and traditions of the Kāyastha Prabhus, that they seem to have been ministers under this Rājā, viz., Aparāditya." I am not quite so sure that Prabhu there does indicate the Prabhu caste, and I do not understand that Mr. Wathen has any other basis for his suggestion.¹²² Against it we have to remember that in No. 8 of Mr. Wathen's own Inscriptions, a Brāhmaṇ is mentioned as bearing the name Koṅka Prabhu, and there are persons named in our own plate as "Prabhus" who do not appear to belong to the Prabhu caste. Even in our own days, Prabhu is a Brāhmaṇ surname, and I am inclined to interpret the word in the various plates before us as indicating only a surname and not a name of a caste. The name Aṇṇṭa Pāṇṇu also seems to indicate that that name was not of the Prabhu caste but a "southerner."

¹¹² *Aprāditya* also calls himself "Chakravartī of the Kāśmīr." *J. B. R. A. S.*, vol. XII, p. 145. I may perhaps, unawares, be in error that Aprāditya, in both the Parel and the Thāṅṅ stone slab inscriptions, is described as Śaivait Aprāditya, which shows up a difficulty suggested by Prof. Baddschneider with regard to the Gurjara kings (*J. B. R. A. S.*, vol. X, p. 29 ante). The name expression also occurs in the unpublished plate before referred to, in the present plate, and in other documents (e.g. *Ind. Ant.* vol. V, p. 186). It is, however, undoubtedly, of rare occurrence.

¹¹³ *J. B. R. A. S.*, vol. XII, (Extra No.) p. 51.

¹¹⁴ As to which cf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. V, p. 145. Our plate, however, has also the expression *महामुद्रिक* which can hardly be treated as a "title" only.

¹¹⁵ *J. B. R. A. S.*, vol. IX, p. 19. Cf. *J. B. R. A. S.*, vol. II, p. 358. Upon this point the remark of Mill cited by

Nisene (p. 21) about the grandeur of these princes is unduly inflated in unmoderated weight.

¹¹⁶ Yuhā's *Marco Polo*, vol. II, p. 329; Nisene, *Kollāpur*, p. 11; see also *J. B. R. A. S.*, vol. VI, p. 385.

¹¹⁷ Cf. *J. B. R. A. S.*, vol. IV, p. 114; *J. B. R. A. S.*, vol. XII, pp. 341-342; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. III, p. 317 ff.; and vol. V, p. 278.

¹¹⁸ The seal would seem to point in the same direction; cf. *J. B. R. A. S.*, vol. I, pp. 210, 216.

¹¹⁹ Plate pp. 526-531. Taylor's grant is to Brāhmins and begins with an invocation to Viṣṇu. See too *J. B. R. A. S.*, vol. XIII, p. 101 and *J. B. R. A. S.*, vol. II, p. 387 and cf. Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. VII, p. 108; vol. VIII, p. 16; *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII, p. 2.

¹²⁰ P. 3476, No. 3, 24, &c. see too *J. B. R. A. S.*, vol. III, p. 98.

¹²¹ *Calcutta*, vol. II, p. 99; Marco Polo, vol. II, p. 329.

¹²² As to which, see also *Jaipur. Bomb. Geog. Surv.*, vol. VII, p. 339.

2
உயரகாசம் பகா க். வி. அகத்திருமுறை || உயர உரு || 1000
காடு கருவாழ்வி யா கும்புயரபு யுறையு க்கி வி டுந்
மையகமாய் க்கி வி டுந் உயரகத்தி உயரகத்தி உயர
கையகமாய் க்கி வி டுந் உயரகத்தி உயரகத்தி உயர
கையகமாய் க்கி வி டுந் உயரகத்தி உயரகத்தி உயர
கையகமாய் க்கி வி டுந் உயரகத்தி உயரகத்தி உயர

[illegible]

GRANT OF VĪRA-CHOLA.

BY Rev. THOMAS FOULKES, F.L.S., M.E.S., CHAPLAIN OF SAINT JOHN'S, BANGALORE.

Description.—Two plates of a copper-plate grant, 10 in. long by 2½ in. wide, of unequal thickness, varying from ¼ in. to ½ in., with a ring-hole in each, but without the ring. They are numbered 2 and 5 respectively; and therefore the document had originally six plates at the least, and probably seven. They are well preserved. They record the donation of a large village, called, after the father (?) of the donor, *Parakesarichaturvedimāṅgalam*, situated on the river *Kāveri*, to 150 Brahmins, by *Vīra-Chola*, with the consent of the reigning sovereign, *Parakesarivarmā*, in order to obtain benefits for his ancestors in the world of spirits. The

donation was made at the instigation of the prince's religious teacher, the *Brāhmaṇa Nīla*.

The grant is written in Sanskrit verse of the *Anuṣṭubh* metre, except the incomplete verse at the beginning. The character is the old Grantha. The letters are firmly and distinctly engraved; but the engraving is not neatly executed.

Plate 2 contains a portion of the pedigree of the donor, tracing his descent from the Solar Race of the *Purāṇas* through *Raghava*, the great-grandfather of the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Plate 5, though only a fragment, contains the substance of the grant, and the circumstances of the donation.

*Transliteration.**Plate II a.*

[*(v. 3 probably)*].

¹ bhavātām bhavātāt vibhūtyai trayi(yi)sārasvasu chaturāṁṣa-
² m āditejaḥ [||*] Vīdhātus tasya putro bhūt Marichirmāna-
³ so mahān Marī(ri)cheś cha tanūjo bhūt Kūśyapā-
⁴ khyo mahāmuni(b*) [||*] Kūśyapasya manusā hād ātma-
⁵ jo bhānumān Ravir(viḥ) viśveśāścha(chi) lokānām andha-
⁶ kārāpanodakṛit [||*] Vasudevāṅgataivajño Vi-

Plate II b.

⁷ vacantaś cha anto Manuḥ śuklakṣitibhṛtām śūryaḥ
⁸ purāṇas cchandaśām iva [||*] Ikshvākuś cha mahāprājño
⁹ bhaktimān Gururādihvajo Manusānubh kṣitī(m*) śa(śā)ṣannā śai(śi)śd Ākha-
¹⁰ ṇḍulāṣamāḥ [||*] Ikshvākuvāśasajāteṣu kṣatriyeṣu
¹¹ bahushrapī pālayitrā bhuvanā dīgḍhaṁ yāteṣu cha divam
¹² pratī [||*] Sagaro nāma tadvanās jātavān bhūpapū(pu)ṅgavah Bhagī-
¹³ rathopī tadvanās tato jāto jano(ne)śvayā(b*) [||*] Raghar nāma

Plate V a.

[*(v. 24, probably)*].

¹ Rakṣamaṅge bhuvam vi(vi)śva(śvā)m Vi(Vi)ra-Cholo nripeśvare dharmo(dharmmo)
² padasāhā tasyābhūt Ni(Ni)lanāma mahāsurah [||*] Yashmadgurūpām sa-
³ reveshūḥ svaṛggapraṇapānakāraṇam bruhmadeyaṁ dvijendrebhya
⁴ debhityenam adidīśat [||*] Śratvā tadvaśanaṁ rājā gatvā
⁵ Chola mahi(hi)patin namaskṛitya puras tasya sthityaitad abravī-
⁶ dvachaḥ [||*] Matde(dde)śe tu mahāgrāmaṁ dāyāmi tava sām-

Plate V b.

⁷ jñayā bhūsurebhyo hantakā(kār)yye mahyān debhityanugrahaṁ [||*]
⁸ Tadaśaṁ kurvityaṁ(tyā)jñātah Parakesarivarmamāṇā pāśobhāśa-
⁹ dbhyaś śatebhyas cha Vi(Vi)ra-Cholo nripeśvaraḥ [||*] Parakesaricha-
¹⁰ turvedimāṅgalābhavayān pū(pūr)uṣam Kāveryyā svat(śval)panadyā-
¹¹ ś cha maddhyame supratishṭha(shiṭhi)taṁ savva(rvva)lakṣapāśampannaṁ śa-
¹² lyūdiśasyabhūṣitaṁ [||*] Pannasāmradīśasahyuktaṁ pūgarāmā-

Translation.

May the substance of the three-fold Veda which is the primal brightness of the four faced god,¹ be to you for riches.

Marichî was the great mind-born son of that Vîdhâtî²; and the great Muni Kaśyapa was the son of Marichî.

The bright Ravi³ was the son of the Muni Kaśyapa; the dispeller of the darkness of all the worlds.

Manu, learned in the doctrines of the Vedas and Vedāngas, was the son of Vîvasvat⁴; he was the first of kings, as the sacred syllable⁵ was the seed of the Vedas.

And Ikāvāku, pre-eminent in knowledge and the worshipper of Garuḍa-dhvaṇa,⁶ was the son of Manu; as a protector of the earth he was the equal of Akhaṇḍa.⁷

Very many Kāshtriya, born of the race of Ikāvāku having ruled the fruitful earth, and having set out on their heavenward journey.

The pre-eminent king Sagarā was born in that race. In that race also Bhāgîratha then was born, lord of men.

Raghu by name,

While Vira Chôḷa, lord of kings, was ruling the whole earth, the Brāhman Nîla became his religious teacher.

He taught him thus:—"Bestow religious endowments on distinguished Brāhmanas, in order that all your ancestors may reach the heaven of Indra."

When the king heard that precept, he went to the Chôḷa monarch, and having bowed down before him, he stood in his presence, and made this speech, saying, "I am proposing to make a donation of a large village in my district to the Brāhmanas, and to call it by your name: grant me your assent in that matter."

Having received a command from Parakesari Varmā, saying, "Do so speedily;" Vira Chôḷa, lord of kings, [gave] to one hundred and fifty persons, the whole [village] named Parakesari-chaturvedi-maṅgalam, well situated between the Kāveri and the little river, abounding with all the signs of prosperity, and adorned with fields of rice and other grains, with jack, mango, and other fruit-

trees, with araca-palm and other groves,

This grant affords the following items of historical information:—

1. It was issued in the reign of Parakesari Varmā, who is described as the Chôḷa Mahipati (vv. 26, 28); for whose complete identification we may as well wait patiently a little longer until more of the grants of the Chôḷas have been published.

2. Vira Chôḷa, the grantor, was apparently his Yuva-rāja. In what blood-relationship he stood to his sovereign does not here appear; but, from other information about the Chôḷa princes, I think we may safely regard him as his son.

3. Vira Chôḷa had at this time a definite portion of the Chôḷa kingdom under his separate government; as appears from the words *mad-dala* in v. 27; and his district or province lay on some portion of the banks of the Kāveri, as is shown in v. 29. The expression "little river" of v. 29, if *svaipa* is the proper correction of the *scripta* of the plate, is insufficient for any identification of the confluence referred to in the description of the village. There is a tributary of the Kāveri called the "Chinnar," which is the Tamil equivalent of "Svapasaadi," as may be seen in Maps 60 and 61 of the Great Trig. Survey, which rises in the hills to the south of Anai-kāḷ and Hosūr; but much weight cannot be put upon that circumstance. The plates were found at Nāma-kāḷ, in the Salem district; but even this circumstance affords but an uncertain clue to the identification of the *agrahāra*. The expression *chaturvedi-maṅgalam* is a mere title which was borne in common by several other known Brāhman settlements; and there are other instances, similar to the present one, of the names of the reigning kings, and other public functionaries, being given to new foundations of "chaturvedi-maṅgalams." But though the plate affords no certain clue to the identification of Vira Chôḷa's *desa*, considering that the immediate neighbourhood of the capital was probably under the direct government of the sovereign, it sends us to look for the province of the subordinate king somewhere

¹ Chaturāṁsa, a name of Brāhmā.

² A name of Brāhmā.

³ A name of Sūrya.

⁴ A name of Sūrya.

⁵ *Prasava*.

⁶ A name of Vishnu.

⁷ A name of Indra.

higher up the course of the Kāveri than the district of Tanjor. This brings us into the Salem and Kōimbatūr districts, which formed portions of the old Kōṅga kingdom down to the time of its conquest by the Chōla king Āditya Varmā, some time (as it appears at present) about A.D. 894. Āditya Varmā's son was named Vīra Chōla amongst other names; and it is probable enough that he may have been placed in the government of his father's conquest during his father's life-time. If this be so, the identification of the Vīra Chōla of this grant, and of his "deśa," as well as of his father Parakosari Varmā, may so far be regarded as complete; subject, however, to the remarks which are presently to follow.

4. From the expression "lord of kings," and "ruling the whole earth," in vv. 24, 28, it may possibly be inferred, even after making due allowance for the laudatory exaggeration of some of those grants, that this Vīra Chōla had made conquests in the neighbouring kingdoms; and if this be so, it will add some amount of confirmation to the above identification of the prince.

5. The savour of Hinduism and Brāhmanism runs through the grant; but the religious creed of these two Chōla kings is not further to be ascertained from this document. The influence of Nīla upon Vīra Chōla, which seems to be mentioned with a special object, may possibly point to some innovation upon the former religious ideas of the prince.

The question now arises whether the materials already published respecting the kings of the Chōla dynasty afford sufficient data for the certain identification of the Vīra Chōla of this grant, and to fix the date of his reign? And the answer must be for the present,—Not quite yet. The name, or rather the title, of Vīra Chōla, with or without other combinations, has been borne by several of the Chōla princes; and the dates connected with these princes in the various scattered notices of them, are widely different and conflicting. My impression is that the above identification will not be disturbed: but I subjoin the following list of names in which the title 'Vīra Chōla'

appears, arranged in alphabetical order, together with the different dates which have been assigned to them*:

1. Vīra Chōla, who has been variously placed in K. Y. 1443, which may perhaps be a clerical error for 88. 1443; in the 1st century A.D.; in 88. 407; in 88. 899; in the end of the 9th century A.D.; from A.D. 1044 to 1114; and twenty-five generations before Uttama Chōla, the grandfather of Karikāla Chōla; while another authority makes a Vīra Chōla the great grandson of this or another Karikāla Chōla.

2. Vīra Chōla Dēva, who is placed in 88. 1001; in 88. 1044; and whose viceroyalty of the Veṅṅi country is made to extend from A.D. 1079 to 1125.

3. Vīra Chōla Mahārāja, who is placed in A.D. 1279.

4. Vīra Chōla Nārāyaṇa; and

5. Vīra Chōla Nārāyaṇa Rāja, who is apparently that Kāḷottuṅga Chōla, the father of Adanḍa, in whose reign the Chōlas conquered the Tondaimandalam from the Pallavas; which conquest has been variously placed in 9000 B.C.; some time previous to the Christian era; shortly before that era; in the 6th century A.D.; in the 8th century; and in the 9th, about A.D. 886; some time between A.D. 700 and 1000; in various years of the 12th century, ranging between A.D. 1118 and 1171; in A.D. 1200; and in A.D. 1233.

6. Vīra Chōla Rāja, who has been placed in A.D. 978.

7. Vīra Dēva Chōla, or

8. Vīra Dēva Chōla Kulottuṅga Chōla, who is placed in the 12th century A.D.—1128 to about 1169.

9. Vīra Mārtanda Chōla, who seems to be the same as either No. 2 or No. 12.

10. Vīra Nārāyaṇa, the same as No. 4, 5.

11. Vīra Pāṇḍya (Tam.), or Pāṇḍya (Sansk.) Chōla, who is said to be a contemporary of Rāmānujācārya, and placed about Fasly 400, and in 88. 939; while Rāmānuja's dates also differ considerably.

12. Vīra Rājendra Chōla, to whom

* I have materials for the identification of these and a large number of other Chōla names and epochs, which I hope to submit in a future paper. The subjoined list

may be regarded as a specimen of the great confusion in which the chronology of the Chōlas is at present involved.

written sometimes 'Yātāgiri', and sometimes 'Yātāgiri.' The persons who own this surname take it from a town on the G. I. P. Railway in the Nicobar's Dominions, in lat. 16° 46' N. and long. 77° 13' E., and about eighty miles to the south by east from the modern Kalyāṇa, which is the site of the ancient chief capital of the same name of Vikramāditya VI. The name of

this town is written 'Yedageery' in the Trigonometrical Survey Map, and 'Yedagiri' (with an optional form of 'Edageery' in the *Index*) in Keith Johnston's *Map of India*. This Yedageery, Yedagiri, or Edageery, of the maps is undoubtedly the Yātāgiri of the inscriptions, which was one of the minor capitals of Vikramāditya VI.

MISCELLANEA.

FOLKLORE PARALLELS.

I am sorry to say that both Mr. Grierson and myself have been anticipated in our Folklore Parallels by Dr. Reinhold Köhler in an article in *Oriental und Occident*, vol. II, p. 111E. Of course he does not mention the parallel in Laura von Gonsendach's *Siedlische Märchen*, published in 1876, nor in his notes upon those tales does he mention the Indian tale. There are a great many interesting parallels of the kind in this little known periodical. I proceed to quote one which I am able to supplement from the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*. On page 145 of vol. I. Dr. Felix Liebrecht mentions a story in the *Arabian Nights* translated from the Chinese by Stanislas Julien, Paris, 1859, of a man who lost a vessel of silver, and made a mark in the water at the place where he lost it. He then remarks that he believes he has read this story in the 'Aesop' of Herodotus. On page 344 of vol. II, he gives an amusing parallel from England:—"A Yarmouth miller hired an Irishman to assist in loading his ship with mals. Just as the vessel was about to set sail the Irishman called out from the quay:—'Captain! I lost your shovel overboard, but I cut a big notch on the rail-fence round stern, right on the spot where it went down; so you will find it when you come back.'" He compares also Hagen's *Narrenschiff*, p. 463.

The following is the form of this story in the Xth book of the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*:—

"A certain foolish person, while travelling by sea, let a silver vessel fall from his hand into the water. The fool took notice of the spot, observing the eddies and other signs in the water, and said to himself—I will bring it up from the bottom when I return. He reached the other side of the sea, and as he was returning he saw the eddies and other signs, and thinking he recognised the spot, he plunged in to recover his silver vessel. When the others asked him what his object was, he told them, and got well laughed at and abused for his pains."

One of the amusing stories of fools related in the Xth Book of the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* is (curious to say) found in one of Molière's plays. This is the Sanskrit form of the story:—

"A certain fool was engaged in relating his father's good qualities to the midst of his friends. And describing his superior excellence he said—'My father has followed a strict vow of chastity from his youth, there is no man who can be compared with him.' When his friends heard this they said—'How did you come into the world?' He answered—'Oh! I am a wind-born son of his,' whereupon the matchless fool was well laughed at by the people." Now compare Sganarelle in *Le Mariage Forcé*:—"La raison. C'est que je ne me sens pas propre pour le mariage et que je vous fustier; mais père et tous ceux de ma race qui ne se sentent jamais vœux mariés."

The following anecdote related in the Xth Book of the *K. S. S.* has also its counterpart in Europe. A certain merchant said to his foolish servant—"Take care of the door of my shop, I am going home for a moment." After the merchant had said this, he went away, and the servant took the shop door on his shoulder, and went off to see an actor perform. And as he was returning his master met him, and gave him a scolding. And he answered:—"I have taken care of this door as you told me." Compare with this the 37th story in Laura von Gonsendach's *Siedlische Märchen*, "Glossa's mother wanted to go to the mass, and she said to him:—Glossa, if you wish to go out, draw the door to after you *lache die Thür hinter dir zu!*" Instead of shutting the door Glossa took it off its hinges, and carried it to his mother in the church."

An incident in the 28th story of the *Siedlische Märchen* may be paralleled from Indian literature. Istaghina said:—"Fire be lighted," and immediately a clear fire burned upon the hearth. Then she said—"Come along, pan"—and a golden pan came and placed itself upon the fire:—"come along oil;" and the oil came and poured itself into the pan. In the episode of Nala and Damayanti Nala is detected by his possessing similar powers. In the same episode the gods are discovered by their not winking. I do not know whether there are many parallels to this in Greek literature, but I lately came across one in the *Æthiopica* of

Heliokorus which contains other Indian ideas. In the 13th chapter of the 11th book Kalaniris speaking of the gods, makes the following remark: *Ταῖς μὲν δὲ θεῶσιν καὶ διακρίσας, τῶν δὲ σοφῶν γούροις οὐκ ἔνδραρίσας, ἀλλὰ τῶν τ' ἀφθαλμῶν τοῦ γινώσκοντος ἀπὸ τοῦ βλέποντος καὶ τοῦ βλέποντος ὄντων' ἀνέμωσεν, κ. τ. λ.* CHARLES H. TAUSER.

JAMES WALES THE PAINTER.

In the Council Chamber at Bombay there are three large pictures, the first of Bājī Rāo, the second of the Nāth Pajwāra, and the last of Mādhyāji Sindia.¹ All three were painted by Mr. James Wales, an artist who arrived in India in 1791, accompanied apparently by his family, as his eldest daughter was afterwards married to Sir Charles Malet, the Resident at Poona, and became the mother of Sir Alexander Malet, so well known in diplomatic circles, and who still survives. The natural taste of the artist seems to have been in the direction of ancient architecture and sculpture. He was a Scotchman, hailing from Peterhead, on the coast of Aberdeen, and was educated at the Marischal College in the local capital. He exhibited pictures at the Academy every year, but in this country he devoted much time to the cave temples and other carvings, working in collaboration with Thomas Daniell at the Hindu excavations. He worked also at Elephanta, making drawings of the sculptures there, and it was in pursuit of these researches that he met his death. The jungle grows thick in that part of the Island of Salsette where the interesting Buddhist works are found, and through the actual hill itself in which occur the caves at Kanheri is nearly bare, it has to be approached through tangles of undergrowth. Mr. Wales is reported to have died at Salsette, whether he had gone to make drawings of the excavations, we may presume he died at Thānā, which is some five miles from Kanheri, and unhealthy exposure was probably the cause of this sad and sudden termination of his labours. If he effected anything at Kanheri, it does not seem to have been preserved,² as the examination of the remains there is always associated with other names. We find no notice in the Indian Museum of any monument to this worthy man.—*The Pioneer.*

¹ Mr. Daniell's fine picture of the Pañā Durtar is unrivalled perhaps in oriental grouping, character, and costume. . . . It was painted for Sir Charles Malet from sketches by the late Mr. Wales, and the artist has shown the time when Sir Charles, then our ambassador at the Court of Poñā, attended by his suite, delivered to his Highness the Peshwa, in full Durtar, the treaty of alliance, ratified by his Majesty, between Great Britain and his Highness, made, preparatory to the war between the triple-allied powers and Tipu in 1796.—This picture was well engraved, and published by Gibbs in Holborn. Moore's *Hindu Pantheon* (1819), p. 174.

² A collection of sketches in water colours, doubtless the

METRICAL VERSIONS FROM THE MAHABHARATA.

BY JOHN MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., &c.

(Continued from p. 29.)

FATE OF THOSE WHO HAVE NO BELIEF IN VIRTUE: BENEFITS OF FAITH.

Mahabharata, ii. 1374ff.

The fearful doom of all is sure
Who laugh at men whose lives are pure;
Who defy'st a binding force decay,
And scout all virtue as a lie.
The man who loves to live in sin
Is like a huge inflated skin;
With wisdom's show himself he cheats,
For vain are all his proud conceits.
No sin can want of faith exceed,
While men by faith from sin are freed.³
The faithful man throws off his sin;
As snakes cast off their worn-out skin.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

I. WOOLLY HAIR, AND ELONGATED EAR-LOBES OF BUDDHA.—Where can I find any explanation of the Negro-like hair, short crisp curls, with which Buddha is generally represented in his statues? Recently at Kōnsū and Bāshānār (Pāthgarh district) I have seen several statues of Buddha with this conventional treatment of the hair.

In these, and in other statues also, the lobes of the ear are greatly elongated (see also Moore's *Hindu Pantheon*). Has this ever been accounted for? If so, where?

As Manipur, an old Zamindar, an Ahir, called upon me. The lobes of both his ears were elongated in the manner shown in the representations of Buddha, and hung down detached from the cheek, to a depth of about 2 inches. This formation did not appear to have been caused artificially, and the ears showed no marks of earrings, which, if heavy, would of course prolong the lobe of the ear.—H. RIVETT-CARNAC.

With regard to the query as to the woolly hair and elongated ear-lobes of Buddha, Mr. W. Simpson, the artist to the *Illustrated London News*, recently given a lecture at the Society of Arts in London on Afghanistan and its antiquities. He mentioned the immense number of Buddhist

work of Mr. Wales, is now in possession of J. Ferguson, Esq., D.C.L., of London. It contains sketches of the large stupa at Borwall, covered with carvings of Buddhas and acutes in combat, &c., of the curious little Buddhist Chaitya cave at Kōndivā, in Salsette, from which came the inscription was copied by him, and with others from Khara, &c., given by him to Sir Charles Ware Malet, who sent them to Bengal for transcription by Capt. Wilford, and publication in the *Asiatic Researches* (vol. V., pp. 185-187).—Ed.

³ This, in sound, is very like the Aristoclan doctrine of justification. The object of faith, however, in each case is different.

mounds and remains existing there, and Col. Yule, who was present, expressed his belief that ancient India extended to Kábul, and that the Greeks when in those regions considered themselves in India. Amongst the antiquities from Afghanistan exhibited by Mr. Simpson, there was a small head of white stone, beautifully carved, the features purely and exquisitely regular and classical, but the ear-lobes as thick elongated as in any image of Buddha, and the head covered with close crisp curls, with the border so sharply defined as strongly to suggest the sort of cap or wig imitating curled hair spoken of at page 240 vol. V. of the *Indian Antiquary*. There were the long pierced ear-lobes and the close curly hair, but the beautiful youthful countenance had no suggestion of Buddha, and the appearance of the hair strongly suggested an artificial covering.

London, December 1879.

M. J. W.

Legend says that Gautama Buddha on leaving his home cut off his luxuriant locks; and as no images of him were made till long after his decease, the characteristics of the *Buddha sthāviras* of the day would be the only guide that the fabricators of the first images would have to model them by. Then, though *vyāda* or ornamental figures in caves and temples were probably largely in vogue before this, there were no examples among them with short cut hair; this would puzzle the first artists. They would probably cut lines crossing each other all over the

scalp and very close together; but the result would not be so satisfactory as the work would be laborious. By and bye we may suppose the width between the lines was increased, and the small knobs left between being somewhat rounded, the effect would be improved, and it would soon be generally adopted. When the Mahāyāna sect, in the sixth century, were gaining influence by their gorgeous ritual, this mode of representing the hair of Buddha was universal. It would be curious to compare any images that remain of earlier date or belonging to the Hīnayāna or puritan sect. This short hair is one of the traditional points of beauty in Buddha's person.

As to the ear lobes, a mistake is not unfrequently made here. A careful examination of many images convinces me that what appears to be a very long pendant lobe is not always really so, but whilst the lobe was largely prolonged, as it is by the modern Kāphates, an elongated link was inserted in the lower extremity of it; this link is often supposed to be part of the elongated lobe.

But it must not be forgotten that it is part of the physiognomical lore of the Hindus, that a man with short ear-lobes is deficient in religiousness, and that long ones are the sure mark of a good and great man: hence Buddha's ears must have had unusually long pendant lobes.

The Jaina Tirthankaras are also represented with the same short hair and elongated ear lobes, as Buddha.

Adanta Cress, 17th January 1880. Korum.

BOOK NOTICES.

AGENDACHEN LERNEN: DIE CULTUR DER VEDISCHEN ARIER NAHE DEN NACHSTEN DARSTELLT VON HEINRICH ZIMMER: eine vom vierten internationalen Orientalischen Congress in Florenz gelehrte preischrift. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1879.

The Prize gained by the author of this essay was one liberally offered by the Italian Government, which thus afforded a fresh stimulus to the efforts of the European scholars who are at present directing their attention to the study of Indian antiquity.

I shall first of all enumerate the contents of the work.

It is divided into three books. The first describes the land, its climate and formation, its products, mineral, vegetable, and animal, its inhabitants, Daayus and Aryas, and their respective tribes. The second book treats of the external circumstances of the Vedic people, their government and law, their cattle-rearing and agricultural occupations, trades, commerce, &c., their

clothing and finery, food and drink, amusements and wars. The third book gives an account of their internal relations, domestic life, morals, arts and sciences, writing and arithmetic, astronomy and cosmology, division of time, art of healing, death and burial, life after death.

In his preface (pp. v. ff.) the author remarks that the materials which we possess for sketching the state of civilisation among the different races allied to us in speech, at the period when they emerged from the darkness of primeval antiquity, are very different in the case of each branch.

As regards the forefathers of the Germans, there is the *Germania* of Tacitus, in which scarcely any side of life is left undescribed. This, combined with their own language and literature, especially those of the north, furnishes a picture of their prehistorical life, such as is obtained in the case of no other kindred European race.

The sources of our knowledge of the earliest

¹ (Life in Ancient India; the Civilization of the Vedic Aryans described according to the *Saṁhitā*; a prize

essay crowned by the fourth International Congress of Orientalists in Florence. Berlin: Weidmann, 1879.)

history of the Indians, Dr. Zimmer proceeds, are of an essentially different character. None of the Phœnicians, who in Himn's and Solomon's time, and no doubt earlier, sailed to Ophir, and brought back thence Indian names, along with Indian productions, give us any account of the people with whom they traded. Nor have the Indians any Homer belonging to the period preceding their immigration into Hindustan proper; our knowledge of this people's life is obtained solely by collecting the scattered allusions which are found in their surviving lyrical poetry of that period.

Yet the literature of no Indo-Germanic race has risen from a remote antiquity such a mass of hymns as are found in the four Vedic *Saṁhitā* of the Indians. These Vedic lyrics are fortunately of a very realistic character.

Their prayers, hymns of praise or thanksgiving, supply us with many means of insight into their mundane relations and the objects of their desires. They lay bare their virtues and vices before the all-seeing gods. The *Rik* and *Atharva Saṁhitā*, which were not compiled with purely inaugural views, contain also a number of hymns and fragments which introduce us into the innermost life of the people. The notices which we thus obtain are the more valuable as coming from contemporaries who were taking a part in the affairs to which they refer, and who, besides, do not all belong to one period, but place before us the developments of their people's life during several centuries. These *Rikis*, it is true, do not answer all our questions; regarding many keen enquiries they maintain an obstinate silence. Setting aside such points as these (of which the writer gives some examples), from what the *Rikis* communicate, we can draw a picture of the life of that lively youthful people,—strong in faith in the gods,—which is clearer and more exact than Tacitus gives of the Germans. To supply such a picture is the author's design.

I shall proceed to state some of the contents of chapters iv., v. and vi., pp. 104ff. in which Dr. Zimmer treats of the Indian races, and traces the gradual formation of the caste system which afterwards prevailed in Hindustan.

The oldest settlements of the Āryas in historical times were in East Kábulistán, and along the banks of the upper Indus. The different tribes advanced thence along the valley of the Indus southwards and eastwards into the land of the Seven Rivers, drove the aborigines out of their flourishing possessions, which they themselves then occupied. The expelled aborigines retired northward to the Himālayas, or southward to the Vindhya mountains, while many of their men and women remained as the slaves of the in-

vaders (p. 107). The distinction between the two races, Āryas and Dasyus or Dāas (p. 109), was clearly marked by their difference of complexion (*varṇa*), the Dasyus being black and the Āryas white, a difference which must have been more striking in the early days of the immigration, before the colour of the Āryas had been much affected by the climate (p. 113). The two races also differed in speech (p. 114), but the greatest difference was in their religion (p. 115). The Dasyus did not worship the gods of the Āryas. Of their own religion little appears. But the author inclines to agree with Prof. Ludwig that the epithet *śāśvata* applied to the enemies of the Āryas means *phallus* or *flaga*-worshippers (p. 116). The Dasyus are represented as being rich in cattle which the Āryas naturally coveted. Until the latter had gained the upper hand, they lived in a state of hostility with the Dasyus. This condition of things is discernible in the contents of the hymns. Eventually large Āryan tribes advanced eastward and conquer for good Hindustān between the Himālayas and Vindhya. The large portions of the Dasyu population which did not retire to the hills, embraced the faith of the Āryas, and became to some extent assimilated to their conquerors. The social condition of the Āryas also underwent important changes: the caste system became more and more developed; the subjected aborigines obtained a recognised position in the State, by becoming a fourth caste. It is not to be doubted that in the long period before this took place, Āryan had become largely intermixed with aboriginal blood. Dasyu virgins and women came as slaves into the houses of the Āryas; some of them may have become mistresses of the household. The word Dasyu now disappears in our ethnological sense, (though the name continues to be applied to the aborigines) and is succeeded by the appellation Śūdra. The latter word is unknown to the early Vedic era; it only appears along with Brāhmaṇa, Rājanya, and Vaiśya in *R. V.* x. 90, 12, a hymn which can only date from the period when the Indian people had become divided into classes according to the Brāhmanical system (pp. 116, 117). Just alluding to what Dr. Zimmer tells us in pp. 118ff. of the different tribes of the Dasyus and of the Āryas, the *Paucā-janā*, *Paucā-śiśū* (*śiśū*), appellations under which he understands the Yadus, Anus, Drōhyas, Turvaśas and Pūras to be meant, and what he says of the other tribes mentioned in the *Rigveda*, the Tritas, Bhāratas, &c. I come to the fuller account which he gives in his 6th chapter of the constitution of Āryan society, and the formation of the caste system.

Each Āryan state was ruled by a king (p. 162) whose office was often, though not always, heredi-

tary, but sometimes elective, though whether he could only be chosen out of a particular family does not appear. Constant obedience to him is enjoined (p. 166), and the offering of gifts, not the payment of tribute. In nearly every tribe we find families of bards, who were attached to the king's court, and celebrated his exploits and those of his people; like Vasishtha's family among the Tritsus and that of Visvâmitra among the Bharatas. They had to live chiefly on the king's bounty, and so sought as far as possible to render themselves indispensable. Offerings or libations, they said, were not acceptable to Indra unless accompanied by hymns of praise. But it was not every king or wealthy man who could, on occasion of important ceremonies, produce such a composition of the proper sort. A member of one of the families of bards then took his place, became his *parohita*. If the sacrifice was visibly blest, the bards knew how to turn this circumstance to account. Thus Vasishtha impresses on Sudâs (*R. V.* vii. 33. 2) that it was because he (*V.*) was *parohita*, that the Tritsus were victorious, and the Bharatas overcome; and his opponent Visvâmitra asserts (*R. V.* vii. 53. 12) that his hymn protected the Bharatas. The prince was constantly reminded how necessary it was to attach the bard to himself and to reward him liberally. To give force to these demands, the bards ascribed their calling, as well as their right to receive presents, to Indra.

The string are in the bard's eyes "gallows," and they call the liberal, "pious, men who fulfil their duty." (p. 168.) The presents which the kings made to them were often princely (p. 170), especially after victory over a dangerous foe. If these gifts are sometimes exaggerated with a purpose (that of influencing other patrons) in the portions of the hymns celebrating liberality, still they were often considerable. The subjects of the bards' encomiums were not only kings, but also wealthy men who employed them.

Passing over the contents of pp. 171-185 (from which various details of the civil and social life of the Âryas might be quoted), he comes to the question, proposed as follows, p. 186: Did the caste system exist in the Vedic age? To answer this precisely, that age must be itself defined. If we understand it of the time when all the hymns and sacrificial formulas which we find in the Vedic *Samhitâs* were in existence, the question must be answered in the affirmative. But if we mean by it the period when the Âryas dwelt principally in East Kâbulistân, and in the land of the seven rivers, and single tribes only had advanced towards the Jumna and the Ganges, in short the period at the close of which king Sudâs and his *Parohita* Vasishtha stand as the latest important

figures,—then the existence of castes must be unconditionally denied. After other remarks, Dr. Zimmer goes on (in p. 189) to say: If the Vedic people while still living on this [the western no doubt is meant] side of the later Sarasvatî, in the land of the seven rivers, was already in possession of the Brâhmanical order, the caste system and a special priestly class, how does it happen that the Âryan tribes, which had continued to occupy these settlements, were at the time of the rise of the Indian epic poetry regarded as half barbarians by the Brâhmanized dwellers in Madhyadeśa? And the [*Tâdya*, or] *Pancharâtra* *Brahmaṇa*, which Weber (*Hist. of Ind. Lit.* p. 66ff. of Engl. transl.) would regard as the oldest of these works, when describing the march of these tribes to the Sarasvatî, says of them that "they do not observe the Brâhmanical rules; not being Brâhmanically consecrated, they speak the language of the consecrated" (17, l. 14). Did these tribes remain true to the institutions of their ancestors, or had they abandoned the ancient traditional order of their society? The answer will not seem doubtful to any one to whom it is not, as it is to the Indian theologians, an article of faith, imbibed with their mothers' milk, that the social divisions prevailing in later times were primeval, that the divinely favoured Rishis of old worshipped the gods exactly as their successors did.

Let us therefore proceed on the established fact that the Vedic people were unacquainted with the divisions of society into castes during that period of their development at the close of which King Sudâs and his *Parohita* Vasishtha appear as the last important figures.

These two men and the Tritsus whom they led succeeded, in the famous battle of the ten kings, on the banks of the Parashni, in stopping the advance of the united tribes of the North-western Panjâb towards the south-east. But the Tritsus must at last have succumbed to a renewed invasion, as we hear no more of them, or of any descendants of the renowned Divodâs and Sudâs, whilst some of the tribes which they had overcome in that battle, as the Pârâs, afterwards attained to great power. The period which follows is one of the darkest in Indian history. When we reach a period of more light, we encounter a people so accustomed to altered conditions of life, institutions and religious ideas, as to have begun to lose the power of understanding the state of things described in the hymns of the ancient Rishis, and to look upon their brethren of the same race who had remained in their old abodes, and adhered to their ancient institutions, as semi-barbarous (p. 191f.).

Let us endeavour to make clear to ourselves

more in detail, the modifications gradually undergone by the Aryan Indians. The tribes in the north-west of the Panjâb begin to advance further into Hindustân. To effect this, and overcome the foes by whom they are opposed, they have to combine into larger masses. One of the kings, the most distinguished and powerful, is entrusted with the chief command, and thus gains yet more in consideration. The opposing tribes are overcome, and forced to aid in the expedition; and no doubt their chiefs lose their independence. Through severe conflicts with the aboriginal Sûdras, the extensive country between the Himalaya and Vindhya mountains is gained; large tracts on the banks of the Jamna and Ganges are occupied. Those of the aborigines who do not flee to the hills, embrace the religion of their conquerors, and remain in their villages as tolerated, though often oppressed, members of the State. The victors are scattered over the conquered territory, and so their fighting men cannot be readily collected, as they could be in the small principalities in the Panjâb. Plundering hordes of the dispossessed Sûdras, who had retired to a distance, revolts of the only apparently subjected population, attacks of Aryan tribes, compel the Sâma rāj (sovereign prince) to have always a band of warriors around him. The small tribal chiefs used to have a large number of followers. Now, under this new order of things, they were deprived of their power, either forcibly, or gradually through the importance of a single ruler, which constantly increased in troublous times, and sank with their numerous families and dependants into the position of a martial nobility surrounding the sovereign prince.

The sovereign was thus enabled in the small towns which were constantly occurring, to dispense with the help of the people, the Vîd. The martial nobility began more and more to regard arms as their occupation, to devote themselves exclusively to a military life, and to transmit it as an inheritance to their descendants. The rest of the people, devoted entirely to agriculture, the rearing of cattle, and peaceful traffic, became less skilled in the use of arms, while the altered climatic conditions contributed more and more to relax their energies. In this way two classes arise which become always more separated (p. 193f).

But it was not to be the lot of the warrior class and of the ruler, to reap the entire harvest: the best part of it was taken from them by others.

We have seen that the families of the herds lived, held in high honour, at the courts of the petty tribal princes, whose exploits they celebrated. But their action in another direction was

yet more important, and influenced profoundly the entire national development. With their poetical endowments they lived in the service of religion; they laid before the gods the desires of the princes and of wealthy men; they lauded in well composed hymns the might and glory of the deities, and thanked them for the blessings which they had bestowed. In return for this service, they obtained rich gifts. They thus acquired the reputation of being more highly qualified for the worship of the gods, for the celebration of sacrifice; they began to boast of being the objects of the special favour of the gods. Towards the end of the Vedic period properly so called, it had already become the custom for the prince, no longer himself to offer the sacrifices which were necessary for the State and the tribe, but to cause them to be celebrated by a bard so gifted. The person entrusted with this function was called *parohita* (*parator* in R. V. vi. 31. 6). We have here, as Both was the first to recognize (on the *Let. and Hist. of the Veds*, p. 117),—to speak for the origin and oldest form of the Indian priesthood (p. 194f).

The employment of a Parohita was, indeed, as this period customary, but not yet a duty binding upon the prince. But the priestly herdsought to impress upon the king the necessity for such a course. The functions of the Parohita, if one was appointed, were not however confined to one of those gifted bards. Kings' sons could fulfil them, as in the case of Devâpi (Yâska, *Nirukta*, ii. 10, and R. V. s. 98). Nor was the office as yet hereditary in any family.

But all the objects at which the priestly herds were aiming towards the close of the Vedic period, were fully and amply attained by them in the succeeding period of conflict, fermentation and confusion. If these priestly leaders had hitherto been honoured and rewarded by the tribal princes as trusted counsellors and helpers in religious matters, their estimation among the people in virtue of their actual or avowed higher qualifications was not less, especially if they were the heads of numerous families. In the struggles of the petty princes for supremacy, the leaning of such and such a bard towards one or the other side was, consequently, often decisive of the issue. Modesty was never a characteristic of the old Rishis: much less can these their descendants have failed to profit by the opportunity, when the king owed his power to their intervention.

The personal relations of individuals to the gods declined the more, the oftener these herds intervened as mediators; the forms of worship became more manifold, the number of the ceremonials increased, the results of the sacrifices were made to depend more upon their right celebration than

on the intension of the sacrificer. The families of the bards carefully preserved the ancient hymns of their forefathers which had often visibly secured the favour of the gods, the estimation of the hymns was in every way sought to be enhanced. Who else was it but these priestly families, with their preponderance of culture, and their intellectual and moral influence which was thus strengthened, that established on a new basis the worship in the conquered districts of Hindustân? And if they sought to make the civil institutions also entirely dependent on themselves, this is easily understood from the position which they had already occupied. If, now, these powerful associations, formed of the priestly bards of the petty tribal princes and their families, which were united by community of interests and identity of education, whose right of decision in divine things was scarcely disputed, which claimed, and in many points possessed, the same voice in civil matters also,—if these associations made their order dependent on birth, then a close priestly caste had been formed, and stood over against the other classes in the State.

The rulers, and the martial nobility, which had grown into a distinguished order, did not, however, bow submissively to the claims of the priestly community which became ever more unbounded. It was only after hard internal struggles, after being subjected to oppression and violence in different ways, that the priests succeeded in carrying through their demands, and in moulding the religious and civil life of the Indian people in accordance with their aims, and in a way conducive to their own advantage (pp. 194—197).

Wonderful was the portentiousness with which the priestly class maintained its claims, and always brought them forward anew. They gradually succeeded in conquering the resistance of the kings and nobles, and in obtaining the recognition of their four prerogatives,—sovereignty (archy), gifts (dāna), immunity from oppression (ajya-gatā), and the inviolability of their persons (avadhyatā). The further transformation of social and religious life according to their ideals now advanced irresistibly. In order to rear a further barrier between the different branches of the Aryan people it was only necessary further to make the order of warriors,—which was mainly composed of royal and noble families, and which had acquired a privileged position above the mass of the people, the cultivators and tradesmen,—dependent upon birth; and the common free men appertaining to the Vîś, then formed the third caste, that of the Vaiśyas. As an authorized

member of the State, was added the subjected indigenous population, which had become somewhat assimilated to the Aryas in religion and customs: it formed the fourth caste, that of the Śūdras.

The reader will, I think, have perused with interest the extracts from Dr. Zimmer's book which I have placed before him, and which appear to me to treat with ability a most important chapter in Indian history, the rise and growth of the caste-system, so far as its genesis can be conjecturally traced.

Edinburgh, September, 1879.

J. MUIR.

INDIAN FAIRY TALES, collected and translated by MISS STOKES. Calcutta, 1879.*

No better account can be given of Miss Stokes's collection of Indian Fairy Tales, than that which she herself gives in the preface:—

"The first twenty-five stories in this book were told me at Calcutta and Simla by two Aiyas, Dukul and Mōniyā, and by Karim, a Khitmaigar. The last five were told me by Mōniyā. At first the servants would only tell their stories to me, because I was a child, and would not laugh at them, but afterward the Aiyas lost their shyness, and told almost all their stories over again to me, when they were passing through the press. Karim would never tell his to her or before her. The stories were all told in Hindustāni, which is the only language that these servants know."

We have thus the most unmistakable evidence that all these tales form part of the popular poetry that still lives among the people of India, and there is no reason to suspect that they have in any way been modified by European influences, except so far as the tellers must necessarily have modified them in order to adapt them to the understanding and morals of an English child. One obvious modification is pointed out and accounted for in the notes. "In these stories the word translated God is Khudā. Excepting in 'How King Barai became a Fakir' (p. 85) and in 'Rājā Harichand's Punishment' (p. 224) in which Mahādeo plays a part, the tellers of these tales would never specify by name the god they spoke of. He was always Khudā, 'the great Khudā who lives up in the sky.' In this they differed from the narrator of the 'Old Deewan Dās' stories, who almost always gives her goddesses their Hindu names, probably because from being a Christian she had no religious scruples to prevent her from so doing."

The stories have been rendered into English, which though simple is clear and forcible, and some of them would, we imagine, be favourites in an English nursery, as well as with children of a

* One hundred copies privately printed.

larger growth. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the interest they will excite in all students of folklore. Their value in this respect is much increased by the notes by the collector's mother, which contain illustrations from the Folklore of every country in the world, and are evidently the results of diligent and observant study. It would be difficult to find in any book so much erudition packed into so small a compass. We might instance as an example the elaborate note on the passage in the 1st story, "Her beauty lights up a dark room" (p. 207).

As a specimen of the stories we will choose the following (p. 32) which happens to be one of the shortest:—

The Bulbul and the Cotton Tree.—There was once a bulbul, and one day as he was flying about, he saw a tree on which was a little fruit. The bulbul was much pleased and said, "I will sit here till this fruit is ripe, and then I will eat it." So he deserted his nest and his wife, and sat there for twelve years without eating anything, and everyday he said, "To-morrow I will eat this fruit." During those twelve years a great many birds tried to sit on the tree, and wished to build their nests in it, but whenever they came, the bulbul sent them away, saying, "This fruit is not good. Don't come here." One day a cuckoo came, and said, "Why do you send us away? Why should we not come and sit here too? All the trees here are not yours!" "Never mind," said the bulbul, "I am going to sit here, and when this fruit is ripe, I shall eat it." Now the cuckoo knew that this tree was the cotton-tree, but the bulbul did not. First comes the bud, which the bulbul thought a fruit, then the flower, and the flower becomes a big pod, and the pod bursts, and all the cotton flies away. The bulbul was delighted when he saw the beautiful red flower, which he still thought a fruit, and said, "When it is ripe, it will be a delicious fruit." The flower became a pod, and the pod burst. "What is all this that is flying about?" said the bulbul. "The fruit must be ripe now," so he looked into the pod, and it was empty; all the cotton had fallen out. Then the cuckoo came, and said to the angry bulbul:—"You see if you had allowed us to come and sit on the tree, you would have had something good to eat; but as you were selfish, and would not let any one share with you, God is angry, and has punished you by giving you a hollow fruit."

Then the cuckoo called all the other birds, and they came and mocked the bulbul. "Ah! you see God has punished you for your selfishness," they said. The bulbul got very angry, and all the birds went away. After they had gone, the bulbul said to the tree: "You are a bad tree, you are of use to no one, you give food to no one." The tree

said, "You are mistaken, God made me what I am. My flower is given to sheep to eat. My cotton makes pillows and mattresses for man." Since that day no bulbul goes near a cotton tree.

We proceed to notice one or two parallels which engaged themselves on a cursory perusal of the book.

The way in which Phūlmātī Rāni is supplanted in the 1st story reminds us of Die Gänsemagd, No. 89 in Grimm's *Kinder und Hausmärchen*, also of the story of Hussavūtī in the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, Lamtaka xii. Taranga 71. For the manner in which Phūlmātī is recovered at the end of the story, compare the story of Hasan of El-Basrah, Lane's *Arabic Nights*, vol. III. p. 380.

A modern Indian story very nearly resembling the 1st story is quoted by Bouffoy, *Panchatantra*, vol. I. p. 261, from the XIth vol. of the *Asiatic Journal*. Here the monkey skin is worn by a lady.

In the XIth story Hīrālāl Bānā addresses the Rākshasa as "uncle." In the notes a tale is quoted from the *Indian Antiquary*, in which two brothers address a tiger by the same propitiatory title; compare the 7th *Vakya* of the VIth book of the *Panchatantra* (Dr. Bühler's edition), where the mischievous donkey calls the jackal "nephew," and is in turn addressed by him as "uncle."

Seneker's betrayal of the Rākshasa finds a parallel in the betrayal of Angāraka by his daughter Angāvatī in the 11th Taranga of the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*.

In the XIIth story the episode of the extraction of the thorn in the tiger's foot reminds us of the story of Androcles in Aulus Gellius, v. 14. Compare also *Gesta Romanorum* CIV. The gratitude of the animals calls to mind the story of Bodhisattva in the 65th Taranga of the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, which is the same as the second story in the appendix to the 1st book in Bouffoy's translation of the *Panchatantra*, "Die dankbaren Thiere und der unanklämme Mensch." For parallels see Bouffoy's 1st vol. p. 192 and ff. A striking one is to be found in the *Gesta Romanorum*, Bohn's edition, page 212. For the incident of the man coming out of the alligator's stomach, conf. *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, Taranga 74, 4l. 192ff. See also the story of the Śaktideva in the 25th Taranga.

With the *Ucci* in the XVth story conf. the elixir in the beginning of the 39th Taranga of the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, also the *piyasa* in the 16th Sarga of the *Ramayana*.

The wonderful knowledge of Kheḍāparī Rāni in the XVIth tale may be paralleled by that of the *paterāḍ* Brāhman lady in the 56th Taranga of the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, 4l. 174ff.

The horse Kātar in the XXth story may be compared with that in the *Widow's Son*, Thorpe's *Fable-tale Stories*, p. 295.

The XXIInd story may be compared with the fable in the *Panchatantra*, previously referred to under the title of "*die dachbare Thiere und der undachbare Mensch*." The episode of the ant-king resembles an incident in Strind's *Exploits*, Thorpe's *Tale-tide Stories* p. 363.* For the tasks we may compare the story of Śringabhuja in the 20th Taranga of the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, and the numerous parallels adduced by Dr. Reinhold Köhler in *Orient and Occident*, vol. II. p. 163ff.

In this story, the Hājā's son cheats four *fakirs* out of a bed, a bowl, a stick, a rope, and a bag, which possess magic properties, by shooting four arrows in different directions, and persuading them to run and fetch them. The bed carried the owner whither-soever he wished to go, the bag gave its owner whatever he wanted in the way of food or clothes, the bowl gave him as much water as he required, and the stick and rope would, on being ordered, beat and tie up his enemies. Of course the prince escapes by means of the bed, while the *fakirs* are fetching the arrows. This recalls Grimm's story of "*Der Goldene Berg*." In his notes he gives numerous parallels, one from the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* Taranga 3; many will be found also in H. H. Wilson's *Collected Works*, vol. III. p. 168, note. We have found another in the list of the Sicilian Tales published by Laura von Gosenbach.

In the XXIVth story, that of the "Demon and the King's Son," the demon causes his daughter to be dead all day and alive all night by changing the position of two sticks, one of which is at her head and another at her feet. In the *Tā Jēp Śūdra Jāma*, of Antonius Diogenes (*Diogenes Scriptores Hecet*, p. 509), Pausias makes Deryllis and Mantias die during the day and come to life at night by splitting in their faces.

For the way in which the heroine of the XXVth story gains her information about Prince Salu, compare Thorpe's *Tale-tide Stories*, p. 390. There are an intelligent *parent* and an equally intelligent *maiden* in the 3rd story of the *Vetula Panāśivānī* (*Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, Taranga 77).

The XXVIIth story of Pānupati Rāni is the 1st of the *Vetula Panāśivānī*, the 75th Taranga of the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*.

The XXVIIIth story is compared with that of Upakōś in the *Kathāpitthā*, translated by Dr. Bühler in the *Indica Antiqua* vol. I (October 1872) p. 306. See also Mr. Damant's *Diogenes Legends*, pp. 2 and 3 of the present volume. Wilson tells us (*Collected Works*, vol. III. p. 178) that besides being found in other Oriental collections it is a story of ancient celebrity in Europe as

"Constant Du Hamel ou La Dame qui attrapa un Prêtre un Prevot et un Forestier" (Legrand d'Aussy, *Fables et Contes*, Paris: 1829, vol. IV. pp. 246—256). See also Liebrecht's translation of Dunlop's *History of Persia*, p. 246, and the translator's note. Dunlop expresses his belief that it came from India through Persia.

We think we have said enough to show the scientific importance of these stories.

In conclusion we beg to congratulate Miss Stokes on having done for the Folklore of Northern India what Miss Frere has done for that of the Dehkan.

C. H. T.

KĀVYATĪKĀSĀMUKHANA—A Collection of Poetical and Historical Pieces. Poona: 1878-79.

It is certainly a matter for congratulation, that there are at the present day numerous signs, showing that the attention of many of our educated people is being seriously directed to the preservation and development of Marāṭhī literature. It cannot be said, of course, that much has yet been actually done, still it is something to know that, at all events in many quarters, there is now none of that cold indifference with which the vernacular languages of the country used to be formerly looked upon. We may, therefore, fairly hope that, in process of time, this new feeling with respect to Marāṭhī literature may lead to very substantial and tangible benefits.

The publication, of which the name heads this notice, is, in our judgment, one of the most important and useful of the productions to which the feeling referred to has given birth. Whether in consequence of defect of management, or of some other cause, that publication has not become so widely known as it deserves to be. It commenced to be published in January 1878, and from that time till now the monthly parts have come out with pretty fair regularity. The contents are divided into three separate departments, so to say: the first is intended to contain old documents of Marāṭhī history; the second is to contain unpublished Marāṭhī poems; and the third is to contain unpublished Sanskrit poems. The original matter which the Editors are to supply will embrace information regarding the various pieces to be published, and their authors, short notes in explanation of difficult words, &c., and in the case of the historical portion, references from time to time to Grant Duff's *History of the Marāṭhās*, and other similar works. Such is the general scheme of the publication; and if it is executed with even ordinary care, it cannot fail to be of the greatest service to the interests of the literature and history of West-

* See also *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VIII. pp. 37-38, 286, and 288.

† I may here mention that there is a curious parallel to the termination of Mr. Damant's story in Sicilianische

Mährchen, 36, Die Geschichte von Sorfarina. But it is perhaps unnecessary to go so far afield when we have such a striking one in our own Shalopere.

ern India. So far as the undertaking has already progressed, we have no hesitation in saying that, upon the whole, the work has been done very judiciously. In the first department, we have already had one very interesting *Bākhar* completed. It gives a connected narrative of the careers of all the Peshvās from Bāhājī Visdevanāth down to the last Bājirāo, and has been called the "*Peshvā's Bākhar*." The other, which is now in process of publication, and which has been named "*Bāhū Sākhā's Bākhar*," relates to that most important period of Marāṭhī history, the period of the battle of Pānīpat. The principle adopted in printing the first was rather an uncritical one, as the Editors permitted themselves to make sundry alterations in the text of the *Bākhar* in order to render the narrative more perspicuous. In printing the second *Bākhar*, however, they have abandoned that principle, and we trust they will not act on it again with reference to any of the other documents they may publish. And this the rather, that, as the Editors themselves observe, these *Bākhar's*, besides supplying the raw material for history, are also of high value as specimens of the old style of Marāṭhī prose.

The Editors mention sundry other *Bākhar's* as being in their possession, and they are also on the look-out for more. We trust that their efforts in rummaging from oblivion these valuable records will prove successful. The duty of contributing to a trustworthy and complete history of the Marāṭhī power belongs especially to us in Western India. But no systematic attempt had been made in this direction till the publication of the work before us. Individual members of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have often talked about the matter at meetings of the Society, but nothing tangible has yet come out of such talk, while the Society still continues to receive from Government a sum of nearly Rs. 300 per month, which was originally intended, we believe, to be applied towards the publication of documents illustrative of Marāṭhī history. We hope that those who have the control of the affairs of the Society will look into this matter betimes.

In the second department of the publication before us, we have already had one or two small pieces by the poet Vāman and one or two by other and less known writers. The works now in process of publication are, firstly, the *Vase Pāre* of Mukteśvara, whom, the late Mr. Kṛishna Śāstri Chip-lonkar used to regard as the best among Marāṭhī Poets, and secondly the *Pāreya Mantra Bāgyavata* of Moropant, which is remarkable, like most of that author's performances, for a very ingenious verbal contrivance, by which each stanza contains the letters नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय in that order,

although other letters intervene. The letters, it will be perceived, make up a sentence meaning "Salutation to the venerable Vāsudeva," which is the *Mantra* from which the work takes its name. In this department, the Editors have also collected together some useful items of information regarding the three great poets whose works are embraced in it, namely, Vāman, Mukteśvar, and Moropant.

The third department contains unpublished Sanskrit poems. In this part, the place of honour, if we may say so, was given to a work called *Matuśākhā's Bālon*. We own that we have been utterly unable to wade through the whole of that work. And we do not think we can be charged with squeamishness in our taste, if we say, that we consider the work an exceptionable, as not to be entitled to any place whatever in such a publication as the present, let alone the place of honour. We can only express our grateful regret that the Editors should have thought it worth while to preserve such a performance in print. The other pieces are, however, good ones. The first, *Apurvaśatubāhā*, is a work ascribed to Śaṅkarāchārya, and the other is a *Rāmdharm* by the famous Marāṭhī poet Moropant, which is curious as showing, among other things, the same verbal ingenuities as those which mark his Marāṭhī poetry. This work has not yet been completed.

Upon the whole, we trust we have said enough to show that this publication is a very meritorious one, and deserving of the patronage of all who take an interest in Sanskrit and Marāṭhī literature and in the history of India—especially the history of the Marāṭhās. It is at present conducted on a scale smaller than is required by the nature of the subjects it deals with. At the present rate, it will take years before even a fairly large number of *Bākhar's* can be published. And the same thing may be said of the large mass of Marāṭhī literature which still remains unprinted. As to Sanskrit, the call for such work is not urgent, because there are many other agencies at work directed to the publication of old Sanskrit pieces. But as regards the other two departments, the publication before us is almost the only one in the field. A few years' delay, and we fear there will be no harvest to reap at all.

We have been informed, that the only difficulty in the way of enlarging the size of the present publication is the vulgar one—money. We trust that the public will patronize the work so as to get rid of this difficulty, and we shall be glad if our notice serves to introduce the publication to the knowledge of a larger circle of readers than it commands at present.

K. T. TELANG.

ANDHRA COINS.

BY E. THOMAS, F.R.S., CORRESPONDANT DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

IN the *Indian Antiquary* vol. VI. for 1877, pp. 274 to 277, I described some remarkable coins of the Andhra dynasty; simultaneously making an appeal to our correspondents in Southern India to aid in the development of the ancient history of the peninsula by contributing additional examples of the local coinages. This appeal has been responded to from several quarters, but notably in the new acquisitions of Mr. R. Sewall, Madras C.S., Mr. J. Burgess, and Dr. Codrington.

These contributions enable me to place the preliminary outline of the series upon a more scientific basis, so far as the sequence of coins extends, and I have ventured to add some suggestive notes, which may perhaps prove of value in the more advanced stages of the enquiry.

Family Coins.

A.—Mimi.

No. 1.—Lead, with traces of copper. Weight 220 grains. Size 9 of Mionnet's scale.

Obverse.—A crudely-outlined delineation of a primitive bowed bow, with a broadly-barbed arrow, in position.

Legend.—रत्नो भद्रारि पुनस विपज करस
Rāṇo Madhārī-puṇasa Śaṭṭa-karas
(kulas).¹

¹ "The designated area (was) a step further back (than the Aryas), and was its system on the simpler political unit of a nomadic society, the family."

"The Indo-Aryan word for a household, *śukla*, is not found by itself in Sanskrit, but it signifies as the ground-work of every Śāntal community. A Śāntal village consists essentially of a single street, with houses on each side; and the pathway running between is called throughout the whole Śāntal country the *śukla*, the divider of families."—W. W. Hunter, *Royal Bengal*; London: 1869, p. 170.

[Bhagwatal Indral] has a coin of this type which distinctly reads—

Rāṇo Mithariputasa Śaṭṭa-karas.—[H.]

² This coin is figured as No. 15 of Imhoof's *Plates*. The original plate leaves no doubt about the present interpretation of the order or sequence of the legends.

³ This wavy serpent pattern appears repeatedly in the ornamental scroll-work of the Asmārati Topo (see Ferguson, *Tree and Fern*, Pl. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 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801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

⁴ Its position to the right is not constant, it occasionally appears on the left of the device.

⁵ Ferguson, *T. and S. W. W.*, Amardoli Topo, Plate LXV, page 208. See also p. 175. It is important to note that this seven-leaved branch has remained to this day the device or conventional symbol of Jaipur as figured on the local Gold Mohurs. See Prinsep's *Essays* Plate xlv, No. 73, &c.

⁶ Mr. Lyall supplies us with an interesting note upon Family trees, and their worship, which may perhaps afford a novel explanation of some of the scenes in the Topo.

⁷ Before concluding an alliance the Kuntl and other tribes took to the *devak*, which literally means the deities worshipped at marriage ceremonies; the fact being that

In one example of this type, the words रत्नो भद्रारि पुनस *Rāṇo Madhārī-puṇasa* are clear upon the margin of the original coin, which has been *superstated*, or perhaps recast irregularly, with a die or stamp bearing the titles of रत्नो गोमि पुनस *Rāṇo Gōmī-puṇasa*, which words underline, in an inner semicircle, the previous or normal impress.⁸

Reverse.—A *Chaitya*, or conventional delineation of a *type* or *tumulus*, formed of four rows of inverted semi-circles or arches, surmounted by a half-moon; at the base of the *chaitya*, serving as a pedestal, is an oblong space filled-in with a bold representation of a serpent, in the wavy intervals of whose onward course, by way of completing the pattern, are inserted five dots⁹; to the right¹⁰ of the *chaitya*, rising from the end of the pedestal, is seen the seven-leaved sacred, or possibly hereditary, family tree.¹¹

B.—VABUTI.

No. 2.—Lead, with traces of copper. Weight 228 grains. Size 9 of Mionnet's scale.

Obverse Device.—Bow and arrow, as above.

Legend.—रत्नो भद्रारि पुनस विपज करस
Rāṇo Bhadrārī-puṇasa Vipaj-karas

Reverse.—Similar device to the above, with the important modifications—1st, of the insertion of prominent dots within the semi-circles of

germane families held in honour particular trees and plants, just as marriage time branches of those trees are set up in the house. It is said that a betrothal, in every other respect unobjectionable, will be broken off if the two houses are discovered to pay homage to the same kind of tree."—A. C. Leitch, *Geography of India* (Bombay, 1870) p. 197.

Mr. Lyall shows how remote the *At Wāṇ* "the lake-trees are strictly preserved"—especially "in the vicinity of Jompla, or in houses of some princeling deity. The fact of incurring divine displeasure has saved these plantations from devastation."—see pp. 31, 32, also *Jour. R. Asiatic Society* vol. V, p. 192, 204, vol. XVIII, p. 373; *ibid.* p. 483; Wilson's *Works* vol. IV, p. 339; *Pliny* B. N. vi. 2, 3; *Curtius* vi. 9, 34.

⁸ This is the same name as the *Vashti* of Scripture derived from *वसिन्* "perfumed," the origin of and use of the term are self-evident in our Biblical text.

⁹ Now it proved that this domel, whose name was *Bether*, (בֵּתֶר) was the most beautiful of all the men, and the grace of her countenance drew the eyes of the spectators principally upon her; so she was committed to one of the eunuchs to take care of her; and she was very sweetly provided with sweet odours, in great plenty, and with costly garments, such as her body required to be adorned with; and this was used for six months by the virgins, who were in number 400. And when the eunuch thought the virgins had been sufficiently purified, in the forementioned time *See*. Josephus, *Ant. Jk.* 12. 2. 1. 2. White's translation. Strabo the test of *Bether* 12. 2. 1. 2. "Now when every maid's turn was come to go in to king Ahasuerus, after she had been twelve months, according to the manner of the women (for so were the days of their purifications accomplished, in six, six months with oil of myrrh and six months with sweet odours), and with other things for the purifying of the women."

which the Chaitya is built up; 2nd, of the ordinary shifting of the sacred tree from the right to the left-hand corner of the pedestal.

C.—GOTAMI.

No. 3.—Lead with traces of copper. Weight varying from 180 to 190 grains. Size 9 of Mionnet's scale.

Obverse Device—The usual bow and arrow.

Legend—रत्नो गौतमी पुत्रा विदेव्य कुरु.

*Ratna Gotami-putasa Videdyakurusa.*¹

Reverse Device—The general characteristics of these reverse devices are similar to those of the two varieties just described. There are, however, some peculiarities to be noticed. There are no dots within the semi-circles of the framework of the Chaitya as in the Vasisthi coins, the sacred tree is usually placed on the right; and the Chaitya itself is surmounted, at times, by a *chakra* or rayed circle,* denoting apparently the sun, as opposed to the half-moon of the other local families. This *chakra* again is often replaced by the figure of the *Swastika* or symbolic cross,[†] which so often appears with other objects of worship on the ancient Punch-dia coins[‡] and elsewhere; but which, in this instance, can only be taken to typify and represent the great luminary itself.

In this arrangement of symbols it coincides with the device of the unique coin of Chakana; where the Chaitya retains its ordinary superimposed demilune, but has a second half-moon in the field on one side, which is balanced by a well-defined figure of a rayed sun on the other.[§]

No. 4.—Copper? Small coins. Weight 35 grains. Size 4 of Mionnet's scale.

Obverse—Similar device, Bow and arrow.

Legend—Ratna Videdyakurusa Videdyakurusa.

No. 4a.—Similar coins, in weight about 35 grains—bearing the legend *Ratna Gotami-putasa Videdyakurusa*.

Reverse—Chaitya, with the sacred tree placed directly above the apex of the edifice.

¹ On some at least the spelling is *Videdyakurusa*, this is being the same as in Rudradama's Girnar Inscription, formed somewhat like the modern *ṛ*.—Ed.

² This may be traced on the worn surface of Indraj's Coin No. 8, but I have it in a more definite form, on a coin of Mrs. Dunbar's, where it is not directly above the apex of the Chaitya, but placed on the right hand nearer the tree—the half-moon, in this example, appears on the same level in apparent equilibrium or balance to the left.

³ See Nos. 9 and 10 Indraj's Plates *J. B. R. A. S.*, vol. XIII, p. 594E.

⁴ Prinsep's *Coins*, Pl. xi. vol. I. p. 209; and my *Marsden, Ancient Indian Weights*, Pl. i.

Monograms, in the field, No. 4—Letters seemingly representing त्र (trā) or त्र (trā), No. 4a, a letter very similar to a Chaldean-Pahlvi *u*—*u*, with a curious *tétris* figure like one of the symbols on the Hathigumpha Rock Inscription of Aśoka at Udayagiri.¹ It may be added that the other associate devices on this rock represent the *Kurmachakra* or "tortoise symbol" and the *Swastika*.

I have separated, in this catalogue, the family or general maternity-descent coins, from those which, in addition to the tribal or ancestral record, bear the definite name of a reigning sovereign.

I prefix for the purposes of comparison the Purāṇik Dynastic succession list, which, however imperfect, in its more exact details, evidences a certain measure of value and authentic authority, in the confirmation afforded to its leading data by the appearance of so many coincident names on the extant coins described below.

The *Vishva Parāṇa*'s leading text contributes the following series of the Āndhra kings:—

"Susarman, the Kāṇva, will be killed by a powerful servant, named (1) Śipraka, of the Āndhra tribe, who will become king (and found the Āndhrabhritya dynasty).

He will be succeeded by his brother (2) Kīṣhna;

His son will be (3) Śātākarni;

His son will be (4) Pūrṇotsanga;

His son will be (5) Śātākarni;

His son will be (6) Lambodara;

His son will be (7) Vīlaka (Vikālā P);

His son will be (8) Meghasvātī;

His son will be (9) Paṭama (Paṭmādy P);

His son will be (10) Arishatakarnan;

His son will be (11) Hāla;

His son will be (12) Pattalska (Maṇḍalaka P);

His son will be (13) Pravāsa (Parikashya P);

His son will be (14) Sundara (named) Śātakarni;

¹ Hargrove's *Report on Kāśī* and *Kāśī*, 1874-5, Pl. vii. fig. 7, p. 67. See also my *Gophas in India*, Pl. I, fig. 7, p. 82, and Mr. Newton *Jour. Asiat. Res.*, A. S. vol. IX, p. cix. This combination of the sun and the moon seems to have necessarily constituted a fixed idea amid very many classes of men. It even so retained its hold upon public opinion in India that it reappears on the later coins of Arakan. *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1846, February; and 1872 p. 201.

² Sterling's *Oriens Asiatic Researches* vol. XV.; M. Kitchin, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, vol. VI. (1837) p. 1675, Plate lvi; and Rhendallia in the *Proceedings A. S. Bengal* for 1877, page 168.

His son will be (15) Chakora Śātakarṣiṇi.

His son will be (16) Śivasaṁvāti;

His son will be (17) Gotamīputra;

His son will be (18) Pulomat;

His son will be (19) Śivāśri Śātakarṣiṇi;

His son will be (20) Śivaskandha (the *Maheśa* adds Śātakarṣi);

His son will be (21) Yajñaśri;

His son will be (22) Vijaya;

His son will be (23) Chandrasri (Dagdasri);

His son will be (24) Pulomārohis (Pulomāvi).

These thirty Andrabhīṣya Kings will reign 436 years.¹²

The total numbers in the royal succession above enumerated only reach twenty-four. The other *Purāṇas* are equally, though irregularly, defective; the *Maheśa* list is the fullest, and retains twenty-nine names, with an aggregate total of 435½ years.¹³

Personal Coins.

GOTAMĪ'S BRANCH.—YĀṢA ŚĀTAKARṢI.

No. 5.—Bronze? Weight 240 grains. Size 7. Sir W. Elliot.¹⁴

Obverse Device.—Imitating, in some respects, the normal type of the preceding coins. The *Chaitya* or *type*, in this case, seems to represent solid earthwork as distinguished from the *baṭh-up* hollow outline of the earlier examples. It is, as usual, surmounted by the half-moon, while the conventional serpent at the bottom is left free and clear of the *stāpa*, unconfined within the lines of a basic pedestal. The eared tree is also wanting, and in its place is supplied a lotus or water-lily on the one side and a conch-shell on the other.

Legend.—

रमो गौतमि पुनस सिरि यम समकमस.

Rāṇo Gōtami-pūnasa Sīri Yāsa Satakanasa.

Reverse.—Four circles, each composed of a central dot and two concentric circles, connected by semi-circular ligatures, surmounted apparently by a half-moon, forming, in effect,

a leading type of the pattern, conventionally known as the Ujjain device.¹⁵

GOTAMĪ BRANCH.—YĀṢA ŚĀTAKARṢI.

No. 6.—Lead. Size 4½.

Obverse.—A well-executed figure of an elephant to the left.

Legend.—रम गौतमी पुनस सिरि यम समक

Rāṇo Gōtami-pūnasa Sīri Yāsa Sataka.

Reverse.—The usual Ujjain Symbol.

No. 7.—Variants of the type of No. 6.

Obverse.—The leading device of the elephant is retained, but the animal is profusely adorned with head-gear, &c.

Legend.—रम पुनस.

Yāsa Sataka.

Reverse.—The Ujjain symbol.

The forms of the letters of the legends of these pieces clearly assign them to a later date, and possibly, to a different locality, from that of the prototype.

GOTAMĪ BRANCH.—YĀṢA ŚĀTAKARṢI.

No. 8a.—Lead. Weight 70 grains. Size 4.

Obverse.—A boldly sunk die, bearing a well-designed figure of a horse to the left.

Legend.—रमो गौतमि पुनस सिरि यम म...

Rāṇo Gōtami-pūnasa Sīri Yāsa Sataka.

Reverse.—The conventional Ujjain symbol.

No. 9.—Lead. Weight 133 grains. Size 5.

Obverse.—A well-executed figure of a horse to the right, half-emerged in the field.

Legend.—रम म..... समकमस.

Rāṇo Gōtami-pūnasa Satakanasa.

Reverse.—Device indistinguishable.

VĀSĪṢṬĪ BRANCH.—YĀṢA?

No. 10.—Lead. Weight 96 grains. Size 5.

Obverse.—Small *Chaitya*, composed of three hollow inverted semi-circles or arches. Serpent free at the foot.

Legend.—

रमो वासिष्ठ पुनस म समकमस.

Rāṇo Vāsīṣṭha-pūnasa Sīri Yāsaṁsa. [Yāsada?]

Reverse.—The conventional four-fold sun.

VĀSĪṢṬĪ BRANCH.—PULOMĀ.

No. 11.—Lead. Weight 86 grains. Size 4. Mr. Sewall's coin.¹⁶ from Gadivādā.

¹² Wilson's *Purāṇa Purāṇa*, vol. IV. p. xxiv. (Hall's ed.) vol. IV. p. 184. See also Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. II, *Useful Tables*, p. 241; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. IX. p. 101; and *Brihat Samhitā*, J. R. A. S. (N 8) vol. V. p. 32, etc.

¹³ Wilson, *Works*, vol. IV. p. 129.

¹⁴ Figured as No. 186 of his original plate xi. *Modern Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. III. Mr. Sewall has another example from Amaravati weighing also 240 grains.

¹⁵ *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. VII. plate 161. Prinsep's *Essays*, II. no. figs. 29, 31, 33, &c. *Neposia Orientalis*, p. 1. plate figs. 5, 6. Cunningham, *British Topog.* (1854), Plate xxii, xxiii. We have a notice of such a combination in Ceylon—"This monarch caused the *chaitya* on the Mahāsthūpa to be gilt, and he set four gems in the centre of the four emblems of the sun, each of which cost a lakh."—Maddissoon, *Tamoor*, p. 229.

¹⁶ See the engraving in Sir W. Elliot's Plate xi. figure

Obverse.—Small Chaitya, with 3 arches. Serpent at the foot.

Legend.—रम वसिष्ठः पुनः विरचितः

Rāma Vasistha-pūṇa...Pūṇavasa.

Reverse.—The usual Ujjain symbol.

VĀSĪṢṬĪ BRANCH.—SIVAKṢI.

No. 12.—Lead. Weight 86 grains. Size 4. Mr. Sowell's coin.

Obverse.—Chaitya as above.

Legend.—रम वसिष्ठः पुनः विरचितः

Rāma Vasistha-pūṇa Sivasivasa.

Reverse.—As usual.

VĀSĪṢṬĪ BRANCH.—CHANDRA.

No. 13.—Lead. Size 4.

Obverse.—Chaitya as usual.

Legend.—

रम वसिष्ठः पुनः विरचितः चन्द्र

Rāma Vasistha-pūṇa Sīri Chandra satasa.

This reading of this legend is to a certain extent conjectural. The absolute letters of the name would be preferentially rendered वसिष्ठः पदसातसा.

Reverse.—The Ujjain symbol.

CHANDRA.

No. 14.—Lead. Weight 112 grains. Size 5. Mr. Sowell, from Gadivāhi.

Obverse.—Horn to the right.

Legend.—In coarsely engraved letters—

रम सिरि चन्द्र

Rāma Sīri Chandra.

Reverse.—The Ujjain symbol.

No. 14a.—Weight 70 grains. Size 4. Small coins of similar types, but of superior execution. The legend itself seems to be more full and complete, and the letters are better formed. Mr. Sowell's specimens are not in very good condition, but the legend seems to run—

रम सिरि चन्द्र चन्द्र.

Rāma Sīri Chandra satasa.

SĪTAKARṢI CHAKRA.

No. 15.—Copper. Weight (average) 35 grains. Size 4.

Obverse.—A well-outlined figure of an elephant, free, trunk erect, without trappings.

Legend.—सिरि सतकार्षि

Sīri Satakarṣi.

106; and Gosh Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, (1871) page 541; see also Professor R. G. Bhandarkar, *London Oriental Congress*, 1874, pp. 307–310. No. 26. Nāik Inscription, "on the 13th day, in the second fortnight of Anshara in the year 19 nineties of the King Śrī Puṇḍarīka the son of Vāṇakī" सिरि पुण्डरीक.

No. 26a. Also coin inscriptions वसिष्ठः पुनः सिरि-पु-

Reverse.—The Ujjain symbol.

No. 16.—Lead. Size 3. Weight 35 grains. 2 specimens.

Obverse.—A crude figure of an elephant to the left.

Legend.—सिरि सतकार्षि *Sarivasa* or *Salivasa*, perhaps a repetition of the name, but not necessarily indicative of the personality of the great monarch.

Reverse.—The Ujjain symbol.

RUDRA.

No. 17.—Lead. Similar coins. 3 specimens.

Legend.—सिरि रुद्र

Sīri Rudra.

The *रु* is on one occasion given as *र*, and the *र*, if required for *Rudra*, has to be supplied to the existing context.

SĪRA COINS.

No. 18.—Lead. Weight, varying from 218 to 250 grains. Sizes from 6 to 7.

Mr. Sowell. 11 coins from Amarivati.*

Obverse.—A spirited outline of a lion, standing erect, to the right; to the front, a square pedestal with cross lines, above which is a standard upright line intersected by four rows of bars, forming in effect with the central staff a series of four-repeated tridentals or tridentals.

Legend.—Above the lion, in somewhat indistinct letters, सतकार्षि सतकार्षि or सतकार्षि सतकार्षि, Satakarṣi?

This is perhaps the most appropriate place to notice the metallic constituents of the coins and the coincident mechanical appliances of the Andhra Mints.

Dr. Percy has taken so much interest in the former question, as to have the family class of coins exhaustively tested in the Laboratory of the School of Mines. The larger pieces prove to be simply lead, retaining only so far a trace of copper such as the local assayers did not take the trouble to eliminate. The secondary admixture of lead and copper with a view to form a new compound is stated to be chemically impracticable.

The larger leaden coins were obviously, in many cases, cast, but lead was alike so soft in it-

सुमति, pp. 314–317, and see the Professor's remarks on the coins, page 340.

* Figured in Sir W. Elliot's Plate ix, *Madras Journal of Lit. and Science*, vol. III, No. 53, weight 229.9, and No. 57, square coin with similar devices.

See also Wilson, *Arabic Numismatics*, vol. XVII, Plate v. figs. 117, 118.

self, and so readily made softer by heat, that we should be wrong to pronounce any final opinion upon the actual methods of manipulation, which seem, however, to have admitted of a superimposed, or otherwise as it is *technically* termed *superstruck*, secondary impression. Whether this was effected by mere reheating and the pressure of a hard-clay mould upon the surface of the original casting, it would be hard to say. Numismatically speaking the latest impression ought to decide relative dates. But we know too little about family or tribal relations in this case to venture to draw ordinary deductions from the given data.

That mechanical *striking*, or the complete formation of a coin of two dies, was in vogue at this coincident period, is proved by the smaller copper coins bearing the same legends and devices as the leaden pieces, which, however,

come out far more distinctly in their devices, and sharper and more definite in their legends than the associate coins of the other metal.

The Sîlîha coins, just described, furnish us with unusually definite examples of a practice common in the early mintages of southern India—of designedly leaving the lower surface of the piece *blank*. In these instances, the *lead* has seemingly been poured out, in a fluid state, from a heated ladle, on to flat surfaces of stone, or even wood, and then sealed with the impress of the single authorized die, which was to give it a legal currency, according as the ultimate weight corresponded by this crude process with the intentional value. Mr. Toddy, who has lately held the position of English Mint-Master in Japan, informs me that a similar system of rude fabrication of money prevailed until very lately in that kingdom.

THE SWASTIKA.

BY E. THOMAS, F.R.S., CORRESPONDANT DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

The crypto-import of the mystic cross of Western nations—the counterpart of the Indian *Swastika*, has hitherto proved an enigma alike to classic and oriental commentators. Our Aryan coins seem to suggest a solution, which may, perchance, satisfy and exercise all parties.

In describing *Coin No. 3* of this series, (page 62, *note*.) I pointed out, that the place of the more definite figure of the Sun, in its wheel-like form, was taken by the emblematic cross of the *Swastika*. The position, so taken, in opposition to, or in natural balance of the enigmatic semicircle, could leave no doubt that the aim and intention in this case was to represent *symbolically* the great luminary itself.¹ In seeking for further confirmation of this in-

terview, I found that, in one instance, the *Swastika* had been inserted within the rings or normal circles representing the four arms of the Ujjain pattern on coins,² in which position it seemed equally to declare its own meaning as indicating the onward movement and advancing rotation of the heavenly body,³ which is described in some texts⁴ as never going back.

I had already noticed that there was an unaccountable absence of the visible sun, or its accepted representative, in the long list of the recognised devices of the twenty-four Jaina Trihastikas, whose distinguishing *chikras*, or marks, constituted so important an element in the authoritative discrimination of the succession of their saints.

The sun, moreover, occupied a high place in

¹ "The sixth class of *Swastikas* in opposition to the preceding denoted is unnecessary to address their devotion to the visible and material sun; they provided a mental luminary, on which they meditated, and to which their adoration was offered: they stamped religious awe on their forehead, arms, and breast with lotus leaves."—H. H. Wilson, *Religions of the Hindus*,—Knoxy, vol. I, p. 10. See also Uchchwat's *Researches* (Gowell's Ed. London, 1878) vol. I, pp. 218-219, vol. II, p. 191, and the originals, in *Asiatic Researches*, vols. VII, and IX.

² Gen. Cunningham, *Bhilsa Plates*, plate xvi. fig. 3, p. 354. ³ "He, the impeller, the chief of chariotmen, (Pitru), ever moves in that golden wheel (*chakro*) for the mildest sun." *Jay-Veda* (v. viii. 7). Wilson, vol. III, p. 267. A note is appended to this passage to the effect that "the second is rendered *Aditya*, he who moves or revolves." So also "the 12-spoked wheel of the tree (sun) revolves around

the heavens." H. S. Wilson's *R. F.*, vol. II, p. 150. The later Indian conceptions of the motion of the sun are embodied in the following terms:—"The chariot of the sun is * * * on which is fixed a wheel with 3 spokes for ether, a triple nave, or 3 maces in wood, two spokes, and a pompilous—consisting of three encircling years—the wheel constituting the centre of wheel of mind."—A. J. B. Wilson's *R. S.*, Wilson, vol. II, p. 237. "As the circumference of a potter's wheel revolves most rapidly, so the sun travels rapidly on his southern journey." *Id.* p. 240. "As the centre of the potter's wheel revolves more slowly (than the circumference), so the sun." *Id.* p. 247.

⁴ Burnouf is not very clear as to this meaning, he says, *certains* *chakras* *impossibles* *de se déformer*; in the Tibetan the same cross, and last but not least is *le* *chakro* *de* *la* *colonne* *de* *la* *colonne*. Burnouf, *com.* II, 390, see also Burnouf, p. 28, note 6.

their estimation,—even to the extent of an adverse charge of Vaishnavism—but in this official list or catalogue there was no apparent sun-like orb, or even *wheel*, to denote the “universal deity.”¹ Whereas the *Senastika* avowedly constituted the sign for the Supārśwa, the 7th Jinn, and the closely-associated half-moon stood forth as the *chakra* of his successor Chandraprabha, the 8th Jinn.²

Under the advanced interpretation of the design and purpose of the *Senastika*, from an Indian point of view, now put forward—perhaps few archaeologists will be disposed to dissent from the inference that, in this instance also, its figure, as representing one of the received attributes of the sun, was used, conventionally, to typify the solar orb itself.³

In describing the hand-made *seals*, found on the site of Troy, which were unaided by the mechanical appliances of the potter's wheel, and whose ornamentation clearly preceded the use of alphabetical letters—Dr. Schliemann, in commenting on the appearance of this identical *Senastika* symbol on so many of these clay objects, appears to have divined the leading idea associated with the fast or following limbs attached to the square or normal cross—in designating these devices as “representations of the wheel in motion effected by the incisions.”⁴ This independent conclusion is fully confirmed by an examination of the subsequent numismatic evidence.

The earliest Lycian coins have a constant *senastika* device, nearly identical with the original *Senastika*, except so far as consists in the more

distinct sequent curve given to the four limbs, and a more definite opening out of the centre into an open circle, which, in one instance, is imagined to have a thread or rope inserted in the ring.⁵ These four-limbed symbols are speedily reduced into similar objects having only three arms, the *Āryan triquetra*,⁶ which admitted of the extension of the length of the limbs, and if so intended, would fancifully aid the speed of the revolutions⁷ or clear the contracted diapason for improved artistic freedom of treatment.

A similar device of the *Trinavria* appears on the coins of Aspendos in Pamphylia,⁸ but in this instance the curved lines are transformed into the likeness of three human legs, manifestly in motion, with a tumbling or rotatory onward course,⁹ which recalls “the three steps of Vishnu.”¹⁰ But the idea of speed and revolution is much more distinctly rendered in the mintages of Syracuse, where the ankles of the legs are aided by small wings, such as are represented as constant adjuncts of the statues of Mercury. In one instance this winged *triquetra* is placed above the horses of the chariot, who are at full speed¹¹ and in others it is associated with Pegasus. In some instances it replaces a quasi star, which clearly stands for the sun,¹² and the astronomical tendencies of the consecutive mint series are shown in the admission of a design of a new moon whose upper limb is given in an *salpa*-like form, with a faint outline circle, perhaps intended to indicate the obscured portion of the moon itself.¹³

(To be continued.)

¹ Wilson *His. Ind.*, vol. IV, p. 10; Text V, i, B.

² *Jour. R. A. S.* 1877, p. 101; *Colebrooke's Essays*, vol. II, p. 187; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. IX, p. 305; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II, p. 134.

³ Of this optional interchange of signs and symbols there is further corroborative evidence in the two examples of pashed gold coins depicted in Sir Walter Elliot's *Plates* in vol. III, *Modern Numism. Int. and Select.*, where the central sun of North is supplanted by or alternated with the *Senastika* in No. 51.

⁴ *Troy*, pp. 38, 161 and 340. See also his *Mycenæ*, Nos. 404, 405, 411, &c.

⁵ Sir C. Fellows, *Plate I. fig. 4*. Sir C. Fellows supposed these devices to represent grapples, p. 15.

⁶ A remarkable leading example of the tracing of the rotatory *three-feet* is to be seen on one of the wheels from Troy in Dr. Schliemann's work above cited.

⁷ In one instance, pl. IX, 2, these curved lines are made to end in serpents' heads and in another in cocks' heads, IX, 7.

⁸ The site of Aspendos was on a hill near the river Eurymedon, about 8 miles from the sea, in the gulf of Adalia, close to the eastern boundary of Lycia. The coins bear letters of cognate origin with the alphabet of the

latter. The name of Aspendos is written ΚΕΤΤΕΔΩΒΕ, Leake, p. 28.

⁹ I have lately had occasion to point out the many curious identifications of customs prevailing alike in Lycia and India, *J. R. A. S.* vol. XI, 1879, p. 10. The “3 steps of Vishnu” are variously interpreted as “the rising, meridian and setting Sans”—in one instance, the Pishonpada is asserted to represent “the meridian sky” (*Pishon Padon* iii, 10), perhaps the full round sun, which takes the place of honour on the more archaic forms of “the feet.” The term *Tri-Padon*, or three paces, seems to indicate something more than three steps, as the word *Vikrama* would imply “to step on”—to step beyond—giving an idea of progress or motion.

¹⁰ Combe, *Hunter Collection*, vol. VII, 15, 18.

¹¹ “The three steps of Vishnu,” *Nis-Pada*, I, 25, 17, Wilson, vol. I, p. 55. *Goldsticker's Livensia Remains*, vol. I, p. 280. Max Müller, *Ind. Peda*, translation pp. 117, 118. *Colebrooke's Essays*.

¹² *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1874, Mr. Head's article, Pl. VIII, 7, 8, 4, 5, 6.

¹³ *Num. Chron.* vol. XIV, Pl. ix, Nos. 11, 12—also Pl. xiv, fig. 4.

¹⁴ *Num. Chron.* vol. XIV, Pl. x, Nos. 1—2. See also the Etruscan rendering of the Moon in Falco, Pl. xviii.

THE SWASTIKA.

BY REV. S. BEAD.

I have observed in the *Indian Antiquary* vol. VII. (1878) pp. 176ff. an article written by Mr. Walhouse, in which he refers to a paper by Mr. Westropp printed in the *Athenæum* for January 12th, 1878, relating to the origin and signification of the well-known symbol called the *Swastika*. As Mr. Westropp in the course of his remarks alludes to me by name, and points to some observations I had made (*Romantic Legend*, pp. 56, 196 nn.) on the same subject, I will ask you to permit me to state in the *Indian Antiquary*, somewhat more at length, what I have elsewhere written on this matter.

In order to open up the subject and lead to the explanation I have to give, I will quote Mr. Walhouse's words: "It is curious indeed," he says, "to find the same symbol used with a mystic meaning both in English and Japanese heraldry, and for the same office of repelling demons on Japanese coffins and English church bells." And without doubt it is a curious circumstance, and only to be accounted for by discovering whether the symbol itself does not embody a meaning equally widespread.

When I was located many years ago in the remote town of Hakodate, in the island of Yezo, the most northern of the Japanese islands, I was occasionally present at some of the religious functions of the Buddhist priests, who had several flourishing monasteries (*temples*) in that place. My attention was drawn on more than one such occasion to the mode of their accepting, or perhaps consecrating, presents, sent to the brotherhood by charitable persons. The gift was placed in the middle of a circle (*marble*), and the priests, in their canonical dresses, would march round it three times in single file, religiously keeping it on their right, i.e. with their right hands towards the centre of the circle as they moved. This of course brought to my mind the custom known for ages in India, and called *pradakshina*, commonly practised also in early times amongst the Romans, and styled *decurio*, equally common in Scotland down to the present day, and called *deasil*, and so well known in Ireland that the town of Tempoo, in Fermanagh, is still in Irish called "*c'ionpook deasil*," which, as Mr. Joyce explains, is nothing more than a compound form of *ionpook*, mean-

ing "turning" and *deasil* "to the right." So that we here have a custom known from Japan to Ireland and common in India, the Roman Empire, Scotland, and doubtless throughout Northern Europe.

There is a volume before me, belonging to the Buddhist *Tripitaka*, printed in Chinese characters, and called "Account of the customs of countries in the Southern Ocean"; the 32nd cap. of the 2nd volume of this work is occupied by an account of the way in which the people of Ceylon mark their time by the sun's shadow, and hence the author says (he lived in the 7th century) is derived the religious ceremony known as *pradakshina*, i. e. turning to the right in conformity with the sun's shadow, in other words, turning "sun-ways."

I need hardly observe, in illustration of the same point, that in many Buddhist *Sûtras* the custom of circumambulating the Great Teacher three times, or seven times, with the right hand kept towards him, is mentioned as a religious custom generally practised at the time when these *Sûtras* were written: and in one *Sûtra* in my possession the entire argument is occupied in discussing the happiness (good fortune, or blessedness) of those who thus circumambulate Tapes, or Chaityas in general, consecrated to Buddha or his disciples.

Enough then as to this widely recognized custom.

I come now to show that the figure called the *Swastika* symbolizes this idea of circumambulation, derived from the apparent movement of the sun from left to right round the earth. The idea is this, that if a person face the east at sunrise and follow its movement southward and westward, he will turn with his right hand fixed towards an object supposed to be placed like the earth in relation to the sun, in the centre of a circle.

Now the figure of the *Swastika* consists of two parts, 1st the cross + and secondly the *crochets* at the end of the arms. The figure of the cross + is one of the oldest symbols used to represent "the earth" or "the four quarters." General Cunningham in his recent work (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, p. 44) has shown that this sign, viz. +, is in the Khâla inscription

equivalent to "*chakras*," i.e. *four*. But in Pāli the word *Chaturantā* (i.e. the four quarters, or points) is a word for "the earth," hence *Chaturantā* = Lord of the Earth, (vide Childers' *Pāli Diet.*) In Sanskrit we have similar compounds with the same meaning. But proof positive is derived from the Chinese, in which we not only have the symbol \boxplus for "an enclosed space of earth," and the symbol \boxplus (\boxplus) for "12 o'clock," or noon, (the upper portion indicating the heaven, with the sun on the meridian, and the lower portion (the cross) denoting the earth), but we also have in so many words the fact stated that "God made or fashioned the earth in the shape of a cross," and the symbol used is exactly this \boxplus . I refer to a passage in the celebrated Syrian inscription found by some Chinese workmen in the year A.D. 1625 near Sigan-fu, the capital city of the province of Shen-si. In this inscription (which is given in the original characters), and with three translations by English, Latin, and French in the *Chinese Repository*, (vol. XIV. May 1845), we find the following passage towards the end of the first clause:—"He determined in the shape of a cross (which 'he' in the original is represented thus \boxplus) to spread out the earth." So that at the time when this stone tablet was erected, i.e. A.D. 781, the symbol \boxplus was known (in China at least) as an ideogram representing "the earth."

There may be other illustrations in proof of the same point familiar to students which for the present can be passed over.

The *cruciform* at the ends of the arms of the cross are, in Buddhist symbolism, mostly, though not always, drawn to the right—denoting, as we argue, the sun's movement round the earth from left to right. Now it is plain that this is always the apparent movement of the sun in Northern latitudes, that is, in latitudes to the north of the Tropic of Cancer. In Northern countries (unaffected by Southern or Phœnician influences) therefore we find the *cruciform* of the \boxplus drawn to the right. But, as Milton has

observed (*Paradise Regained*, Book IV.) l. 70,

"Some from farthest South,

Syene, and where the shadow both way falls."

The shadow of the sun, or, in other words, his apparent movement, is not always from left to right, but sometimes in intertropical countries, apparently from right to left, and this has generally attracted attention. Thus the Phœnicians who were in the fleet despatched by Pharaoh Necho were surprised to find the sun on the north instead of the south—and so the ambassadors sent from North India to the Emperor Claudius expressed the same astonishment—and the first Portuguese navigators, who voyaged south along the coast of Africa, noticed the same fact—so that wherever sun-worship prevailed in such tropical countries, his path would be represented both from left to right, and from right to left. Hence the double form of the *Svastika*, the *cruciform* being found on either side of the arms of the cross, apparently without distinction, as ρ , γ , at Hissarlik, and on the altars found on the Roman wall in Northumberland (vid. *Lapid. arum Septentrionalis; passim*); and as the notion of this diverse form was gradually forgotten or lost, the figure would be drawn less carefully, and without any regard to the symbolism pointed out.

The argument therefore amounts to this: that, as the figure of the *Svastika* is found scattered through countries reaching from Japan to England, so also the custom of turning 'sunways,' or with the sun, is equally widespread; and accordingly, that as the *Svastika* is a sign of good luck, signified by its etymology, so also the practice of turning with the sun is considered a lucky or fortunate proceeding, and turning in the contrary way, especially among northern people, is dreaded as entailing a curse; (called by the Scots *wither-shins*; German, *wider-shins*) (vide the passage I have referred to above, in *Waverley* (Black's Ed. p. 76)); the custom and the symbol therefore, we argue, are co-related.

THE BRANCHIDÆ.

BY REV. S. BEAL.

One of the most characteristic records left by Alexander the Great during his Eastern campaign is the massacre of the Branchidæ. These people, as is well known, claimed to be a

unmixed gens, descended from Branchos, the mythic founder of the Temple of Apollo, near Miletus in Ionia. Their forefathers had yielded up the treasures of their temple to the Persian

king, Xerxes, one hundred and fifty years before. This surrender brought on them so much odium that when the dominion of Xerxes was overthrown on the coast, they retired with him into the interior of Asia. The Persian king also carried away with him to Susa the colossal bronze statue of Apollo, which had been cast by Kauschus. This statue was afterwards restored by Seleukos Nikator (about 300 B.C.) to the temple rebuilt by Paionios and Dhapnais.

When Xerxes had carried away the Branchidæ, he did not retain them in Susiana, as Mr. Newton seems to imply (*Trees and Discoveries in the Levant*, vol. II, p. 158), but transported them to a small town in Sogdiana, between Balch and Samarkand, where their descendants were found by Alexander. They were now a "bilingual and partially dishevelled race, yet still attached to their traditions and origin" (Grote). "Delighted to find themselves once more in summer with Greeks, they poured forth to meet and welcome the army, tendering all they possessed. Alexander, when he heard who they were and what was their parentage, desired the Milesians to determine how they should be treated. But as these Milesians were neither decided nor unanimous, Alexander announced that he would determine for himself. Having first occupied the city in person with a select detachment, he posted his army all round the walls, and then gave orders not only to plunder it, but to massacre the whole population, men, women, and children. They were slain without arms or attempt at resistance, resorting to nothing but prayers and suppliant manifestations. Alexander next ordered the walls to be levelled, and the sacred groves cut down, so that no habitable site might remain, nor anything except solitude and sterility. Such was the revenge taken upon these unhappy victims for the deeds of their forefathers in the fourth or fifth generation before. Alexander doubtless considered himself as executing the wrath of Apollo against an accursed race who had robbed the treasure of the god. The Macedonian expedition had been proclaimed to be undertaken originally for the purpose of revenging upon the contemporary Persians the ancient wrongs done to Greece by Xerxes; so that Alexander would follow out the same sentiment in revenging upon the contemporary Branchidæ the acts of their ancestors—yet more

guilty than Xerxes, in his belief. The massacre of the unfortunate population was, in fact, an example of human sacrifice on the largest scale offered to the gods by the religious impulses of Alexander, and worthy to be compared to that of the Carthaginian general Hannibal, when he sacrificed three thousand Grecian prisoners on the field of Himera, where his grandfather Hamilkar had been slain seventy years before."

Such is the brief account given us of this atrocious massacre. It would seem that Alexander, influenced by his feelings towards the aristocratic party in the Ionian cities (which had always been under the patronage of the Persian kings), treated the Branchidæ as he had already dealt with the Milesians, that is, by simple extermination. Be this as it may, there is much room for conjecture left as to the influence produced on the arts and philosophy of the neighbouring populations, by the residence of a colony of Ionian Greeks in Sogdiana during the one hundred and fifty years of their survival. There must have been some influence exerted. It has been a long question how and through what channels the civilization of India was affected by Greek intercourse. Both in literature and art the effect of contact is plainly visible, and this, too, apparently at an earlier period than the establishment of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom. We must look elsewhere, then, than to the court of Seleukos and his successors for the channel of this inter-action, and it would seem that the town of the Branchidæ, situated in the centre of Sogdiana, will provide us with some clue to the solution of the question.

That thus intercommunication of thought did take place at an early period may be gathered from several considerations. The *Rāmāyana* has been called the 'Iliad of India.' It was long ago observed by Tarnour, and more recently by Weber, that some incidents, especially those connected with the adventures of Ulysses (in the *Odyssey*) and of Rāma and his followers in Ceylon, bear a marked resemblance to one another. But, as a more striking instance of agreement, let us take the myth of the birth of Apollō (the god of the Branchidæ) and that of the Indian Buddha. Mr. Cox, in his *Argos Nation*, Vol. II, p. 21, gives the following account of the birth of the Sun-God:—"Then, as she drew near (i.e. Eileithyia) Leto cast her arms around a tall palm tree

as she reclined on the bank of Kynthos, and the babe leaped to life. The goddesses bathed him in pure water, and wrapped him in a glistening robe, fine and newly wrought. . . while Thetis touched his lips with the drink and food of the gods. No sooner had the child received this nourishment than he was endowed with an irresistible strength, and his swaddling bands fell off from him like flax, as he declared his mission 'of teaching to men the counsels of Jove.'" Compare with this the Indian account of the birth of the child of Māyā (the illusive dawn): "Having arrived at the garden, Queen Māyā stepped down from her chariot, and surrounded by her dancing women (i.e., female attendants), passed from spot to spot and from tree to tree in the garden, admiring and looking at all. Now in the garden there was one particular tree called the *Pāṭā* (palm), perfectly straight from top to bottom, its branches spread out in perfect regularity, &c. Delighted at the sight, Māyā paused awhile to admire it, and gradually approached under its shade. . . then taking hold of one of the branches, she looked up into heaven's expanse and the child was born. . . . At this time Śakra and the four Mahādevas advanced and wrapped the child in his swaddling clothes, but he advanced four paces each way, and exclaimed: 'Now have I arrived at my last birth, &c.'"

There are so many points of resemblance here that the two myths cannot be separated. It is indifferent whether we suppose the one to have originated the other, or merely to have been engrafted on it. Probably the two have a common origin in the distant ages, but were modelled by mutual intercourse. And the existence of the Branchidae, the priests of Apollo, in the neighbourhood of North India for one hundred and fifty years, may give us an insight into the source of agreement.

It would seem, again, as though the Græco-Buddhist sculptures, about which so much has been lately written, were allied with the Ionian and Asiatic type of conception, rather than the pure Attic. Hence the resemblance has been traced principally with remains found at Cyprus and the islands bordering on the Asiatic coast. And we have further corroboration of this theory in the actual remains still existing at Branchidæ (Gerontæ) compared with some Indian sculptures equally open to examination. Let

us take for example the form and general character of the chairs or thrones found along the "sacred way" leading from Port Panormus up to the Temple itself. Mr. Newton, in his second volume, p. 148, *Levant*, &c. has given us an account of one of these chairs. He gathers that they were evidently copied from wood. "Two of them are ornamented in front with a pair of pilasters, the capital of which formed a bracket, projecting at the end of the arm of the chair about three inches," whilst "the cushion on which the figure is seated is shown under the arm of the chair." He says nothing about a footstool. It would be pleasing to know if such an adjunct were provided in this case. At any rate, according to the Homeric formula, it ought to be there; compare for example the promise made by Juno to Hypnos (*Il.* xiv., l. 238):—

"ἀδρα δὲ τοὶ δάδω, καλὰς θρόνον, ἄφθονον αἶψι,
καλόν τε ἠδ' αὖτις ἀμφιπόθεις
τάβητι δακτύλου, ἐν δὲ θρόνῳ ποσσὶ θέσσι.
τῷ αὖ ἐπιθροῦντι λαοφάνης οὐδὲς εὐκλειδέσθω."

Here we not only have the normal idea of the throne and the footstool, but the added metaphors that the throne should be ἀφθονον αἶψι. And so the seat or throne of Baddha on which he sat under the fig-tree is always designated as the *Vajrasana*, "the diamond," or "imperishable throne." And as we see both at Sānchi and Amarāvati, there are the cushions and the footstools, and the pilasters, and more than this, on many of the sculptures the simple inscription of the donor's name, next Gerontæ on the back of the lion (p. 155, op. cit.), where the names of five donors are recorded who dedicated the figure to Apollo. The resemblance here appears to be more than accidental. It is true there is no *Zeus* seated in the chairs at Sānchi and Amarāvati, as there is at Gerontæ, but the absence of such a figure is in complete harmony with the Buddhist theory of the spiritualized condition of the founder of this religion, who could not, therefore, be represented under any human form or by any visible resemblance.

These resemblances or parallels may be accidental, but I do not recollect to have seen allusion made to these priests of Apollo dwelling in exile near the Oxus, as possibly influencing the progress of Indian art. It seems to me that the presence of the Hebrew exiles in Susiana and these Greek priests in Sogdiana are

elements from which we may gather some information as to the inciting cause of the Bud-

dhist development, so marked and in all respects abnormal, in the history of India.¹

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALKER, LATE M.C.B.

(Continued from vol. VIII. p. 167.)

No. XXIV.—*Ethical Parallels.*

Old Healed in his homely way affirms—No saying wholly dies which many people commonly utter; 'tis God's very voice.

During the last twenty or thirty years there has been a growing disposition to recognise this truth. But although St. Augustine has said that "the substance of what is now called the Christian religion was in existence amongst the ancients: it has never been wanting from the beginning of the human race," (*Retractatio* I. 15); the idea that most nations have had Scriptures, in which the central and enduring principles of religion and morality are declared in diverse manners, would still perhaps be questioned, and impatiently heard in some quarters. In many pages of the *Indian Antiquary* Dr. Muir has largely illustrated the parallelisms traceable in the Old and New Testaments and Sanskrit literature, and I here venture a few references to the popular Scriptures of the Tamil and Telugu peoples of the Madras Presidency.²

The *Kural* is in all respects the Bible of Southern India: the earliest and best monument of the highly organized and elaborate Tamil language, and constitutes the ethical and literary rule and standard against which there is no appeal: nor undeservedly. Higher and more comprehensive moral teaching has never been set forth; like all ancient books it contains parts and passages which later culture passes by, and separates from the universal and enduring treasures. Its author Tiruvalluvar lived in the 3rd, or perhaps as early as the 2nd century of our era. Brāhmins have tried to disguise the fact that he was, as his name implies, born in a low and impure caste, and have surrounded his birth with legends, but they cannot elude him; none could decide from his writings to what caste he belonged except that he was not a Brāhmin, and this from no attack upon priests or ritual observances, but from a simple constant

enforcing of truth, gentleness, justice, and clarity without any reference to aid from priestly intercession.

When Europe lay blinded in the depth of the dark ages, Tiruvalluvar wrote "Letters and numbers are the eyes of man, and the words of the good are like a staff in slippery places," almost echoing the words of the wise Job, 'I was eyes to the blind and feet was I to the lame.' His answer to What is truth? might, if considered, slay many mocking Pilates; he says: "It is the speaking of words that are without the least degree of evil to others." Want of truthfulness is a reproach conspicuously flung against Hindus, but it was a Hindu who declared—"If a man abstain from falsehood, though he practice no other virtue, it shall be well with him. Truth will lead to every virtue." Want of gratitude, even incapacity to understand it, is another failing alleged by European self-complacency, but verses, familiar to the Tamil people as any Bible-text, affirm: "He who has forgotten every virtue may escape; there is no escape for him who forgets a benefit: the who will remember through seven-fold births the love of those who have wiped away their falling tears." The low-born Indian moralist gives these readings of the Golden Rule: "It is the resolve of the pure not to do evil in return to those who have done evil to them,—should a man inflict on others that which were grievous to himself?—Would you punish those who have done you evil? Then put them to shame by showing great kindness to them!" So would Tiruvalluvar heap coals of fire upon an enemy's head. He too saw clearly the little thank of lending to them from whom there is hope to receive. "To give to the destitute," he says, "is true charity. Other gifts may be returned." The following sentences show how true an insight he had into the sources of domestic

¹ From *The Orientalist*, Oct. 20th, 1875,—revised by the Author.

² The texts used are: *The Poems of Tiruvalluvar*, by the Rev. W. H. Dow, Madras, 1869; and *The Poems of Vāmana*, by Charles Philip Brown, Madras Civil Service, Madras: 1829.

³ When writing this Note I had overlooked the far more important and exhaustive *Notes on the Kural* by

the Rev. Dr. Pope, with which this brief glance at the same subject will not interfere. Dr. Pope considers the Christian Scriptures, and not unknown to Tiruvalluvar, and that he derived many of his sentiments from thence. This cannot be positively asserted or denied; but the whole range of Hindu Scriptures shows that, as St. Paul too seems to admit (*1st Tim.* ii. 14), the conscience of man can of itself reach to concepts of humanity and morality.

happiness:—"Is there any bolt that can shut in love?" "The pipe is sweet, the lute is sweet, say those who have never heard the prattle of their own children." "He best labours for future happiness who lives well and kindly in his household"; and he knew as well as the Roman mother that "good children are the jewels of the good wife." The *Kural* abounds with wise sayings on the conduct of affairs; take this for example on the necessity of forethought. "There are failures even in acting well. The work not done by suitable methods will fail, though many attempts to further it. The chariot is weak at sea, and the ship on land." And again: "Is aught difficult to him who works with the right instruments at the right time? he wins who can think silently, and bide his time." "Patience is finest gold; to bear with the ignorant is might of might." In *Wilhelm Meister's Travels* there is a passage full of Goethe's far-reaching meaning, when in the Pedagogic Province the elders inform Wilhelm that though a child may be born with many gifts, one there is which no child brings into the world with him, and yet on that one thing all depends for making man in every point a man, when Wilhelm could not discover this thing himself. "Reverence," they exclaimed, "Reverence, all want it, perhaps you yourself; nor is the fear felt by rude people for natural convulsions or similar awful occurrences, an exception, for Nature is indeed adequate to fear, but to reverence not adequate." Tiruvalluvar had also felt the weight and meaning of this sentiment when he wrote, "Never will reverence be found with those who have not received careful instruction."

With this small handful of ears from Tiruvalluvar's abounding grainfield, we now turn to Vēmaṇa, emphatically a people's poet, the familiar oracle of the old Telugu race, much below the great Tamil Teacher in moral and poetic sentiment, and sweet reasonableness of perception, he excelled him in satirical force and vehemence of scorn. The mild wisdom of Tiruvalluvar is never aggressive, but Vēmaṇa deals swathing blows at hypocritical sanctimoniousness, and never wearies in discharging shaft after shaft at Brahmanical assumption. Nothing certain is known of his life. Tradition

hands him down as a *Kāpa* or farmer, and his translator, Mr. C. P. Brown, thinks he lived in the 16th century, but there is reason to think he lived long before. Several hundred quatrains are ascribed to him, a large number of which are probably popular sayings that in course of time gathered about his name. He embodies the popular distrust and hatred of Brāhmaṇas, and is one of the few singers whose works could be collected from the mouths of the people, who know him by heart, and are always delighted to fling one of his stinging sarcasms at pretentious purity and asceticism. He well discerned the emptiness of broadened phylacteries. "Sanyāsis," says he, "affect particular words and vests, they wear a brick-red garb and shaven pate. On these they pride themselves, their heads look clean, but are their hearts so? A tiger skin, a staff, bells, and anointing with ash—what avail these for the worship of God, who is a Spirit?" In the same vein as Moses proclaimed that the commandment laid upon the people was not hidden nor far off, neither in heaven or beyond the sea, but very nigh to them, in their mouth, and in their heart, that they may do it (*Deut. xxx.*), Vēmaṇa exclaims, "Kāḥi, they cry; why roam in pilgrimage to holy shrines to find the God that dwells within them? * Wandering in the wilds will not discover sanctity, nor is it in the sky, nor at the confluence of holy streams. Make the body pure, and then shalt behold the king!" His version of the Golden Rule is very absolute: "Though an enemy worthy of death fall into thy hand, afflict him not, conciliate him by kindness, and bid him depart. This is death to him! Injure not others, O men, and live for ever!" The following expression is striking in the mouth of a Hindu:—"Why revile a Pariah? Of what caste is He who speaks in the Pariah?" Carlyle highly praises the words of the German Novalis, "There is but one temple in the universe, and that is the human body: nothing is holier than that high form, bending before men is a reverence done to this incarnation of the Divine." Long before him, however, Vēmaṇa had written—"Why collect marble and build temples? The true temple is the body, the soul is the God therein," a strange unconscious echo of the words of St. Paul, "know ye not that

* See *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 102, where this forms the substance of the last verse of some very striking Metrical

Translations by Mr. R. Caldwell from the poetry of Sivavakkiyar.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.A. C.S., M.B.A.S.

(Continued from Vol. XVII, p. 345.)

No. LXI.

At a short distance to the south-west of the village of Aihole, in Survey No. 72, there is a temple, small but highly interesting on account of the quaint and elaborate sculptures with which it is decorated, which is noticed by Mr. Burgess in his *First Archaeological Report*, p. 40. It is now dilapidated, and is partly in ruins, the whole of the roof having been removed. Mr. Burgess considers it to be of about the same age as the Durgatemple. It appears to have been originally a Vishnueya temple, as there are figures of Garuda over the doors both of the *sculptura* and of the shrine, and a figure of Lakshmi, with her elephants, over the entrance. But there is also a figure of Siva, dancing, on the roof, with Parvati holding a child, which must be either Gajapati or Kārttikēya.

On the north side of the porch there is an Old-Canarese inscription of eleven letters, in characters of the ninth or tenth century A.D., of which a fac-simile is given in the *First Archaeological Report*.¹ It commences with the word *Sasā*, followed by *Ganaschima*; 'of Ganaschima'; the last four letters cannot be read satisfactorily.

And on a pilaster on the south side of the porch, there is the following inscription,² in the Sanskrit language and in characters of the seventh or eighth century A.D., which probably records the name of the builder of the temple:—

Transcription.

[1] Svasti [1*] Jambudvīp-āntarā kaśchit

[2] vāsta-prāśāda-tadgotah

[3] Narasakha-namā vidvān

[4] na bhūtā na bhaviṣyati ||

Translation.

Hail! There has not been, and there shall not be, in Jambudvīpa, any wise man, proficient in (the art of building) houses and temples, equal to Naraśakha.

No. LXII.

Further to the south-west of the village, on the right bank of the river, in Survey Nos. 74

and 75, there is a large group of ruined and dilapidated temples, mentioned incidentally by Mr. Burgess in his *First Archaeological Report*, p. 43.

The largest and most interesting of them is the temple of the god Galiganātha. On the front or east side of the courtyard there is a handsomely sculptured gateway, still nearly entire, after the fashion of the gates of the temples at Sāñchī and Amarāvati, but not nearly so elaborate in design, and on a diminutive scale, being only ten or twelve feet high. It is the only gateway of the kind that I know of in this part of the country.

Just outside this gateway, and a few steps to the south of it, there is a small cell, on one of the beams of which is an Old-Canarese inscription³ of the Rāśāhīrākūṣa king Kanāra or Kārikēya, dated Saka 831 (A.D. 903-10), the *Prājāpati sakāntara*.⁴ I shall publish this hereafter in a separate paper on the Rāśāhīrākūṣa kings.

The only inscription, that I could find, belonging to the temple of Galiganātha itself, is on the north face of one of the four pillars of a small square unroofed structure, in the centre of which there is a *liṅga*, standing in the middle of the courtyard. The characters are early,—perhaps of the sixth or seventh century A.D. The writing covers 4½" by 6½". A fac-simile⁵ is given herewith. The transcription is:—[1] *Vaṇiga-līṭṭa* [2] *līṭṭa* i.e., 'Made by Vāṇiga-līṭṭa' (u.) 'līṭṭa' is probably another form of 'līṭṭa', which is a corruption of the Sanskrit 'Vishṇu'; *Vaṇiga* is his surname, and is a corruption of the Sanskrit *vaṇśika*.

No. LXIII.

In front of the abovementioned temple of Galiganātha, there is a large unnamed temple with an Old-Canarese inscription, in one line, on the outside of one of the stones of the wall on the south side of the door, which is in the east wall.

The characters are of the eighth or ninth century A.D. The writing covers 1' 4½" by 4' 8½". A fac-simile⁶ is given herewith. The transcrip-

¹ Pl. LV., No. 54.² *First Archaeol. Report*, Pl. LV., No. 55; and No. 75 of Pl. II, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, inscriptions.³ No. 79 of Pl. II, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, inscriptions.⁴ There is some uncertainty as to the exact date; for,⁵ Saka 831 was the Saka antecessor, and the *Prājāpati sakāntara* was Saka 835.⁶ No. 81 of Pl. II, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, inscriptions.⁷ No. 82 of Pl. II, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, inscriptions.

ON A PILLAR IN THE COURT-YARD OF THE
TEMPLE OF GALIGANATHA, AIHOLE.

ପଂଜିନ ବିକ୍ର
ମୂ ୫



ON THE FRONT WALL OF A TEMPLE IN FRONT OF THE
TEMPLE OF GALIGANATHA, AT AHOLE.

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tion is:—*Svasti Śrī-kadāpudān=madān=antāp-
Buddhiya vādai.*

Mr. V. R. Kutti explains *māgi* as a term applied to 'an old woman' or 'a goddess',—and proposes to correct *kadāpudā* into *kadāpudā*, which must then be taken as an irregular form of the instrumental singular of *kāpā*, *kāpān*, 'a cheek, a lip.' The translation would then be:—'Hail! The goddess (or, old woman) of Bāddāyī, who enforces that which is uttered (or, that which she utters) with the lip.'

This correction in the first word is rather a violent one. But I cannot suggest anything better,—with the exception, perhaps, of pointing out that Sanderson gives *ādai* as 'the woman *virile*,' whence it might perhaps be used in the sense of a *liān*,—that *kāpā* may be for *kāpā*, 'excessive, great, much,'—and that *pudā* may be for *budā*, which we have in *budābhāṣa*, *budābhāṣa*, *budābhāṣa*, 'with force, hastily.' From this point of view the inscription would refer to some *liān*, probably a *liān* brought from Biddani, and set up in this temple, which was supposed to have the power of immediately enforcing any vow made, or any promise given, in its presence.

No. LXIV.

In the same group of temples with the temple of Galiganātha, but in Survey No. 70, and rather closer to the river, there is a temple of the god Nāriyana. It contains three separate shrines, all leading out of the central hall. The inscription, of which a fac-simile¹ is given herewith, and of which there is a partial transcription in the Elliot MS. Collection, at Vol. I, p. 502, is on the front face of a pilaster on the right side of the entrance to the south shrine.

The language is Old-Canarese. The writing covers a space about 2' 3" high by 1' 9" broad. At the top of the inscription there are the usual emblems; viz., in the centre, a figure of Basava, and a cow and calf; on their right, a *liān*, with the sun and moon above it; and on their left, a curved sword.

The inscription is dated in the forty-third year of the Chālukya Vikrama-Vārsha,* i. e. 1040 (A. D. 1118-9), the Vilambi *śaivatsara*, and records the gift of certain lands to provide for the perpetual adoration of the god, and a grant of ten *gadyān* to provide food for the *Pūjārī*, or officiating priest of the temple.

Transcription.

[¹] Svasti Jay ² (yā)-bādvī(vī)lādhi(dhī)śānha	[¹] Chālukya-Vikra-
[²] ma-varāhāda	43[re ³]ya
[³] rada	Viṣṇuśaivatsara-
[⁴] da	Gaṅgādhara-Saṅgāgiyaraṇi
[⁵] ga(la)-Saṅgāgiyaraṇi	Naṛasiṃha-
[⁶] jōrige	niṭya-niṭya(vā)dyakam(kam)
[⁷] neya ⁴	keyi
[⁸] ya	keyi
[⁹] keyi	maṇa(ta)ra
[¹⁰] yi	maṇa(ta)ra
[¹¹] maṇa(ta)ra	3
[¹²] maṇa(ta)ra	3
[¹³] t...yala	gaṇṭhi-maṇa(ta)ra
[¹⁴] biṭa	gadyān
[¹⁵] tūvā(vān)	dhārā-pūrbha(vva)kaṁ-māḍi
[¹⁶] tūvā	[¹] Aṁt-āni-

Translation.

Hail! Victory and prosperity! At the time of the sun's commencing his progress to the north

in the Vilambi *śaivatsara* which was the forty-third (*year*) of the Chālukya Vikrama-Vārsha,—Gaṅgādhara-Saṅgāgi and Nārasimha-

¹ No. 82 of Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions.

² See Vol. VIII, p. 187.

³ See, *reṇṇa*.

⁴ In the lithograph this letter has come out as if it were H; but the original has *re*.

⁵ In the lithograph this letter reads as if it were *re*, a

small mark at the bottom, which would have distinguished it as *re*, having failed to appear.

⁶ It is not clear what the lower part of this character is meant for.

⁷ The original being rather damaged here, the letter has not come out properly in the lithograph.

Sannūgi allotted to the officiating priest of their god, for the purpose of the perpetual oblation, the cultivated land called Kaggala-mūnya (*measuring*) twelve *matars*, and the cultivated land called Dadḍana-mūnya (*measuring*) eight *matars*, and the cultivated land of the tank called Sandhigere (*measuring*) twelve *matars*, and the cultivated land of the well called Bejavāvi (*measuring*) three

matars, and the cultivated land of the tank called Banneyakege (*measuring*) three *matars*, and the cultivated land of the tank of Mādhave (*measuring*) three *matars*, and the cultivated land called Jachūngeyi, in of the god, (*measuring*) two *gantli-matars*,—and, to provide for his food, ten *gadyāpas*. This much they allotted, with libations of water.

STRAY NOTES.

BY CAPTAIN J. S. F. MACKENZIE.

1. In the North-West Provinces, on an outbreak of small-pox, it is the practice with some people to place, in the centre room of the house, in a water-pot, a branch of the nimh tree decorated with flowers as representing the goddess (Śī-tālā Māyī or Dūyī Bhawānī) of small-pox. The gardener's wife who furnishes fresh flowers every morning, worships the representation on behalf of the family. While small-pox is in the house, the inmates feed a donkey morning and evening with grain and jagarī. The donkey is fed because it is the animal on which the goddess rides.

2. Among the Brāhmanas of Bengal, eight out of the thirty-six castes into which the Hindus are divided, are considered clean. These eight are Ahīras (milkmen), Kumbhīs (ryots), Lohārīs (blacksmiths), Mālīs (gardeners), Tumbolīs (pān-sellers), Kumārīs (potters), Hajāms (barbers) and Kūhārīs (barbers). Any one of these castes may come into the house, and touch the bedding or pots without necessarily defiling them. A Brāhman will drink water out of the hands of any one of these. If any member of the other castes were to touch the things, they must be washed and purified.

3. While trying a case of adultery (in Mysore), in the course of cross-examination the headman of the village admitted that some time before the case had been brought into court, a panchāyat had enquired into the matter, but at the same time he showed a very marked reluctance to giving details of what then happened. It struck me that all the villagers were afraid they had done wrong in taking notice of the affair, and each pretended to know as little as possible of the doings of the panchāyat. The following facts were however elicited. A woman who could not get on with her husband

returned to her parents' home, and they, at the request of her husband, after some months, turned her out; but she declined to go back to her husband, went off, and lived with the co-respondent, an inhabitant of the same village. On this there was a general panchāyat convened—at whose request I could not learn—such *house* in the village sending one member, who was summoned to attend by the village (*kulnadi*) 'loty.' The meeting settled that if the woman were allowed to remain in the village, some misfortune would happen, and it was determined she should be expelled. The sentence was communicated to the headman, who said he had not been present at the meeting, but admits he executed the sentence by leading the woman out of the village, and dismissing her beyond the boundaries. I have often known cases where a breach of caste rules has been punished by a fine, but this is the only case I know of where the drastic course of expelling from the village an offending member has been followed.

4. The Holiars of Mysore are generally looked upon as outcasts of very low morals. On one occasion I was trying the headman of the caste, a reputed dacoit. The chief witnesses against him were members of his own caste. He tried to make out that the evidence of one of the witnesses was unworthy of any weight, since he was the offspring of a Holiar by a "Beder" woman. Now the Beder is admittedly of a higher caste, and yet a Holiar had been punished by a caste fine for marrying a woman even of a higher caste. And in the eyes of the caste a slur attaches to the offspring. Another witness he declared was unfit to give evidence because he lived with a woman without being married to her, and he had been fined by the caste for this. The incident is interesting as showing how even

among the lowest castes breach of the caste-rules is looked on as detracting from the respectability of the offender, and rendering his evidence of less value in their own opinion.

5. Among the lower class of Mussalmans in the North-West, there is a belief that bad luck will attend a child through life unless a naked sword or knife is shown to it soon after its birth. There is also a belief among this class extending to the lower castes of Hindus that the goddess or angel of good luck will not visit a house in which there is no sword of some sort or other.

6. When talking to a Bengali gentleman on the subject of tree and serpent worship, he told me—but I had better give his own words:—"In reference to the conversation of last Sunday morning, I have been, on the evening of that day, to a prostitute's house, and obtained the following correct information in respect to their system of marriage with flower plants.

"There are two classes of prostitutes:—One born of prostitute mother and carries on the profession from generation to generation. This class is married to flower plants, the daughters born of such prostitute mothers form no connection by rights of marriage with any living man, consequently any intercourse with this class of women is not considered a great social crime, as they bring no shame to any one by their pernicious profession.

"The other is the one who, on account of high metal, quits the protection of their guardians, leaving infant children, and thereby bring disgrace to the family which she had deserted. Intercourse with this class of women is in a moral and social point of view a heinous offence and sinfulness, as any assistance rendered to them encourages women of such disposition to enter into this profession.

"In the olden times, or what is called the *Satya Yuga*, according to Hindu mythology it appears from the *Purāṇas*, that there was a set of prostitutes of the first class such as *Urvasi*, *Ménakā*, *Rambhā*, *Tilottamā*, &c., and the mode of their living is also defined there. Each woman attaches herself for one night or successive nights to one man only, and during that period she has no connection with anybody else.

"The ceremony observed in the marriage with flower plants by the first class is—that the mother of the girl gives away her daughter to a flower plant, previously planted in her house for the purpose, in the presence of a priest of their class and of other friends invited for the purpose. A wedding feast is given on the occasion, according to the circumstances of the party.

"So long as the flower plant with which the girl is married is alive, she daily waters it, and puts a light near it at night. When the plant withers and dies away, the girl observes mourning for a period of three days, and abstains from meat or fish during these days, but lives on one meal of rice and vegetables. On the fourth day she bathes, cuts her nails, feeds friends and Brahmans, and then leads her usual mode of life.

"All flowers are of the female sex, except four, which are of the male species. As I am not acquainted with their English or botanical names, I give their names as pronounced in Bengal:—*Togore*, *Kund*, *Golamsho* or *Kulka*, and *Sephallika*. With these four species of flower plants the tree-marriage is contracted, and with no other kind of flower trees."

So far as I can learn, nothing is known around Allahabad of tree-marriage. The nim, as I have already noted, is worshipped, during an outbreak of small-pox, by the people. The pipal is worshipped as *Mahādēva* by the Brahmans.

THE PERUMALS.

Mālabār or *Malayālam* denotes the country between the Western Ghāts and the Arabian Sea south of *Kōlkaṇ*. Its Sanskrit name *Kēraḷa* is refers probably to the abundant growth of the *keṛam* or coconut in these parts.

According to tradition *Paraśurāma*, the sixth incarnation of *Viṣṇu*, reclaimed it from the sea, and established the principal temples and *grāmams*. To distinguish the people of

Mālabār from their fellow Aryans in other parts of the peninsula, certain changes were instituted in the manners and customs of the people; the principal of which are the wearing of the *kūṇasi* or tuft of hair, on the forehead of the head, the restriction that the eldest sons only of the *Nambūri* Brahmans should marry, and the system of inheritance known as *Maraṇatikāyama* amongst the *Śūdra* castes. The

lands in the newly occupied country were divided, rent free, amongst the temples and a few Bráhmaṇa proprietors called thence "Jámiis." These had each a large number of tenants or dependents, and at first established an aristocratic form of Government, till the rapid increase in the numbers of the colony and the dissensions amongst the chiefs rendered it necessary to instal a supreme executive officer. About A. C. 60^a a great congress was held, when it was agreed that a governor or Pêrumál should be sent for from the neighbouring kingdom of Chôḍa, comprising Kolmbatur and parts of Málabár and Travankor. Each vicerey was restricted to a rule of 12 years only.

List of some of the Pêrumál Princes who reigned in Malayálam, &c. :-

1. Kaya Pêrumál.—Died before the expiration of the prescribed time.

2. Shôja Pêrumál.—Assassinated by a Bráhmaṇa, who, with his associates, were expelled their tribe, and their descendants are called Nambidaimars.

3. Páñḍi Pêrumál.—Described as an enterprising female who reigned under this name. She resigned her government.

4. Vānam Pêrumál.—Described as having been converted to the Buddhist faith, and retired to Makka.^b

5. Tala Pêrumál.—The division of Malayálam into four provinces took place in the reign of this chief.

6. Indaram Pêrumál.—Subdivided the country; the north he called Tulunád, the south Malayálam, and directed that the inhabitants of each should confine their alliances to those belonging to their own particular tract.

7. Ária Pêrumál.—During the reign of this chief the country underwent a third change, from Gokarna to Perampalli it was called Tulunád; thence to Pothupattanam, Kôrná Ráj; thence to Kanáth, Muttinginád; and thence to Kanya Kunári, Kanya Ráj; each province was superintended by a Dalaidari or Bráhmaṇa Councillor.

8. Kana Pêrumál.

9. Kottai Pêrumál.—Is said to have founded KottaiKolam, the modern Calicut.

10. Munda Pêrumál.

11. Yailia Pêrumál.

12. Kumbam Pêrumál.

13. Vijayam Pêrumál.—Is said to have built Kulam then called Vaddakenkolam.

14. Valuvam Pêrumál.—Derived his appellation from his constant tours through the country.

15. Arachendron Pêrumál.—His successor early disappeared. He built the Fort of Puraviyamalla.

16. Mallam Pêrumál.—Traced his lineage from the Madura kings.

17. Kolashagara Pêrumál.

18. Chôraman Pêrumál.—He made Tirúwanjekolam his residence and encouraged commerce. A Śaiva temple there perpetuates his memory.^c

The Pêrumáls had their capital at Kranganor or Koḍuagalár, and preserved the tributary relation to the Tamil kingdom, till the fourth century after Christ, when the last Chôraman Pêrumál made himself independent. The Jews and Syrian Christians had received the protection of the Pêrumál as refugees and traders, and probably helped him to throw off the yoke of his sovereign.

Before the retirement of Chôraman Pêrumál to Makka as a Buddhist (?) in A.D. 378,^d he divided his dominions amongst his relatives and dependants. The Rájās of Cochín are the descendants of the Pêrumál in the Marakkattayom line, and as such were entitled to the paramount position in Málabár. They were crowned at Ponáni in the presence of the other Rájās till that town was forfeited successively to the Samorin of Calicut, the Sulṭán of Maisar, and lastly to the British Government.

From the native annals of Málabár and their own traditions, it appears that ten thousand Jews arrived on the coast shortly after the destruction of the second temple and the final desolation of Jerusalem.^e It is supposed that some seven thousand settled at once on a spot

^a This period is called the Arichandras or state of misrule.—Ed. ^b Some fix this about A. D. 240.—Ed.

^c The native History of Kerala appears to indicate more rationally that he became a Mahomedan; but if so, he must be placed very much later in the list. After mentioning the arrival in Málabár of Már Sápóy and Már Apróthá, the native Syrian Christian Brief History states that, "at that time the Jews and Arabs in this

country were at war. We and the Jews were allies. The Arabs commenced the war—destroyed a city—slew the two Rájās Viliyavattala, and burnt their bodies." Whitcomb's *Travels in India*, pp. 54, 56; conf. *Madras Jour. Lit. Soc.* vol. II, p. 71.—Ed.

^d Whitcomb's *Travels in India*, pp. 2, 3.—Ed.

^e Others give A. D. 325 for this date.—Ed.

^f This is quite fabulous, see ante, vol. III, p. 323.—Ed.

then called *Mahādēvapaṭṇam*, but now Kudangalur, and applied themselves with their usual sagacity, economy and success to trade, and thence early obtained the respect and protection of the native princes. Some considerable time afterwards they procured a most valuable grant from the ruling sovereign, and had it engraved in old Tamil upon copper plates. These plates are still in existence at Cochin. They have been already given in facsimile with a translation. The following is the transliteration of the first plate:—

Swasti śrī—kōyū amai kōṇḍin. kō śrī Pārkaṇḍ-
Iraviraṇmar tīravuḍḍi pala nūṛiyin-
tāṇḍum āṇḍūḷi naḍatti yāḷa nōṇu yāṇḍa
iravḍūm āṇḍūḷi k'ōṭṭi mappuṭṭārūm āṇḍu Ma-
yippokkū iruṇḍa 'rēṭiya nāl pīrāṇḍiṭṭiā. 'rē-
ṭiya pīrāṇḍamūṇḍu; Isappu Iravḍūṇḍu
aṇḍuvāṇḍum āṇḍiyāḷum pāyāṇḍāḷum
pāyadamum aṇḍuvāṇḍūṇḍum pāyāṇḍāḷum
pāyāṇḍāḷum pāyāṇḍāḷum aṇḍāṇḍum kōṇḍūṇḍum
[kōṇḍūṇḍum].*

FOLKLORE SCRAPS FROM BIRBHUM, BENGAL.

BY G. D. RYSACK.

Sajol, in the district of Birbhum, is situated one and a half kos to the north-east of the railway station of Bolpur. Its correct name is *Svīn-gāḷpūr*. Tradition says that this place was the hermitage of the great ascetic Rishya Śringa. The country is undulating, and the village Sajol is built on an elevated site. One of its wards is called *Dōḷpārā*, and to the north-east of *Dōḷpārā* is a narrow mound of earth where the great Rishi used to perform his devotions. Near the mound was his *Kuṇḍa* or sacrificial font. That *Kuṇḍa* is now called *Kanā* land.

This place is regarded as sacred, and dedicated to a lion-maned goddess *Naxa Durgā*. It is said that the father of Rishya Śringa, the great sage, Vibhāṇḍaka, established the stone image here. Cinders, rice and *bīḷa* leaves are still to be found in digging. A story prevails that a few years ago a European sunk an iron bar in the earth to know whether the place had a coal mine, when the bar was taken out of the ground he found it to be hot. This served to confirm the general belief or superstition that

The States formed on the dismemberment of the Pūrṇimā empire were farther weakened by smaller apportionments amongst Chiefs or Kūṇḍas who were under a species of feudal subordination to the Rājas, and, subject to their control, exercised a tyrannical rule over the tenants and people included within their provinces. These subordinate Chiefs were styled Rājas again by their subjects, and were often at feud with one another. The army was raised by conscription from the Nāyars, and the inferior castes were pressed into the service as camp followers. When we consider that a loose patriarchal sort of government was all that pertained to the sovereigns in those times, who levied no land taxes and established no strong tribunals, it is not surprising that some of the chiefs latterly claimed sovereign rank for themselves, or were adjudged the same by foreigners, who found the line of distinction between the humbled subject or tributary chief and the independent ruler too narrow to be perceived."

the Musā still perform their devotions below the earth. There is a tank in the middle of the village called *Enḍa*—the hermitage of Amḷaka. A tank was dug to the east of the village in the year 1231 B.S., and called *Morapukhar*. When digging it pieces of broken boats, rotten tobacco, and human bones turned up. It is said that formerly the Ajai river flowed through this place. Dairāth, the son of Ajadhyā, when celebrating the *Pūṇḍrī pūjā* (sacrifice to obtain a son) took Śringa to Ajadhyā by the river. Rishya Śringa's father Mahārishi Vibhāṇḍaka was very old, and was by no means inclined to let his son go to so distant a place, but the mother was prevailed upon to assent to the Raja's earnest commands as there was no other alternative left for her. After the departure of her son, she became very anxious for him. The river which had helped Dairāth to take her son away excited her ire. On the return of her son she stopped its course by a curse. From that time the river began to silt up, and

* In the eighth century A.D., see vol. III, p. 334.—Ed.

* I have added this from Dr. Bernal's *S. culture Paleogeography* (2nd ed.), p. 146, in place of an unsatisfactory translation given in the *Report*. For his translation see

ibid., vol. III, pp. 332f.—Ed.

* From the *Madras Edition Report of Cochin for 1875-76*, communicated by H. H. Rina Varuā, First Prince of Travancore.—Ed.

ultimately changed its course. The climate of the place was then highly salubrious. It is only lately that it has become unhealthy, as the ravages of cholera and malarious fever indicated by the number of deserted and dilapidated houses prove. The village is said to be very old, an old long Digi or tank, and the debris of an old brick-built house are the only vestiges left to testify to its former existence. From the people also we gather that the place was the abode of a Rāja Basanta. His palace was to the east of the railway. Traces of buildings at the place are found to this day. There is also a story connected with this fort at Bhubarva. Once it is said the Rāja took shelter with his army within this fort. The

fort had only one gate, and a gate-keeper guarded the gate without closing it. One of the men from the enemy killed the door-keeper, and no one else could come out of the fort, so the Rāja was killed with all his army and followers. The men killed in the fort became ghosts after their death, and it is said that now and then during the dead hours of night they resume their former shapes and march about in battle array, and sounds are audible—the noise of chariots, &c. To the south of this village is a place called Makdaintala. The Muhammadans say that at this place a great battle was fought between the Hindus and Muhammadans, and the men who died in the battle were buried there.

MISCELLANEA.

A VILLAGE LEGEND.

Keldr is a village three miles to the south of Aihole in the Hungund taluk of the Kaladgi siffa, and about a mile and a half to the west of the village is a *hof* or glen, in which is a temple of Siddhā-varādāra. To the north of it is a cavern in the rock and another to the south. Once upon a time two cows used to come daily from the south cave, and graze on the pasture in the neighbourhood. A boy attending the village cattle observed them, and took it into his head to watch them so as to find out their owner, and ask wages for keeping them. Accordingly in the evening he followed them into the cave, where he found two Brahmins engaged in their devotions, who, on opening their eyes, were surprised to see the cowherd boy. They questioned him who he was, and how he happened to come there. The boy explained all and asked for some wage for watching their cows. They gave him a ball of cow-dung and dismissed him, enjoining him not to reveal to any one what he had seen. The boy's mother finding her son had not come home at the usual time went out to seek him, and met him just as he had come out of the cave. She asked why he was so late that evening, when he told her the whole story, and showed her the ball of cow-dung which he was carrying under his *dholl*. The ball was found to be half gold and half dung, but the boy immediately expired on the spot. Since then nobody has ever attempted to enter the cave.

J. B.

THE GRAMMAR OF CHANDRA.

Kandy: Dec. 18, 1879.

1. At a time when the enquiry into the history and development of Sanskrit grammatical literature is engaging a large share of the attention of

Oriental scholars, it gives me great pleasure to announce to them the discovery of an important work in Ceylon which will throw much light on this interesting subject.

That a grammar by Chandra existed till about eight or nine centuries ago, and that it now exists in a Tibetan version only, are facts within the knowledge of every well-read Orientalist. Not only is there the absence of its name from every catalogue of existing Sanskrit works, whether published or still in MS., but we have the distinct assertion of Rājendralāla Mitra, LL.D., on p. 162 of his *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, published in 1877, that the work is lost.

We find the author mentioned in the twelfth century by Yopaddra in the second verse of the Introduction to his admirable *Dhātupāṭha* called the *Kuṭibhāṣanā*. There a list is given of the eight principal grammarians, the founders, no doubt, of eight different schools, to some one or other of which all the existing grammatical treatises are referable. These are Indra, Chandra, Kāśakṛitana, Āpiśali, Śākaṭāyana, Pāṇini, Amara, and Jainendra. The works of Indra, Kāśakṛitana, Āpiśali, and Amara are also lost, and MSS. have only been discovered of those of Śākaṭāyana, Pāṇini, and Jainendra. That Āpiśali and Śākaṭāyana were predecessors of Pāṇini appears from their being mentioned by him; and, although there is no mention of Indra in his work by name, yet there are reasons making it highly probable that the *Prāñicā*, frequently referred to by him belonged to his school. It is also clear that several works now extant, such as the *Kāśikā* and others, have been composed on the principles of the Indra school of Sanskrit grammar. With

the exception, therefore, of Indra, more perhaps is known of Chandra from quotations in existing works than of any one of the other three whose works have shared the same fate—viz., Kāśakṛita, Apīdali, and Amara. What is known of him, however, is so scanty that it would not enable us to form any definite idea of the character and extent of his work. To say that it consisted of sūtras, and that it was quoted by Bhattoji in the *Prasādhānāṣṛṇḍ*, by Ujjvaladatta in his commentary on the *Uddi-sūtra*, and by one or two other authors, would embrace perhaps all that could have hitherto been said of the Chandra grammar. But the MS. just discovered enables us to ascertain with certainty several important facts regarding this work and its relation to the existing systems of Sanskrit grammar.

From this MS., of which I shall give a short account before concluding this paper, we gather that Chandra's work was based on the model of, and was intended as an improvement on, Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Both works have adopted the same arrangement, which may be termed artificial, as distinguished from the natural arrangement according to subjects observable in the *Kāśikā* and *Mayābhūṭa*, and, in fact, in all European treatises on grammar. The division into *adhyāyas* and *pādas* is also common to both works, with only this difference, that the number of *adhyāyas* in Pāṇini is eight, while that in Chandra is six. This has resulted probably from the latter embodying in one *adhyāya* the substance of Pāṇini's third, fourth, and fifth chapters, all of which treat of affixes.

Both works open with a peculiar arrangement of the letters, materially differing from the alphabetical arrangement, and styled by the Pāṇinīya school of grammarians the *Sīrasūtra*. There is, however, a slight difference between the two schemes—viz., that the *it* or *anubandha* at the end of the fifth sūtra in Pāṇini's is omitted in Chandra's scheme, which thus contains thirteen sūtras, while the number in Pāṇini's is fourteen. This omission causes the absence from Chandra's work of only one *pratyāhāra*, of the necessity for which is obviated by Chandra in an ingenious manner, as will be seen from an instance which I cannot help adverting to.

Pāṇini, after laying down in viii. 4. 1, that the dental *s* should be changed to the cerebral *ṣ* when it follows *r* or *ṣ* in the same *pāda*, states in the sūtra immediately following that the rule obtains even when the letters included in the *pratyāhāra* *at*, and those belonging to the guttural and labial classes of consonants, as well as the preposition

dā and the augment *an*, intervene between the *r* or *ṣ* and the dental *s*. Chandra, on the other hand, after giving a rule corresponding to Pāṇini viii. 4. 1, in nearly the same words, mentions in a subsequent sūtra a number of letters the intervention of which between the *r* or *ṣ* and the dental *s* prevents the operation of the first-mentioned rule. These letters are those belonging to the palatal, cerebral, and dental classes of consonants, those included in *ṣer* and the consonant *l*. The obvious meaning of this is that the intervention of any other letters—and the only others are those given by Pāṇini—does not prevent the cerebral change.

It also occurs in Pāṇini viii. 4. 65, but in the corresponding sūtra of Chandra we find, instead of it, the more comprehensive *pratyāhāra* *am*, which includes, besides the letters contained in *at*, the nasal and the consonant *l*. That Chandra's rule is the better of the two will be readily admitted when it is remembered that Pāṇini's sūtra was amended by a *vārtika* of Kātyāyana substituting this very *pratyāhāra* for the less comprehensive *at*.

Another *pratyāhāra* employed by Pāṇini but dispensed with by Chandra is the *ay* formed with the second *s* in the scheme. This occurs only in one solitary sūtra of Pāṇini, viz., I. 1. 69, according to which the letters contained in it would also represent or imply their homogeneous modifications; for instance, the short vowel *a*, which alone is given in the scheme, would imply, among others, the long and prolated *ā*. Chandra finds no necessity for this rule, and omits it altogether, as the short vowel *a*, being a *jñi* term, would necessarily imply its long and prolated forms and its other homogeneous variations.

The only other *pratyāhāra* employed by Pāṇini and omitted by Chandra is *jñā*; but he employs in his grammar the four *pratyāhāras*, *ri*, *sem*, *mau*, and *day*, which do not occur in Pāṇini. With reference to the last of these, *day*, it must be stated that, though not employed by Pāṇini, it is used by Kātyāyana in a *vārtika* to viii. 4. 48.

With the aid of these new *pratyāhāras* Chandra has effected a decided improvement on many of the sūtras of Pāṇini, an instance of which may here be mentioned. The sūtra Pāṇini I. 1. 51—*Urag raparak*—means, if we assign to the terms occurring in it their true and legitimate significations, that *er*, that is to say the vowels *o*, *i*, and *a*, substituted for the vowel *ri*, should be followed by *r*. It was found by grammarians that this rule stated too little, as it did not teach that *er*, substituted for the vowel *i*,¹ should be followed

¹ Almost all Oriental scholars transliterate this vowel by "ir." I have my reasons for omitting the *r* and

retaining only *i*, but they are too long to be stated in a foot-note. See Max Müller's *Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 12.

by L. To remedy this defect Pāṇini's commentators were obliged to have recourse to several ingenious devices, attributing to Pāṇini doctrines he never inculcated and contrivances he never intended. They held that the vowels *ri* and *li* are homogeneous, and that the former, according to i. 1. 32, implies the latter. This can scarcely be said to be a perfectly correct view, as *li* is actually given in the *śiṣya-sūtras*. At all events the commentators are not consistent, as while asserting that *li*, which is given in the scheme, is homogeneous with *ri*—which in point of fact it is not, the former being a dental while the latter is a lingual—they, in almost the same breath, assert, for certain objects which it is foreign to my purpose to mention here, that *ai* and *au*, which in point of fact are homogeneous with *e* and *o* respectively, are not homogeneous with them, because the former are given in the scheme at the beginning of a *sūtra*. Having, however, by this grammatical fiction brought in the vowel *i* by implication into the rule, they had a still greater difficulty to contend with, viz., to show that the consonant *r* is also mentioned in it. To meet this fresh difficulty they resorted to a step to which there is no parallel in point of subtlety in the whole range of grammatical invention. They contended that the *r* in the sixth *śiṣya-sūtra*, *ṛi*, is an *li*, and that the consonant *r* in the fifth *śiṣya-sūtra*, which is the *pratyāhāra* *ri*, which includes the letters *r* and *i*. In this extraordinary way the commentators of Pāṇini have explained the *sūtra* in question to mean that *ai* substituted for *ri* and *li* should be followed by *r* and *i*. If now we turn to the corresponding rule of Chandra—*riks'paralan*—we are forced to admit that the doctrine is taught there in the plainest terms, and that this has been effected by the adoption of the *pratyāhāra* *ri*, not occurring in the *sūtras* of Pāṇini.

In both works the employment of *pratyāhāras* is not confined to letters, but their application is extended to affixes also, which appear to be enumerated in the same order, beginning with *an* and ending with *kaṇ*. The affix *pratyāhāra* are also identical in the *sūtras* of both grammarians, with this difference: that in Chandra there are two *expa*, one formed with *ra* and *expa* in Pāṇini, and the other with *ra* and *kaṇ*.

A remarkable feature in the system of Chandra is the absence from it of several technical terms invented by Pāṇini, or adopted by him from prior grammarians such as *guna*, *eriddhi*, *pragbhāga*, *sarvasamāsthāna*, *ghī*, *uall*, *śaṭ*, and several others. This circumstance led me at first to suppose that Chandra's work was prior to Pāṇini's; but a closer examination has convinced me that the omission was intentional. The reason for this

step appears to be that, while by the omission of these terms no obscurity or lengthening of the *sūtras* would result, there was the decided advantage of many *sūtras*, such as those defining them, or rather explaining the meanings assigned to them being omitted and, indeed, of others being actually shortened—a primary object according to the *Mahābhāṣya* in all grammatical *sūtras*. I shall illustrate this by an example or two.

Pāṇini's explanation of *eriddhi* is "*eriddhiḥ śābhiḥ*" of *guna* "*śābhiḥ* *ganaḥ*." It must be remembered that these *sūtras* are not properly speaking definitions of the terms *eriddhi* and *guna*, but that they merely give these names to the letters mentioned in the *sūtras*. Now these terms are by no means shorter than the convertible terms *śābhiḥ* and *śābhi*, and hence no advantage is gained by the use of the former in a *sūtra* in preference to the latter, which may be used to equal advantage, as they actually have been by Chandra.

In the case of *sarvasamāsthāna* consisting of six syllables, there is a considerable economizing of space by its omission and by the retention of the dissyllabic *śaṭ* used by Chandra, and occurring in two *sūtras* of Pāṇini, explaining the technical term *sarvasamāsthāna*—viz., in i. 1. 42 and *śaṭ* in i. 1. 43.

The *Vipentishodhasūtra*, Pāṇini i. 4. 2, and the *Aśābhiḥ-sūtra*, Pāṇini vii. 2. 1, also occur in Chandra, the latter being placed in about the middle of the third *pāda* of the sixth *adhyāya*. The *sūtras*, therefore, in the latter half of the third *pāda* and in the whole of the fourth are, as it were, non-existent in reference to those in the preceding five *adhyāyas* and two *pādas*, and about one-half of the third *pāda* of the sixth.

2. I shall now advert to the work mentioned at the beginning of this paper, which has enabled me to gather the above-mentioned facts regarding Chandra's grammar and several other facts which the limited space of this paper precludes my stating here. It is called the *Bāḍabodhaṇa*, and is a reproduction of Chandra's grammar by a Buddhist priest named Kāśyapa, who lived in Ceylon about seven centuries ago, and of whom I hope to write a short account hereafter. The reader will be able to form some idea of the work and of its extent when I say that it bears the same relation, as regards matter and arrangement, to Chandra's grammar as the *Loghahamānī* does to that of Pāṇini. The *Loghahamānī* is an abridgement of a larger work called the *Siddhāntabodhaṇa*, containing all the *sūtras* of Pāṇini, differently arranged and explained; but whether the *Bāḍabodhaṇa* is an abridgement of an already existing work bearing the same relation to

Chandra as the *Siddhāntakosaśāstra* does to Pāṇini is a question which I am not yet in a position to decide. If, however, an introductory verse be any guide, I should be very much inclined to conclude that the work is an original one, or, in other words, that Kāśyapa has effected in the Chandra system what Rāmachandra has done in the Pīśatya by his work called the *Prakriyābhāṣanī* which, no doubt, afforded a model for Bhāṭṭi in the composition of his *Siddhāntakosaśāstra*. The verse referred to is the following:—

"Bhagavantaḥ jagatvandyam abhivandya ta-
lādgaṭāḥ |

Bhāṣatādānam bindum Chāndrasūdanam lāṭe-
my aham ||"

Here the author states that the *Bhāṣatādānam* which he composed is a drop from the ocean of Chandra. If the work was an abridgement of an already existing re-arrangement of all or the greater number of the sūtras of Chandra, the author would most probably have referred to that work in the Introduction, just as Varadarāja, in the introductory verse to the *Loghāṇasūtra*, has stated it to be an abridged *Siddhāntakosaśāstra*.

The book begins with the usual adoration to Buddha as found in almost all Buddhistical works—*Namas tasmai bhagavate 'bhaṭe samyak-sambuddhaya*. Then follow the introductory verse given above, and the scheme commonly called the *śiva-sūtra*, together with a gloss explaining the use of the scheme and the classification and formation of letters. The extraordinary statement in the *Kosaśāstra* that the vowel *i* has no long form, though it has a prolated one—a statement quite opposed to the *Kāśikā*—is also met with in the *Bhāṣatādānam*. A reason is assigned for the repetition of the *i* in the scheme, which is that it is repeated in order that it may be included in the *pratyāhāra* *śeṭ*. Such a reason is also mentioned in the *Pramāṇasūtra*, which enumerates, besides *śeṭ*, the *pratyāhāra* *śeṭ*, *śeṭ*, and *śeṭ*.

According to the *Kosaśāstra*, *śeṭ* and *pratyāhāra* are concerned with the formation of letters, but in the work under notice a third thing is mentioned, namely, *śeṭ*. The *śeṭ* are the middle of the tongue, the vicinity of the tip of the tongue, and the tip of the tongue itself, as in pronouncing the palatals, the linguals, and the dentals respectively. In the case of the other letters the *śeṭ* and *pratyāhāra* are the same.

Before leaving the subject of the classification of letters and the mode of their formation, and passing on to the chapter on *śeṭ*, a remark is given restricting the *pratyāhāra* to forty-two, which bears a close resemblance to that given

in the *Kāśikā* for the formation of Pāṇini's forty-two *pratyāhāra*, as will be seen on a comparison of the two which I quote here for the purpose:—

"Namasāvāḥ syat cāksaśāḥ caturbhyasta kachau
naslin |

Drābhyāḥ rūṣya 'ṇi pāṭhabyaḥ las ta śad-
bhyā vidhyate |"

Kāśikā: "Rāmaṇa māṇavatā drābhyāḥ
śva tribhyāśā kamaḥ syat |

Jūṣya śvayā caturbhyā rak pāṭhabyāḥ
śaka śadhyat |"

As regards the arrangement of the subjects in the *Bhāṣatādānam*, I am very much inclined to the opinion that it is more logical and, strange to say, more in accordance with European ideas than the arrangement in the *Kosaśāstra*. As an instance affording proof of this, I may mention that in the former the declensions of persons and numbers are given in separate sections, and not blended with those of nouns as in the latter.

The MS. in question belongs to the Lakṣmīśākhā-vihāra, a Buddhist temple in the Central Province of Ceylon, about eight miles from Kandy, the mountain capital of the island. Mr. A. C. Lawrie, district judge of Kandy, and a member of the committee of the Oriental Library of that city, whose services to the library cannot be too highly valued, having received information of there being a good collection of MSS. in this vihāra, at once proceeded to the place and had the whole collection examined and catalogued. At his request, Kobbū-kachau Śrīlankā Buddhānukūṭa, the incumbent of the vihāra, lent the work to the library, and it was there that I found it about three months ago. A careful examination of the MS. led me to believe that its publication would be of immense service to Oriental scholars as tending to throw new light upon questions relative to the historical connexion of the different systems of Sanskrit grammar and upon other problems in the solution of which scholars are at present engaged. With a view, therefore, to its publication I made diligent enquiries for other copies of it, in every quarter where I thought any would be forthcoming, for the purpose of collation, but my search has resulted in the discovery of only two other copies. One of these belongs to the Suddhāraṇipala-vihāra, near Kandy, and the other to the learned high-priest, Sumanāra, Principal of the Oriental College, Colombo. All the three copies now in my possession—and I do not believe it likely that any more could be added to the number—are in the Suddhāraṇipala character but the edition I intend publishing will appear in the Devanagari type, together with a preface, explanatory notes, and a

list of the sūtras alphabetically arranged. The work of collating is being vigorously carried on, and I hope to send the edition to the press in about two or three months.

W. GONWILLAGE.*

NOTE.

The *Nirvāṇaśūtra* by Dr. S. Warren (Amsterdam, J. Müller), is the text in Jain Prakrit, with notes and glossary, of five Jain *Upaniṣads*, forming the above *Sūtra*, and containing a legend of Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu, a Jātaka story by Mahāvīra, and several short *avadānas* or legends of Jain saints. Dr. Warren has not ventured on a translation, and confesses that he has not been able to understand all the text which he edits. The paucity of Jain texts compels us to welcome any new one, carefully edited, as this is, from four MSS.—*The Academy*, Jan. 17, 1880.

THE GĀTHA AHUNAVAITI OF THE PĀRSIS.

PROSE XXX.

Now will I speak and proclaim to all who have come to listen.

Thy praise, Ahura-Mazda, and thine, O Vohumazd, Asha! I ask that thy grace may appear in the lights of heaven.

Hear with your ears what is best, perceive with your minds what is purest.

So that each man for himself may, before the great doom cometh,

Choose the crowd he prefers. May the wise ones be on our side!

These two spirits are twins; they made known in times that are bygone

That which is good and evil, in thought and word and action.

Rightly decided between them the good; not so the evil.

When these Two came together, first of all they created

Life and death, that at last there might be for such as are evil

Wretchedness, but for the good a happy blest existence.

Of these Two the One who was evil chose what was evil;

He who was kind and good, whose robe was the changeless Heaven.

Chose what was right; those, too, whose works pleased Ahura-Mazda.

They could not rightly discern who erred and worshipped the Dēvas;

They the Bad Spirit chose, and having held counsel together,

Turned to Rapine, that so they might make man's life an affliction.

But to the good came might; and with might came wisdom and virtue;

Armaiti, herself the Eternal, gave to their bodies Vigour; 'ere thus were enriched by the gifts that she scattered, O Mazda!

Mazda, the time will come when the crimes of the bad shall be punished;

Then shall thy power be displayed in fitly rewarding the righteous—

Them that have bound and delivered up falsehood to Asha, the Truth-God.

Let us then be of those who advance this world and improve it,

O Ahura-Mazda, O Truth-God, bliss-conferring! Let our minds be ever there where wisdom abideth!

Then indeed shall be seen the fall of pernicious falsehood!

But in the house where dwell Vohu-mazd, Mazda, and Asha—

Beautiful house—shall be gathered for ever such as are worthy.

O men, if you but cling to the precepts Mazda has given,

Precepts, which to the bad are a torment, but joy to the righteous,

Then shall you one day find yourselves victorious through them.¹

The following is Dr. Haug's prose version of the same section of this Gāthā.²—

1. I will now tell you who are assembled here, the wise sayings of Mazda, the praises of Ahura, and the hymns of the good spirit, the sublime truth which I see arising out of these sacred flames.

2. You shall, therefore, hearken to the soul of nature³ (i.e., to plough and cultivate the earth);

* *The Academy*, Jan. 24 and 31, 1880, pp. 69ff., 88ff.
¹ Holschmann, *Das Zoroastriische Lied, mit Rücksicht auf die Tradition überliefert und erklärt* (München, 1872). Compare Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Religion*, pp. 237–82.—Rawlinson's *Religion of the Ancient World in Sixty Days at Home*, June 1879, pp. 373, 374.

² Haug's *Exegese*, by West, pp. 149–151.

³ *Grass* and *manus* the universal soul of earth, the

cause of all life and growth. The literal meaning of the word, "soul of a cow," implies a simile, for the earth is compared to a cow. By its cutting and dividing, ploughing is to be understood. The meaning of that *darro*, issued by Ahura-mazda and the heavenly council, is that the soil is to be tilled; it, therefore, enjoins agriculture as a religious duty. Zarathushtra, when encouraging men by the order of Ahura-mazda to cultivate the earth, acts as a prophet of agriculture and civilisation.

contemplate the beams of fire with a most pious mind! Every one, both men and women, ought to-day to choose his creed (*between the Devas and the Ashva vidyā*). Ye offspring of renowned ancestors, awake to agree with us (*i.e.* to approve of my lore, to be delivered to you at this moment). The prophet begins to deliver the words revealed to him by the sacred flame).

3. In the beginning there was a pair of twins, two spirits, each of a peculiar activity; these are the good and the base, in thought, word, and deed. Choose one of these two spirits! Be good, not base!

4. And these two spirits united created the first (*the material things*); one, the reality, the other, the non-reality. To the base (*the worshippers of the Devas, i.e. gods*) existence will become bad, whilst the believers in the true God enjoy prosperity.

5. Of these two spirits you must choose one, either the evil, the originator of the worst actions, or the true, holy spirit. Some may wish to have the hardest lot (*i.e., those who will not leave the polytheistic Devas-religion*), others adore Ahimsa-mazdā by means of sincere actions.

6. You cannot belong to both of them (*i.e., you cannot be worshippers of the one—true God and of many gods at the same time*). One of the Devas, against whom we are fighting, might overtaken you, when in deliberation (*what faith you are to embrace*), whispering to you, to choose the worst mind.* Then the Devas flock together to assault the two eyes (*the light of the body and that of the soul*), blinded by the prophets.

7. And to answer this lie (*the lie of the Devas*), Ahimsa† came with wealth, the good and true mind, she, the everlasting one, created the material world; but the soul, in its time, the first among created beings, was with Them.

8. But when he (*the evil spirit*) comes with me of these evils (*he now misleads among the believers*) then thou hast the power through the good mind of punishing them who break their promises, O righteous spirit!‡

9. Thus let us be such as help the life of the future.¶ The wise living spirits* are the greatest supporters of it. The prudent man wishes only to be there where wisdom is at home.

10. Wisdom is the shelter from lies, the annihilation of the destroyer (*the evil spirit*). All perfect things are gathered up in the splendid residence of the Good Mind (Vahumand), the

Wise (Mazdā), and the Righteous (Ashv),* who are known as the best beings.

11. Therefore, perform ye the commandments which, performed by Mazdā himself, have been given to mankind; for they are a nuisance and pollution to him, but prosperity to the believers in the truth; they are also fountain of happiness.

AVALAMBANA.

By REV. S. BRAL, B.A.

MR. KITTEL, in his very useful *Handbook for the Student of Chinese Buddhism*, arranges under the heading *Ullambā* the particulars which relate to the "sacrifice for the dead" common among Buddhists, at least in China and Japan, (and in Ceylon also, according to SPENCER HARPER: *Meant of Buddhism* p. 50), made on the 15th day of the 7th month. This title *Ullambā* should doubtless be restored to *Avalambana*, as JULIEN gives it in his *Méthode* (1815), and as the Kasyapapada *Pāṭaliyapāṭi* fully explains (*Kāśyapa* vii, 60, 55). This title *Avalambana* seems to be derived from the idea of the suspension, head downwards, of the wretched recipients of the *Ullambā* pitfalls. This idea is not a new one in Hindu fancy. We all know how the "Baital" or "Vetal," in the tale is suspended head downwards from a tree, and how Vikram repeatedly cuts him loose and carries him away on his back. We may remember also in the *Mahābhārata* (Bhishm Parva) how Agastya made his mountain suspended by their heads, and pitfall was told by them that they could only be extricated by his lowering a new *Ullambā* of the *Indra*, vol. I, p. 322 n. 5. These instances are sufficient to show that the title *Avalambana* is intended to signify literally the condition of those wretched souls who suffer in purgatory (we have no other word) by being suspended head downwards, till the sacrifices made by their offspring overleap compensates for them from their sufferings. How nearly this idea of the Buddhists approaches to that of the condition of souls in Limbo, and their rescue by the offerings or sacrifices of their friends on earth is too plain to need comment. Mr. KITTEL, however, would assign the origin of this custom of "sacrificing for the dead" among the Buddhists to the time of the Yogachāra school, introduced into China about A. D. 7th. But we have in fact a *Sūtra* translated into Chinese in the time of the Western Jin, preceded by Zhiyi's *Shi* will be punished by that should they break their promise.

¶ In this passage we have the germ of the doctrine of the resurrection from the dead, as the author's German work on the *Ullambā* vol. I, pp. 320-322.

* These are the arhats (Arhats).

¶ Three names of arhats.

* *Ahimsa* (superlat. *ahimsā*) means literally "real mind." It is a philosophical term applied by Zoroastrians to designate his principle of non-existence, non-reality, which is the cause of all evils.

† She is the angel of earth and the personification of prayers.

‡ That is to say, those who give to-day the solemn promise to leave the polytheistic religion, and to follow that

dynasty (i. e. circ. 265 A. D.) by the famous priest Dharmarakṣa, relating to this very subject. It occurs in the 5th chapter of the collection called *King-foxy-yo-shwa*, and is called *Po-sho-u-lai-pu-shi-ling*, i. e. the *Sūtra Anulohana* spoken by Buddha. We shall proceed to give a translation of this short sermon, and so leave the matter in the hands of the student.

The Anulohana Sūtra.

Thus have I heard. Buddha at one time was residing in the country of Śrāvastī, in the garden of Jeta the friend of the orphan. At this time Mughalen having begun to acquire the six supernatural powers (*iroddi*), desiring above all things, from a motive of piety, to deliver his father and mother, forthwith called into use his power of supernatural sight, and looking throughout the world he beheld his unhappy mother existing without food or drink in the world of *Petās* (hungry ghosts) nothing but skin and bone. Mughalen, moved with filial pity, immediately presented to her his alms-bowl filled with rice. His mother, then taking the bowl in her left hand, endeavoured with her right to convey the rice to her mouth, but before it came near to her lips, lo! the rice was converted into fiery ashes, so that she could not eat thereof. At the sight of this, Mughalen uttered a piteous cry, and wept many tears as he bent his way to the place where Buddha was located. Arrived there, he explained what had happened, and awaited Buddha's instruction. On this the master opened his mouth, and said, "The sin which binds your mother to this unhappy fate is a very grievous one, from it you can never by your own strength rescue her, no! nor yet all the powers of earth or heaven, men or divine beings; not all these are equal to the task of deliverance. Not by assembling the priests of the ten quarters, through their spiritual energy deliverance may be had. I will now recount to you the method of rescue from this and all similar calamities." Then Buddha continued—"On the 15th day of the 7th month the priests of the ten quarters being gathered together ought to present an offering for the rescue of ancestors during seven generations past, as well as those of the present generation, every kind of choice food and drink, as well as sleeping materials and beds. These should be offered up by the assembled priesthood as though the ancestors themselves were present, by which they shall obtain deliverance from the pains, and be born at once in a condition of happiness in Heaven." And, moreover, the World-honoured One taught his followers certain words to be

repeated at the offering of the sacrifices, by which the virtue thereof would be certainly secured.

On this Mughalen with joy accepted the instruction, and by means of this institution rescued his mother from her sufferings.

And so for all future time this means of deliverance shall be effectual for the purpose designed, as year by year the offerings are presented according to the form delivered by Buddha.

Having heard these words, Mughalen and the rest departed to their several places, with joyous hearts and glad thoughts.¹

THE TOOTH-SEAL OF ASOKA.

By REV. S. BEAL, B.A.

In the curious legend given of Asoka in Burnouf's *Introduction à l'Hist. de Bouddhisme Ind.* p. 407, we read that his wife Tishyarakshita, determined to punish her son-in-law Kūṣāṇa, for his non-compliance with her wishes, by having his beautiful eyes put out. For this purpose, having got the king to grant her the royal authority for seven days, she wrote a letter to the magistrates of Takshashila giving orders to this effect—"That the eyes of Kūṣāṇa should at once be torn out." We read then that she caused this letter to be sealed with an "ivory seal," and to be dispatched to its destination. The expression "*un sceau d'ivoire*," used by Burnouf, has been shown by Julien (i. 158n) to be really equivalent to the "seal of his tooth"—the Sanscrit *danta* meaning both "ivory" and "tooth," and the Chinese version demands the latter signification in the legend before us. We have here another proof of the advantage of studying the Chinese accounts in connection with these Buddhist legends translated from the Sanskrit or Pāli. But our object in drawing the reader's attention to this legend is that he may compare this tooth-seal of Asoka with the following verses which occur in the gift of lands to the Rawdon family (Marquis of Hastings), vide "*Buck's Peerage*," sub. "Hastings":—

"I, William, king, the third of my reign,
Give to Paulyn Rawdon, Hope and Hopetowne,
With all the bounds both up and downe,
From heaven to yerthe, from yerthe to hel,
For thee and thyne there to dwell,
As truly as this kingdome is mine,
For a crossbow and an arrow.
When I shal come to hunt on yarrow,
And in token that this thing is sooth,
I hit the whyt wax with my tooth.
Before Meg, Mawd, and Margery,
And my third son Henry."²

¹ From *The Oriental*, Nov. 6, 1875.

² From *The Oriental*, October 2, 1875.

METRIC VERSIONS FROM THE
MAHĀBHĀRATA.

BY JOHN MEIR, D.C.L., LL.D., &c.

(Continued from p. 52.)

THE INDIAN NATIONALIST IN ANCIENT TIMES.

Mahābhārata, xiii, 2194¹.

The man who on the Vedas looks
As an authoritative book,
Who breaks their rules, and spurns all law,
Down on his head must ruin draw.
The Brāhman who, in vain conceit,
With scorn those scriptures dares to treat,
Who, shallow, yet acute and smart,
On logic dotes—that worthless art,—
Who, versed in all its tactics, knows
His simpler brethren how to pose,
Who subtly syllogising sneaks,
In wordy war to conquer seeks,
Who Brāhmanas good and true reviles,
At all they say contemptuous smiles,
The truths they urge with doubt receives,
And absolutely naught believes,
That man in speech so sharp and wild,
Is nothing better than a child.
Nay worse: the wisest men and best
That wrangler, as a dog, detest.
For just as dogs assail their prey,
With savage growls, and rauding, slay,
So too those noisy scoldards strive,
The scriptures into shreds to give.

The following is a nearly literal version of the lines of which the above is a free paraphrase:—

"The opinion that the Vedas possess no author-

ity, the transgression of the *Sūtras*, and an universal lawlessness—(these things) are the destruction of a man's self. The Brāhman who fancies himself a Pāṇḍit (learned man), and who reviles the Vedas, who is devoted to the science of reasoning useless logic, who utters argumentative speeches among good men, who is a victorious wrangler, who continually insults and abuses Brāhmanas, who is an universal sceptic and deluded—such a man, however sharp in his speech, is to be regarded as a child. He is looked upon as a dog, just as a dog assails to bark and to kill, so such a man aims at talking, and at destroying all the *Sūtras* (scriptures)."

Whatever conclusion might have been drawn from such passages as the preceding, the Brāhmanas of old were by no means indisposed to argumentative discussion; but, on the contrary, seem to have made a practice of indulging in them on important occasions when they met in large numbers. This is shown by two passages from the *Edugya*, i, 14, 19 (Bombay edition), and the *Mahābhārata*, xiv, 2436, in similar terms, that during the *Aśvamedhas* (horse-sacrifices) celebrated, in the one case by Daśaratha, and in the other by Yudhishtira, where it is said that "wise and eloquent Brāhmanas, eager for victory, engaged in argumentative discussions about the reason of things."

It was only when the authority of the Vedas was called in question, or anything decidedly heretical, or adverse to their own high caste pretensions (though in this last respect the *Mahābhārata* itself is often unorthodox), was asserted, that they took the alarm, and sought to silence argument.

BOOK NOTICE.

BARMAN BURMA AND ITS PEOPLE: (being Sketches of Native Manners, Customs, and Religion.) By Captain G. F. F. Forbes, F.R.G.S., Officiating Deputy Commissioner, British Burma. London: John Murray, 1878.

Captain Forbes tells us that his work owes its origin to a remark in the *Report* of the last Census. Nothing however could less resemble the bulk of the somewhat dry compilations which are produced under the impulse of Secretariats and gazetteer offices.

The statistical information occupies five lines of our author's preface, one-fifth of the space given to acknowledging the merits of pioneers in his own lines of research. Twelve chapters

treat successively of physical geography, ethnology, social life (two chapters), occupations, games, festivals, folklore, forest tribes, Buddhism in Burma, the monastic order, and the language and literature of the country; and are followed by a good index.

Captain Forbes is well known to have a close acquaintance with the Burmas of to-day, and does not attempt the historical treatment of his subject, though there are indications here and there in his book of the power to do so if he chose. Probably the most interesting parts of the work are the chapters on "Social Life and Manners," as

¹ The verses of which the following is a free translation have an interest, as showing that the same conflict with which we are familiar in our own day between the radi-

cals and the opponents of a supernatural revelation was fully waged in India in early times.

the most spirited are those upon amusements and festivals. In the former, it is pleasant to find him disinterestedly taking up the cudgels for the much abused opium-smokers, admitting the mischief of the habit when excessive, but reprehending the absurd generalizations under which all degrees of the habit are treated as alike ruinous and unconquerable. He gives an interesting case of an opium-eater whom he sent to jail (not for opium-eating, but as having no ostensible means of livelihood,) and who afterwards came to thank him for having thus begun his reformation. Captain Forbes considers opium eating much more injurious than the smoking. The present writer's observations in Western India lead to the opposite conclusion; which may probably be accounted for by some difference in the preparation and method of use.

Nothing Burman, perhaps, has been more discussed in British India than the peculiar position of the Burman women; especially as attention has been twice drawn to it by the well meant, but not very judicious, attempts of different Chief Commissioners to "moralize" the population by order numbered and dated. We are glad to find Captain Forbes, an excellent authority, bearing favourable testimony in the character of the Burman women. The freedom of divorce, very great indeed, but not greater than existed in Imperial Rome; and now exists in some of the United States, has led hasty observers to form unwarrantable conclusions against the general morality of the community. The fact seems to be, that while the position of women in Burma is decidedly freer and pleasanter than in peninsular India or most other parts of Asia, they are really much less apt there to abuse their liberty than their enslaved sisters are to cheat their overlords,—a result which might reasonably be expected, and for the details of which we can recommend our readers to our author.

Perhaps nothing could better illustrate one phase of this independence and community of interest with the men, than the description of a strange "ing of war" which is performed upon the funeral catafalque of a departed Buddhist saint. Two villages strive each to move the car in their own direction, tugging at huge man-ropes of cane or cord. "At first a few lads and idlers begin pulling at either side, without much effect on the heavy mass. Each side calls some more of their friends, then perhaps a headman of a village to which some of the lads belong joins in, the numbers gradually increase, and the car begins to oscillate; and as the attention of the crowd is drawn towards it, the villagers of A and B coming up, join their friends on either

side. Suddenly a headman of B village sees the headman of A pulling away and inciting his men; he gives a yell, shouts for all his people, and rushes to the ropes, which are now well manned. The car, strongly made as it is, shakes and quivers with the strain, while the lofty canopy of elastic bamboo rocks violently backwards and forwards. I have seen the struggle last for an hour or more without either party stirring the car more than a few feet. The crowd, as usual, get violently excited; every man that has an acquaintance or friend in either village joins in; I have seen policemen on duty frantically waving their staves to encourage the contending heroes, or rushing at some shirker to bring him back to the lists—it was no use taking notice of the want of discipline. Now perhaps one side gain the advantage, and with deafening shouts drag the car some paces; but lo! in rush fresh forces. Led by some excited old lady, all the women and girls of the losing village fly to the rescue; and mingle with their husbands, brothers, and lovers at the ropes. Now, then—if you are men—you *kye bu the!* pull for very shame till you snap the cables! *Burrah!* *Lo! kye!* *Lo! kye!* it comes! it comes! and with a ringing cheer away we go triumphant, some hundred yards or so."

It is impossible to read this book, or for the matter of that any of the best works upon Burma, without remarking the strong resemblance between the characteristics assigned to the natives, and those of some of the older tribes in Western India, especially the coast Kulis, a race living under similar physical conditions, though politically depressed. There is the same physique, somewhat short and broad but active and of tougher fibre than is found among the more Aryan races, the same broad, almost Mongolian face and comeliness, rather than beauty, of the younger women; whose dress, too, the short *sari*, worn without the separate bodice, seems closely to resemble the Burmese *taasin*. And the cheerful, excitable character, and ready friendliness with any European who will take any trouble to approach them, contrasts strongly with the reserve of the superior Cis-Gangetic races, closest when it seems most thrown aside. Some speculations on this head are thrown out by our author, who mentions, besides, the Mongolian character of Buddhist sculptures at Sarnâth, which can be paralleled from some of the Western races, where dress and features are frequently distinctly Kuli. This ground, however, on which we should like to accompany Captain Forbes further, is forbidden to us by caution and want of space.

W. F. S.

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. ROWORTH, F.S.A.

I.

SINCE writing the first volume of my *History of the Mongols* I have had the good fortune to meet with the Russian translation by Palladius of the *Yuan-shi-pi-shi*, or 'Secret History of the Mongol Dynasty,' which has been again translated for me by some of my friends. This work is by far the most important authority which we possess for the history of Chinghiz Khan and his ancestors. According to Dr. Bretschneider it was originally written in the Mongol language and was finished in the year 1240, at the time of a great assembly on the river Kherlen. The work is quoted in the *Hong-wen-shi-tu*, or 'Detailed Record of the Reign of Hung-wu,' under the year 1382, where, we are told, that it had been written in the Mongol tongue and in Uighur characters, and that a Chinese translation of it was made, to which the Mongol text was annexed, not in the original letters, but by rendering the Mongol sounds by Chinese letters. Palladius translated his version from a copy in Chinese contained in a collection of reprints published in 1848. After he had translated this he discovered a copy of the Ming edition, accompanied by the Mongol text in Chinese characters, and found that what he had translated, and what is alone therefore available, was only an extract of the original work which comprises 15 chapters, and has no title.¹ To this notice I may add that my friend Mr. Wylie met with a copy of the *Yuan-shi-pi-shi*, in China, written in the Mongol language in Chinese characters, as above mentioned. This was partially transcribed for him, but the original copy was lost during the rebellion, so that what he now has is only a fragment.

The *Yuan-shi-pi-shi* I believe to be the main source of the matter contained in the first book of the *Yuan-shi*, or 'Imperial Annals of the Mongol dynasty,' of which the first three books were translated into Russian many years ago by Hyacinthe, while the first one has been recently translated into English by my friend Mr. Douglas. From the *Yuan-shi-pi-shi* the author of the *Altan Topshi* and Ssanang Setzen apparently also drew the earlier portion of their matter. The *Altan Topshi* or 'Golden

Epitome' is a Mongol chronicle discovered by the members of the Russian Mission to Peking, and published with a translation in the 4th volume of the *Mémoires* of the Eastern Branch of the Imperial Archaeological Society of St. Petersburg by a Buriat Lama named Goban Gomboof. The last Khán mentioned in it is Lingdan, who mounted the throne in the year 1604, and the last redaction of the text was probably made during his reign, although from the many archaisms it contains, the original text is no doubt much older. It is apparently the *Bukai Topshi* quoted by Ssanang Setzen.

The work of Ssanang Setzen entitled *Sinan Setzen u Noutai* is more generally known by the translation of Schmidt. Its author, Ssanang-Setzen Khungtaiji, was a Mongol prince, who was born in 1604, and compiled his well known chronicle in the year 1662. (*op. cit.* 208.) Its text is of great use for recovering the correct form of names as they were current among the Mongols.

Pallas also, in his work entitled *Sindtaugen historischer Nachrichten über die Mongolischen Völkerschaften*, (St. Petersburg, 1776), has related the traditional story of the origin of the Mongol Imperial house from the Lama work called *Bhadrakar*, which describes the origin of gods and men, and which, *inter alia*, gives a genealogy of Chinghiz Khan (*op. cit.* 17). This practically exhausts the material which is extant in China and among the Mongols for the discussion of the origin of the Imperial stock of Chinghiz Khan.

On turning to the Muslem writers who have left us such valuable materials for the history of this dynasty, we shall find that their accounts of its origin are derived almost entirely from the well known *Jawid Tarikh* of Rashid-u'd-din, who was the main authority followed by Abu'lghasi, as the latter himself tells us.

Fazl u'llah Rashid, the son of Abu'l-khair, was born at Hamadan about the year 1247, and was employed as a doctor in the service of the famous Ilkhan of Persia Ghasan Khan, who in 1309 put him at the head of the administration of Persia, with the style of vizir. This post he continued to hold during the reign of Ghasan's successor Uljaitu, to whom in 1309 he pro-

¹ Bretschneider, *Notices of Medieval Geography*, etc. pp. 14, 15.

In this table I have mainly followed the detailed list as given by Abu'l-ghazi, excluding only the three names of Yabluq Khân, Mingh Khân, and Tengiz Khân, whom he places in succession after Ai Khân, and which do not occur in other authors. They have been clearly interpolated by him, and two of them merely repeat two names of brothers of Ai Khân. I ought here to add that the list has been recently illustrated at great length, and apparently with a full belief in its credibility, by Major Haverly, in the *Transactions of the St. Petersburg Congress of Orientalists*, but the whole is clearly fabulous. In it we have a curious medley of artificial and of real names, of mere epigonous events, and of mythological arguments. They are closely also derived from the legends of the Western Turks. Kara Khân, Oguz Khân, and Il Khân are famous names in Turkish tradition. We are told by Rashid-u'd-din and his followers that this race of princes lived in the Uralgh mountains and the Karam steppe, that is in the old land of the Western Turks, and it was no doubt the anxiety of the courtly Persian historian to find a suitably dignified ancestry for his hero, which made him link him to the legendary heroes of Turkish tradition.

I need not say that these early links in the chain are entirely absent from the Chinese and Mongol recensions of the Saga, at the origin of the Mongol royal stock, and may be accepted as of no value whatever, except as a proof of the religious loyalty and the diplomatic skill of Rashid-u'd-din. From Japhet to the two chief Khân and Nukh we may cheerfully erase the whole list of names from our memory as utterly irrelevant to the Mongols. Rashid-u'd-din tells us these two last-named princes took refuge with their people in the retired valley of Irgene-kun—where their descendants remained for 400 years. We are not told who the princes were who reigned during this interval, and after its close the story really begins again. The gap is interesting as showing how the patchwork story was built up. After the interval of 400 years just mentioned the Mongols are said to have broken the yoke of the Tartars, and to have issued from the defiles of Irgene-kun under a chief named Bartechini, descended from Kim, and of the race of the Kurulas. Bartechini

and those who succeed him in Rashid-u'd-din's story are well known also to the more primitive legend preserved in China and Mongolia, and to them we shall revert presently.

While Rashid-u'd-din traces the Mongol Khâns to the Semite patriarchs, the indigenous Mongol chroniclers in a similar manner trace them to the royal stock of Tibet, and through it to Hindustan to the sacred founder of their faith Sakyanm (himself). In this the *Altai Tpech*, Samang Setzen, and the Kalmaik legend as reported by Palluynge, and they all agree the Indian sovereign, Olung Kengükheien, as the stem-father of the race. The two former authorities deduce the Tibetan royal stock from Brichiet, and trace it through several generations to Digma-Danab Dala Sula An Altai Shureghetu, who had three sons, Sivaghochi, Borechi, and Bartechini. We are told that their father having been killed by his minister Langnam, who usurped the throne, the three brothers fled: the first to the land of Ngangbo, the second to that of Bata, and the third to Gungia.*

The story of the usurpation of Langnam is told in the native Tibetan books, whence it has been abstracted by Schmidt.* In the original story the three brothers are called Jaché, Nio-thé and Shureathi. *Jaché*, which is written *Khor*, means throne, and the *Shureathi* of all the early Tibetan kings. *Jaché* means bird or food, *Nio* means fish, and *Shure* means the flesh-eater. The two former are similar in meaning to Sivaghochi and Borechi, which respectively mean the fowler and the fisherman. While the third brother, the flesh-eater, has been ingeniously identified with Bartechini, a name, as I shall show presently, meaning the 'blue-gray wolf,' assuredly a very typical flesh-eater. As Klaproth, to whom we owe the dissection of the story, has argued, it is clear that on the conversion of the Mongols to Buddhism in the 13th century, the Lamas naturally desired to connect their royal race with Buddha himself, and found in the plausible resemblance in meaning of the two names Shurechi and Bartechini a link by which to bridge over the incongruous heritage they desired *a priori* to establish. I need not say that none of this part of the story, any more than the earlier part of Rashid-u'd-din's table, occurs either in the *Tuesek'no-pé-chi*, or in the Chinese annals, which

* Samang Setzen, p. 25.

* Schmidt, *For.*

schengen, etc. 15; Klaproth *Talians Historiques de l'Asie*, p. 157-8, note.

preserve for us the earliest edition of the Saga, and that we must discard it all as an invention of the Lamas in the 16th century.

Having got rid of the accretions which the old tradition received at the hands of the Muhammadans of Persia and the Tibetan Lamas, let us now approach the older edition of it.

The authorities, old and young, eastern and western, agree in deducing the Mongol Imperial stock from *Burkuchin*. First, as to the etymology of this name. *Chün* in Mongol means a "wolf," *burk* means the bluish-grey colour which the fur of many animals acquires on the approach of winter.¹² So that *Burkuchin* means merely the blue-grey, or winter-coated wolf, and we find that in the *Yuen-ch'ao-pi-shi* the ancestor of the Imperial family is simply called a blue wolf. This grey-blue colour is equivalent to that of the sky, and means in fact Celestial. Hence we find the royal race of the Mongols is known as that of the Borjigs, i.e. the grey or blue-grey eyed, from *boro*, grey or grey-blue,¹³ the celestial being who visited Alan Gua, as I shall mention presently, having had eyes of this colour. Again Samang Setzen tells us Chinghis Khan gave his people the name of *Koko Mongol*, i.e. Blue Mongols,¹⁴ and blue was the Imperial colour of the Yuan dynasty.¹⁵ In all these cases it no doubt refers to the heavenly or supernatural origin of the family whose members are so often apostrophized by Samang Setzen as the sons of the Tengri or of Heaven. Let us now continue our story. Burkuchin, we are told, married Gsa Mural.¹⁶ *Gsa* means white or shining, and is used as a personal name, and given to noble ladies; *mural* means a hind.¹⁷ The blue wolf therefore married a white hind. In an abridgment of Chinese history written by Yuan-hao fan, and quoted by Visiulov¹⁸ the wolf is said to have been white and the hind grey. Together they roamed across the Tenghis (i.e. the lake or sea), and having reached the sources of the river Onon in the mountain Burkhan, they had a son, who was called *Bedeten Khan*. This is the story as told in the *Yuen-ch'ao-pi-shi*, in a Chinese work cited by Klaproth,¹⁹ and in a Chinese dictionary entitled *Wang-sing-fang-pu*, in which last how-

ever the blue wolf has been converted by some rationalizer of the legend into a man of great size and a blue colour, and the white hind into a miserable and deserted woman.²⁰ Samang Setzen has sophisticated the story after his own fashion; he has converted the river Onon into lake Baikal, and he adds a paragraph to glorify his protégé the Lamas. He says that on arriving at the mountain Burkhan, Burkuchin lived for a while with the people *Bede* who dwell there. When they had interrogated him on the motives of his journey, and discovered that he was descended from the Indian Olana Ergök-Jukien as well as from the Tibetan Tul-tsan, they discussed matters together, and said—"this young man is of high birth, and we have no one to rule over us, let us make him our chief." Thereupon they made him their leader, and followed all his commands. He had two sons *Bödö Khan* and *Bödöta Khan*.²¹

The mountain Burkhan, the Burkhan Khaldun of Samang Setzen, the sacred mountain chain of the Mongols, is the famous Kentei Khan Range, where the Onon takes its rise, which is called Burkhanula in the Chinese geographical work translated by Hyacinthe and Klaproth.²² There Chinghis was born. *Burkhan* in Mongolian means "divine," and Buddha according to Dr. Bretschneider is known among the Mongols as *Sakyamuni Burkhan*. As we have seen Samang Setzen calls the inhabitants of the Burkhan Khaldun mountains the *Bede* people. The *Atlas Topchi* calls this country the land of *Zud*, which is perhaps a corruption of *Bede*. Now *Bödö* or *Batschi*, according to Palladius, is a derivative of *Ilde* or *Bata* (*Yuen-ch'ao-pi-shi* note 7). The name is in fact an eponymous one, created out of the race named *Bede*. This name *Bede* gave rise to a fierce polemic between Klaproth and Schmidt. I believe with Remusat that it is merely a corruption of the Chinese "*Po-ti*," northern barbarians. In the Tibetan work named *Nou Chavtai Tuduakhe* *Tu-ti* the Turkish tribes known as *Hu-pa* to the Tibetans are called *Bäde Hor*.²³ Again, we are told by Erdmann, who is doubtless quoting Rashid-ad-din, that after the capture of Youghi-

¹² Klaproth, *Asia Polyglotta*, p. 244.

¹³ Schmidt, Samang Setzen, p. 372 note 1.

¹⁴ *Id.* p. 375 note D.

¹⁵ *Id.* *ibid.* pp. 71, and 280 note 22.

¹⁶ Klaproth, *Asia Polyglotta*, p. 263.

¹⁷ Samang Setzen, p. 37.

¹⁸ Schmidt, *op. cit.* p. 378 note 2.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, *Oriens Suppl.* p. 340.

²⁰ *Tableaux historiques de l'Asie*, p. 159.

²¹ *Asia Polyglotta*, p. 263. ²² Samang Setzen, p. 37.

²³ Tienkoft's *Forcelz*, vol. II., p. 226.

²⁴ Schmidt, *Forschungen*, &c., p. 54.

kent-ling Juchi in 1218 the Ulus Bede returned home to its head-quarters at Karakorum, and was replaced by 10,000 Turkomans. Erdmann,²⁰ D'Ohsson,²¹ and Von Hammer all state the same fact of the Uighurs. This points to Uighur and Bede being synonymous terms, a view which is strengthened when we find the Turks of northern Tibet called Shura Uighur by Saaming Setzen. Now it is very extraordinary that the neighbourhood of the Kentei mountains was the original homeland of the Uighurs, from which they in fact sprang. The meaning of the story then is—that Burtchina became the ruler of the Turkish tribe of the Uighurs, and the inference is *a priori* a reasonable one, that the legend belonged originally to the Turks, and not to the Mongols. On inquiring further this is amply confirmed. The story of the wolf is in fact a Turkish story. We are told of the Usim, a Turkish tribe, who were probably the ancestors of the Takiu or Turks proper, that the Hiong-nu having attacked them, and killed their chief, his son was, like Romulus, miraculously tended by a she-wolf who suckled him, and by a bird which brought him food. The ruler of the Hiong-nu having heard of this miracle deemed the child to be divine, undertook his education, and eventually gave him the command of his western dominions.²² But it is in the legendary history of the Takiu or Turks proper that we meet with the real parallel to our story. In one version of this we read that the ancestors of the Takiu lived on the western borders of the Si-hai or Western lake. There they were destroyed by a neighbouring nation, who killed them all without distinction, except a boy of ten years old, on whom the enemy had a certain compassion, and spared his life, although they cut off his hands and feet. He now dragged himself to a great marsh, where he remained concealed. There he was tended by a she-wolf, who eventually became pregnant by him. As the enemy still sought to destroy the young man, the she-wolf, who was herself carried off by a spirit, took him with her, and transported him to the east of the Si-hai. She stopped with him on a mountain to the north-west of the kingdom of Kaochang, i.e. of the Uighurs of Bishbalig, where they found a cavern opening upon a retired valley more than

200 li in circumference. There the she-wolf bore ten male young-ones, who eventually married, and each one took a different family name. A-sen-q, who was the cleverest was chosen as their king, and he ordered that the heads of his standards should be shaped like the heads of wolves, to show that he did not ignore his origin.²³

Another legend reports that the Turks sprang from the country of So, situated to the north of the country of the Hiong-nu. Their chief named Klu-pam-pu had sixteen brothers, one of whom was called Lohini-shun-tu. He had a she-wolf for a mother. His brothers were all weak and without spirit. He, on the contrary, was very strong, and could control the wind and rain. He married two wives, one the ruler of summer and the other of winter, by each of whom he had two sons. The eldest of these sons was called Nostu-lu-shi. His father's subjects made him king, and at the same time adopted the name of Takiu or Turks. He married ten wives, whose sons took the family names of their mothers. A-sen-q was one of these names.²⁴ *Son* or *A-sen* is the equivalent of *shino*, and means wolf.

In these Turkish legends we assuredly have the origin of the Mongol Saga. In both we have a wolf for the common ancestor, in both it lives near a great lake which it crosses, in both it goes to the East or North-East on leaving it.²⁵ In both it reaches a mountain, and then brings forth offspring.

Again, the derivation of the stem-father of the race from the Si-hai or Western lake, the Toghiz of the *Yen-shi-ang-shi*, exactly accords with what we know of the original homeland of the Turks proper, namely, the country round lake Issikul. Rashidu'd-din and his followers describe the valley in which the wolf settled as named Irgene-kun. This according to Abu'l-ghazi means a sharp-peaked girdle of mountains (*op cit.* p. 32), a description which applies admirably to the actual cradle-land of the Turks, namely, the mountain-girdled and secluded valley of Issikul, which district was still known in the 13th century as Orkhanum, and is referred to under that name by Rubensquis. I may add that the range of hills west of the Volga run-

²⁰ *Teutachia der Umrachtheitliche*, p. 373-4.

²¹ *Histoire des Mongols*, vol. I, p. 213.

²² De Guignes, vol. II, p. 56.

²³ *Vladika*, pp. 91, 92; *Elphoth Journ.*, *Asiat. As.* t. II, pp. 209, 211.

²⁴ *Vladika*, *op cit.* p. 92.

²⁵ See Abel Remusat, *Nouv. Journ. Asiat.* tom. IX, pp. 136-7.

ring from Sarepta to the Manyach are called the Irgene hills by the Kalmaqs. Lastly, the western writers make Bartochino belong to the tribe of the Kurulas called by the Mongols Khorlat (*id.* 33), which, as I shall show further on, was a Turkish tribe. At all points, therefore, the legend proves itself to be Turkish. Bartochino and Gua Machi, the blue-grey wolf and white hind as we have said, had a son Bédétsé. Ssanang Setzen gives the latter a brother Bédés, who is not known to any of the other writers, and who is no doubt an interpolation of his own. Bédétsé was succeeded by his son Tamatsak, or, as the western writers give his name, Timaj (Aba'l-ghazi, p. 63). He had a son Khoritsar Mergen, the Kichi Mergen of the western writers (*id.* p. 63). Rashidu'd-din makes him the eldest of five sons of Timaj, the other four being the ancestors of the tribe Darban—of which more presently—in which he differs from the more eastern writers, as we shall see presently. Khoritsar was succeeded by his son Aghojin Baghural, the Kusum Baghural of Rashidu'd-din (*ib.*).

I have adopted the orthography of these names given by Ssanang Setzen, which is substantially the same as that given in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* and the *Altan Topchi*, as I prefer to take Schmidt's direct transliteration of the Mongol words to one taken at second-hand through the medium of Russian letters.

Aghojin Baghural was succeeded by his son Sali Khaljighe, who is not mentioned by Rashidu'd-din nor in the *Budhism* (*vide infra*). We may remark that one of the Mongol tribes named by Ssanang Setzen in the 15th century was called Khaligbochie (*op cit.* pp. 172, 191 and 259). This fact, and the omission of the name from two independent lists, looks suspiciously like an interpolation for the purpose of flattering some tribe or family. Sali Khaljighe was succeeded by Yeke Nidün, i. e. the large-eyed, so called both in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* and the *Altan Topchi*, and by Rashidu'd-din, while Ssanang Setzen has corrupted it into Nige Nidün, the one-eyed. Rashidu'd-din makes him the son of Kichi Baghural. He had a son Samsuji, and he had a son Khali Kharchu, who is ignored in the *Altan Topchi*, but is named by the author of the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* by Ssanang Setzen and by Rashidu'd-din. The last author tells us these princes lived on the rivers Onon, Kerulon and

Tuguli and on the mountains Berglad (i. e. Barkhan) and Bermi (?)²²

So far the lists virtually agree, but at this point there is a marked divergence. Rashidu'd-din makes Duban Bayan the son and successor of Khali Kharchu, while the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, the *Altan Topchi* and Ssanang Setzen interpolate two names between them. That these names are interpolations seems probable. According to the authors last named Khali Kharchu was succeeded by his son Borjigetei Mergen. This name has been created out of *bor-jighe*, i. e. the blue-eyed, a term applied to the Mongol Imperial family, and derived apparently from the story of Alan Goa, to be referred to presently. This Borjigetei is said to have married Mongholjin Goa, a name as artificially created out of the name Mongol, and which is ignored by the *Altan Topchi*. These two had a son Torguljin Bayan, which was perhaps created in a similar way out of the name Turuk or Turk. He had for his wife Borokabin Goa, which seems also compounded of the particle *boro*, meaning blue-grey already referred to. The last named pair are said in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* to have had two horses named Tair and Boro, and a domestic named Boroidai. They also had two sons, namely, Doo Sokhor and Dobo Mergen.

This Dobo Mergen is the same person as the Duban Bayan of Rashidu'd-din. As I have said, Rashidu'd-din ignores the names inserted by some authorities between Khali Kharchu and Duban Bayan. In this he is supported by a very independent authority, namely, the Buddhist book cited under the name of *Budhism* by Pallas. The list of names given in that work under a corrupt orthography may be profitably compared with those we have discussed. It is as follows:—

Berudachi	(i. e. Bartochino).
Herchen	(i. e. Bédétsé).
Temana	(i. e. Tamatsak).
Kakza Mergen	(i. e. Khoritsar Mergen).
Aias Borogol	(i. e. Aghojin Baghural).
Eke Dagan	(i. e. Yeke Nidün).
Sai Sunji	(i. e. Sam Saji).
Tebu	(i. e. Kharchu).
Derben Zargan	(i. e. Dobo Mergen) ²³

Here we have the list as given by Rashidu'd-din confirmed in two respects; first, by the omission of Sali Khaljighe between Yeke

²² Erdmann's *Fernsicht der Ueberschütterliche*, p. 346.

²³ Pallas, *op cit.* vol. I. p. 27

Nidau and Sam Suji, and then by the exclusion of the names we are now discussing immediately before Dobo Mergen. This increases our faith greatly in the accuracy of Rashid, who was a singularly critical historian. He had the *Altai Difter* or 'Golden Register' before him and was besides assisted, as he tells us, by Pulad Ching-sang, a Mongol prince well versed in the traditions of his house. He is not likely to have excluded these names, especially the later ones with their peculiar colouring, the first of the line after Hurechchino, whose wives are mentioned, if they had occurred in the documents before him, while their artificial and evidently made-up character also points to some ingenious pedigree-maker. I have no doubt that originally the list at this point stood very much as Rashid-u'd-din gives it, and we shall presently mention a fact which makes this almost certain. According to the *Yuan-shi-ho-pi-shi* Dobo Sokhor had four sons, who all lived together. On their father's death they behaved badly, separated from Dobo Mergen, and formed the family Durban (i. e. the four). Ssanang Setzen boldly tells us their names were Donoi, Dukashin, Eimek and Erke, and that they were the ancestors of the four Urad tribes Oghelud, Baghatsid, Khoitard and Kergud, who in his day were known as "the Four" in contrast with the Mongols, who were known as "the Forty." Rashid-u'd-din, as we have seen, derives the Durbans from four sons of Timaj. As I shall show further on the Durbans, who were contemporary with Chinghiz, were probably the four tribes of Tartars and not the four Uirads. Dobo Mergen married Alun Gou. It was from Alun Gou that the Mongol Khans traced their descent, not from him. He and his ancestors have nothing whatever to do, in fact, with them, beyond his having in the legend married their progenetrix. Who then were these legendary chiefs? This was very ingeniously explained by Schmidt. Dobo is in fact no other than Topo Khân, the famous ruler of the Turks who died in 581. Dobo Sokhor is the equivalent of Sekin, Topo's brother, who was also called Moko Khân, and the division of the tribes among the sons of Dobo Sokhor answers to the division of the Turks into four divisions on the death of Topo Khân (Ssanang Setzen, p. 374). I may add as a remarkable confirmation of this

view of Schmidt, and as a proof of the correctness of the fable as given by Rashid-u'd-din, that the immediate predecessor of Sekin and Topo Khân as ruler of the Turks was Kolo, otherwise called Meke Khân, who assuredly answers to the Khali Kharechin of the above lists. This completes the proof that the earlier part of the genealogy of the Mongol Khans, as preserved in its primitive form, has been adopted from the Turks. Here, however, the adoption is more or less legitimate, for, as we shall show presently, there is every reason to believe that the Mongol Imperial house was in fact descended from the old Turkish Khans.

We will now complete the Saga of Dobo Mergen. The *Yuan-shi-ho-pi-shi* tells us that Dobo Sokhor, while he was one day on the Mountain Burkhan, saw a number of people nomadizing along the river Tunggoli, the Tuguli of Rashid-u'd-din (this Wolff identifies with the river still called Tunggola, which springs on the western side of the Burkhan Mountains, and falls into the Kara Gol,²² but as I shall show further on it is probable that the Ingoda is really meant). Among the rest he noticed a black *kibitka* or tent on a waggon, on the driver's seat of which was a pretty girl, and he said I must secure her for my brother. This was the maiden Alun Gou, whom Dobo Mergen married, and by whom he had two sons, Belgotei and Bagontei, called Belgayut and Bagaunt by Rashid-u'd-din.²³

Dobo died, according to Abu'l-ghazi, when he was 30, one of his sons being seven, and the other six years old.²⁴

It was after his death that Alun Gou gave birth to three sons, whose father was a spirit, one of whom was the ancestor of Chinghiz Khan. So that, as we have said, Dobo and his ancestors have nothing to do directly with the lineage of the great conqueror, and it is remarkable that in the chapter of the *Yuan-shi* or 'Official Annals' of the Mongol dynasty, which has been examined for me by my friend Mr. Douglas, the dynasty is not traced beyond Alun Gou, and the earlier names are left out. M. D'Olsson, in his well known history of the Mongols, has also excluded them, and has similarly commenced his story with the same ancestress.

(To be continued.)

²² Wolff, *Gesch der Mong.*, p. 14, note.

²³ Erdmann, *op cit.* p. 535.

²⁴ *Op cit.* p. 64.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. P. FLEET, Esq. C.S., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from p. 76.)

No. LXV.

Inside the village of Aihole, in the compound of the *Maṭha* of Huchelayya, there is an old and partially ruined temple of the god Śvara, one of the columns of which bears an Old-Canarese inscription. It consists of twenty-five lines of about fifteen letters each. The greater part of this inscription is now undecipherable. But enough is legible to show that the personage refers itself to the reign of the Western Chāḍḍa king Trailokyamalla or Somaśvara I., and that it is dated in Śaka 989, the *Phaḷḷiga saṁvatsara*, on Sunday¹ the second day² of the bright fortnight of the month *Mārgaśīra* or *Mārgaśīra*.

No. LXVI.

On a column in another ruined temple in the compound of the same *Maṭha* there is another Old-Canarese inscription, consisting of nineteen lines of about ten letters each. This, again, is for the most part undecipherable. But enough is legible to show that, though it does not refer itself to the reign of any particular king, this inscription, again, is dated in Śaka 989, the *Phaḷḷiga saṁvatsara*, on Wednesday³ the seventh day of the bright fortnight of the month *Kārtika*.

No. LXVII.

There is also an Old-Canarese inscription at the temple of the god Rāmaliṅga, in Survey No. 73 on the south of the village. A partial copy of it is given in the *Elliot MS. Collection*, Vol. I, p. 360. Without referring itself to the reign of any particular king, it is dated at the time of the sun's commencing his progress to the north on Sunday⁴, the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of the month *Pushya* of the *Yuva saṁvatsara*, which was the twentieth year of the Chāḍḍa king Vikrama-Kāla, i.e. Śaka 1017 (A.D. 1095-6). I had no leisure to examine this inscription when I was at Aihole.

No. LXVIII.

On a stone somewhere in the wall of the fort there is said to be an Old-Canarese inscription, which, without referring itself to the reign of any particular king, is dated in Śaka 1019, the *Śvara saṁvatsara*, at the time of an eclipse of

the sun when the sun was commencing his progress to the north on Sunday⁵ the fourth day of the bright fortnight of the month *Pushya*. This inscription, however, was not forthcoming at the time of my visit to the village.

No. LXIX.

Just outside the south-west gate of the village there is a modern shrine of the god Hanumanta, with a stone *śrīraja-stambha* standing in front of it. Into the pedestal of this *śrīraja-stambha* there has been built a *Phaḷḷiga* or monumental stone, with an Old-Canarese inscription on it, of which a copy is given in the *Elliot MS. Collection*, Vol. I, p. 410. The upper compartment of the stone is now hidden from view. But three lines of writing are visible, recording the date of Monday⁶ the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of the month *Śrāvama* of the *Vishu saṁvatsara*, which was the twenty-sixth year of the Chāḍḍa king Vikrama-Kāla, i.e. Śaka 1023 (A.D. 1101-2). The next compartment of the stone has a figure of the god Jambhūdena, sitting cross-legged, with on each side of him a *Yakṣi* fanning him with a *chāṇa*. The rest of the stone is now hidden from view; but it records a grant by the five-hundred *Mahājana* of *Ayyāva* &c.

No. LXX.

There is another ruined temple of the god Śvara in what is known as the courtyard of the *Acetana* or 'palace,' in Survey No. 86, not far from the Dehannigal Cūva. One of the pillars now lying in the *mandapa* of this temple has on it an Old-Canarese inscription consisting of twenty-seven lines of about twelve letters each. A transcription is given in the *Elliot MS. Collection*, Vol. I, p. 640. But only enough is legible with certainty to show that it is dated at the time of a *śubhaskraya* on Friday⁷ the twelfth day of the bright fortnight of the month *Śrāvama* of the *Naja saṁvatsara*, which was the sixty-first year of the Chāḍḍa king Vikrama-Varsha, i.e. Śaka 1058 (A.D. 1136-7).

No. LXXI.

Inside the village, in a temple of the goddess *Kontamma* or *Konterva*⁸, which has been appro-

¹ *Ādityarāsa*.² *Būṭiga*, sc. *śūṭiga*.³ *Budharāsa*.⁴ *Ādivra*.⁵ *Ādityarāsa*.⁶ *Sūmavra*.⁷ *Sūkravāra*.⁸ *Kantā*, the wife of *Pinda*.

printed as a house by the *Pájjari*, there is a black-stone tablet with an Old-Canarese inscription on it, of which a partial transcription is given in the *Elliot MS. Collection*, Vol. II., p. 239. I have published it in the *Jour. As. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. XI., p. 274; but my version there was given from the photograph¹, which, from the letters having been imperfectly filled in with whitewash, represents the original but indifferently. I now give a revised version from the original itself.

The tablet is 4' 3" high, by 1' 10" broad. The letters are well-formed, but rather shallow. The emblems at the top of the stone are:—In the centre, a standing figure of a four-armed god, or perhaps goddess, with a worshipper kneeling at

its right foot; on the proper right, a male and a female figure, kneeling and facing to the front, with the son, partially effaced, above them; and on the proper left, a curved sword or dagger, with a cow and calf beyond it, and the moon in the space above.

It is a Sinda inscription of the time of the *Mahameyadēvara Chāmanḍa* or *Chāmanḍa II.* and his sons, *Bijjala* and *Vikrama*,—by his second wife, *Siriyādēvi*,—who were governing the *Kisukāḍ* Seventy, the *Bāgaḍaga* Seventy, and the *Kejavāḍi* Three-hundred. And it is dated in the *Viśuddhi* *śatāntara*, which was the ninety-fourth year of the *Chālukya* *Vikrama*-*Varsha*, i. e. *Saka* 1091 (A. D. 1039.70).

Transcription.

- [¹] *Namas-tuṅga-śiraś-chañhi-chañdra-chañura-ahāravē* *traiḷōkya-nagar-ārambha-mōla-*
stambhā.
- [²] *ya Śambhavē || Svasti śrīmad-vinata-samast-āmara-makuta-nikata-vasta-gabhasi-nya-*
[³] *stāngiri-pūṭha-sān sa(śa)stam padedaṣ dharitriyoman-a[n*]bodhiyama[ni*] ||*
[⁴] *Vri(vi) || Uḍi-ēṇḍa Śrī-nivāsa śrī-gaṇa-kulāri(hi)di(d)-rā(ji)ṭa(ta) nūna-*
ratn-ābhīyudaya-kubhāra.
- [⁵] *Makūḍa-priya-āyana-taśa kūrma-pā(hīna-nakr-śamastamāṅg-āji-kōḷi-chalita-*
[⁶] *jaśchar-āpūḥa-kalōḷa-māḷa-nada-nady-ambhāplav-ālamkāraṇa nṛjagad-āśva-mudraṇ-*
śamudra ||
- [⁷] *Kaś || Tād-śadhi-mēkhaley-enal=oppida vācchegē makalam-enipa Mēruge tēkhale*
sad-nama(n)-Bharat-ā-
- [⁸] *vāny=ant=adārimāṣa tēkhale=eva Kaṇṭa-ā-viśa(śa)gāṇ || Adan=ā(dar(r)-arān(na)ta-*
sukh-āpalam-enipa Chālukya-vak-
- [⁹] *śa-ratnōttamā(śa)re=amudavād-ari-hasti-mastaka-vidalana-kaś(ka) pūḥāra-pratāpar=śa-*
gāra || Svasti Śrī-Sindavam.
- [¹⁰] *ś-ādhbava-kamala-van-āḷityan-āna(na)ma(na)-bhūbhryn-mast-ālamkāra-vasta-bra(vra)ja-*
vilaḷi(vi)nyasta-pād-ābhān=
- [¹¹] *st-āri-atōmam Gōrjar-Āndra(dra) Dravīa-Magadha-Nēpā-ābhūpālak-ādi-pratutyaṇ*
nitya-tōjāṇ prala-
- [¹²] *la-bala-yutam vira-Chāmma(mu)ṇḍa-bhūpaṇ || Jayati vijaya-lakṣmī-matitya(cita)ki-nūtya-*
raṅgō || vijita-
- [¹³] *śamara-raṅgō vāri-dōr-dāreppa-bhaṅgāḥ || vitarāṇa-gaṇa-taṅgō viśva-vidy-ātā(ā)ntaraṅgō ||*
viyidha-
- [¹⁴] *vihudha-saṅgō(gaḥ) śāhaśtētuṅga-bhūpa(h*) || Anai-ārēti-nṛpāḷaram bedare hemkoṇḍ-*
attha(cittha)man-
- [¹⁵] *vasta-vāhanamāṇa pēṇḍira taṇḍamāṇa gūḍigaṇa gōḷāramāṇa nāḍumāṇa munisind-irakkūḷi-*
[¹⁶] *gōḷvud=embade vinūḍam taṇ(ta)mo(-emb-ānḍa pēṇ ghaṇa-sa(śa)ryyān-baḍa(dē)di-*
ippar=ār=teḍarēḍḍu(rdu) Chā-
- [¹⁷] *mudō-āvanipāṇaḷ || Ant-eniśa śrīman-mahāmanḍaśvāraṇa Uśanna(mu)ṇḍ-arasa(n-*
[¹⁸] *var=ardhāḥ(ardhāṇ)ga-lakṣmī-Siriyādēviyāra āśa dig-vartti-kīrti-yant-ēṇḍade ||*
Kaś || Pati-blaktyi(h)-*
- [¹⁹] *p(d)=Ara(h*)bhāti matiyāṇ Bhārati subhāgyadīṇ Raty=ēṇḍ=ī kṣi(tī)ḷa Chāmanḍa-*
bhūpaṇa sa-

[²⁰] ti Siriyādēviyaṁ jagatṁ haṁpisaṁgum || Va || Ant-enisida Siriyādēvigam Chāham(mam)ḍ-
āvanāṁ-

[²¹] ga[ū*] [puṣṭe*] negaritegam pogaṭtegam seley-enisida vira-Bijjaladēva-Vikraya(ma)dōva-
kumārara śri-

[²²] mata-Kienkāj-epattum Bāgaḍagey-epattum Kejavāḍi-[mūṇḍu]mam su[kha]-
sūmāthā-[vi]-

[²³] nādadidāḥ-āḍu rājyaṁ-goyyutam-ire || Śvasti Śrīmaṣ-Chāḷakya-[Vikrama-vuśhāḍa] 94neya

[²⁴] Virūḍhi-saṁvatsarada ²⁰

Translation.

Reverence to (*the god*) Śaṁbhu, who is made beautiful by a *chāurī* which is the moon that lightly rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds! Hail! He, the lord, the excellent one,—whose footstool is placed upon the substantial rays of all the diadems of the glorious immortals, who bow down before him,—squired both the earth and the ocean!

(L. 4).—The ocean,—from which the moon arises; which is the home of the goddess of fortune; which is adorned by the mountains that fled to it for protection; which is the place of the production of ever-new jewels; the surface of which is the favourite couch of (*the god*) Mukunda²¹; and which is decorated with the streams of rivers, large and small, and with lines of surging waves caused by the motion of the aquatic animals which are driven to and fro by the play of the tortoises and the *pāṭha*-fishes and the alligators and crowds of elephants is put,—is marked, as if with a signet, with (*the earth which is*) the habitation of men and animals.

(L. 7).—To the south of (*the mountain*) Mēru, which is esteemed the tiara of the earth which is charming as being considered to have that same ocean for its girdle, there is the good and spotless land of Bhārata; and to the south of this there is the charming country of Kṛṣṇa-tāṭa.

(L. 8).—Many (*king*s),—who were the jewelled earrings of the race of the Chāḷakya, which was considered to be the receptacle of endless happiness; and who were as mighty as lions in rending asunder the heads of the infuriated elephants which were their enemies,—governed it.

²⁰ There are faint traces, here and there, of two more lines of writing; and after that, the rest of the stone appears to have been left unpolished and blank, unless the details of the grant have been intentionally effaced.

²¹ Vishnu.

²² *Guḍāra-pāṭha*, is not exactly a text in the English

(L. 9).—Hail! The brave king Chāṁuḍa is the sun of the white waterlilies which are those who are born in the Śiṇḍa lineage; the waterlilies, which see his feet, are shaken to and fro and are pressed down by the many head-ornaments of the kings who bow down before him; he has driven away the assemblage of his enemies; he is worthy to be praised by the kings of Gārjara, Andhra, Draviḷa, Magadha, and Nāpāḷa, and others; his glory is perpetual; he is possessed of a very powerful army. Victorious is he, the king who excels in impetuosity;—who is the stage for the dances of the dancing-girl who is the goddess of victory; who has conquered (*in*) the battle-field; who has broken the pride of arm of his enemies; who excels in the virtue of generosity; who is deeply versed in all knowledge; and who associates with learned men of various kinds. Tell me now, who are those who have acquired sufficiently great courage to withstand the king Chāṁuḍa, when they consider that it is his delight to frighten and pursue the hostile kings who bow not down before him, and then in his anger to assail their wealth, the vehicles in which they convey their goods, their troops of wives, their temples, their tents²², and their countries?

(L. 17).—And as to the glory, which extends to the ten regions of the heavens²³, of Siriyādēvi, who was the wife of this glorious Mahānāgaḍaḥara king Chāṁuḍa:—Many kind praise Siriyādēvi, the virtuous wife of king Chāṁuḍa, saying that she is a very Arundhati in devotion to her husband, a very Bhārati in wisdom, and a very Rati in beauty.

(L. 20).—While the princes, the brave Bijjaladēva and Vīkrama-dēva,—[who were

meaning of the word. It is a large cloth which may be used indifferently as a carpet, or a curtain, or, suspended over a cross-bar supported at the extremities, as a rough kind of tent open at each end.

²³ The four cardinal points of the compass, the four intermediate points, the south, and the north.

born] to this Sīriyādēvi and king Chā-
m n p d ā; and who were considered the abiding-
places of glory and the objects of praise,—were
governing, with the delight of pleasing conversa-
tions, the glorious K i s u k ā d Seventy, and the
B ā g a d u g e Seventy, and the K e j a v ā d i
Three-hundred, and were reigning:—

(L. 23.)—Hail! On
of the Virādhi
samvatsara, which was the ninety-fourth year of
the glorious Ch ā | u k y a Vikrama-Varsha, . .

Tamilscript.

[1] Śva-dattam¹⁴ dvi-gaṇam puṇyaṁ para-datt-śūpālaśūm | para-datta-pahārāṇāṁ | śva-datta-
nīpalād

[2] bhavēta ([1])

[3] Prajōtpatya-śāśānācharada | Chayitra ha l lō | Arimatu nījē-ārī Haregedōvenāyaka-voḍeyara

[4] Rāmalīṅgaśūm stānita Māpēkhānara Chika-Sōmāṅgaṇāyakaṇṇige Kotapadebenakannavore-
grāma-mude Tumbuka-

[5] Chikaraya staja sahāvāgi koḷa pāṇya [6] Yilake āvan-ān-ōbba tappidare Hīndu tappida-

[7] re Kāiyali ākaḷa koḷda pātaka hōhara Mānāmāna tappidaru Makkeḷoli

[8] muṣṭa biṣṭa pātaka hōhārō [9] Yi āmānaka āvalhara tappal-āgādū [10]

Translation.

The preservation of the gift of another is
twice as meritorious as making a gift oneself;
by consenting the gift of another, one's own
gift becomes fruitless!

On the first day of the dark fortnight of
(the month) Chaitra, of the Prajōtpatti samvatsara¹⁵, the glorious and royal lord Haregedōve-
nāyaka gave a strip of land in the village of
Kotapadebenakannavore, together with the site
of (the tank, or village, called) Tumbuka-Chi-
kere, to Māpēkhānara-Chikka-Sōmāṅgaṇāyaka,
who belonged to the shrine of (the god) Rāma-
liṅga.

If any one offends against this (grant).—if he
be a Hindu, he incurs the guilt of killing a cow
at Kāśī; and if he be a Muslimān, he incurs the
guilt of at
Makka! No one may offend against this (act of)
religion!

No. LXXIII.

In the season 1876-7, I thoroughly examined
all the inscriptions which were known to exist at
Bādāni in the Kalādgi District, and at the
same time succeeded in discovering a few new
ones that had never previously been brought to

No. LXXII.

The latest and latest of the Aihole inscriptions¹⁶
is the following¹⁷ on a rock in the bed of the
river, below the temple of Pāmūrūma in Survey
No. 75. It is hardly worthy of notice, except
as an instance of the extent to which corrupt-
ness of diction can be carried in the more
recent inscriptions. The characters are of the
fifteenth or sixteenth century; but the in-
scription is not specifically dated. The inscrip-
tion contains no fact of any historical im-
portance.

notice. Among the latter, is a very interesting
fragment low down on the north side of a large
and shapeless rock lying to the north-west of the
temple of Tuggina-trappa, or 'trappa of the
hollow,' which is on the north bank of the
tank at the back of the village.

A bilingual¹⁸, from the *śūpāla* made by
myself, is published herewith. It includes
fragments of two inscriptions, which cover on
the rock a space of 4' 2" broad by 3' 11" high.
The upper six lines are in beautifully-cut char-
acters of evidently the same class with those
of the early Chalukya and Kūṭamba grants
which I have published. They have, however,
certain distinct peculiarities and refinements of
their own; and the only inscriptions known to
me, the characters of which are of precisely the
same type, are—1, the Pallava grant of
Viśaṅga-gūpavarma, which I have published
at Vol. V, p. 59,—and 2, the Pallava grant
of Attivarma, which I give below. But in
Plate XII. of his *South-India Palaeography*,
Second Edition, Dr. Burnell gives an alphabet
from a Pallava stone-inscription of the Seven
Ingodas, referred by him to about a. d. 700, the
characters of which are of the same type, though

¹⁴ Copied from Vol. VIII, pp. 237 to 240 and 284 to
290, and pp. 74 to 76 above.

¹⁵ No. 84 of *Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, Inscrip-
tions*.

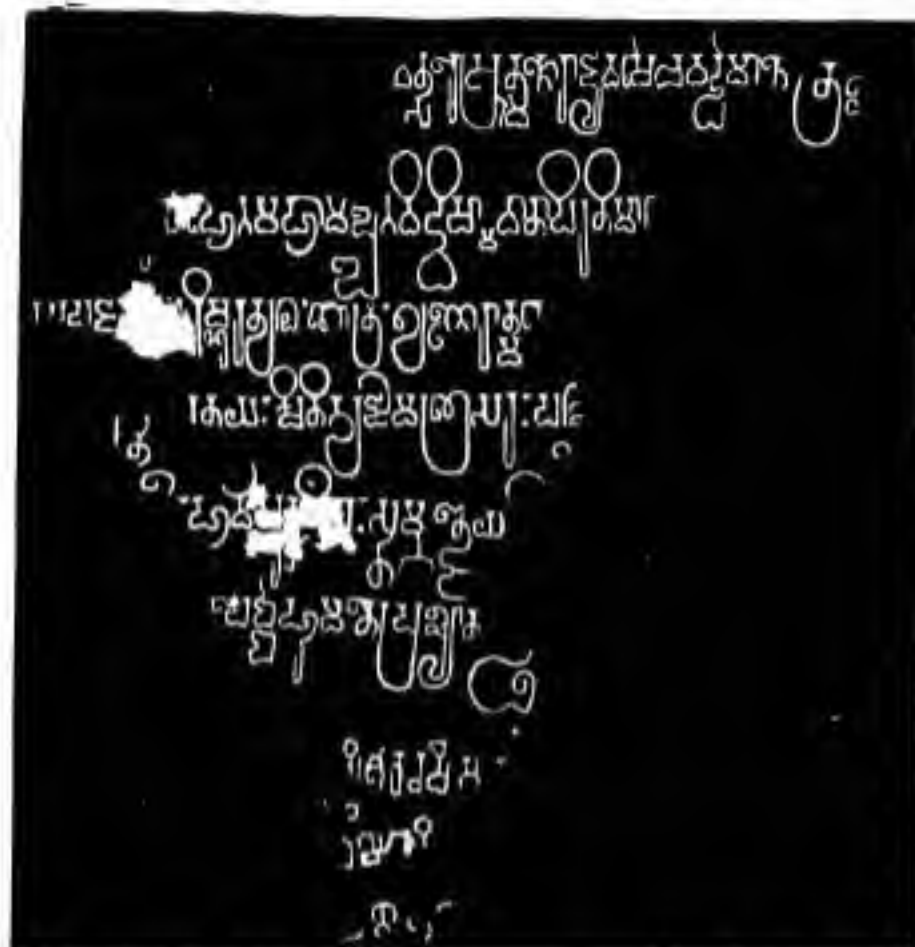
¹⁶ It would take up too much space, and make the trans-

scription too inelegantly, to correct the mistakes in this
inscription.

¹⁷ Probably Saka 2373 (a. d. 1451-2), or 1452, or 1453.

¹⁸ No. 28 of *Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, Inscrip-
tions*.

ON THE NORTH SIDE OF A BOULDER
NEAR THE TEMPLE OF TEGGINA-IRAPPA AT BADAMI



FROM AN INTERMISSION OF J. F. FLEET, NO. 1. 1

W. ORIGIN. PHOTO. - ITR. PEGHAM

SEAL OF THE PALLAVA GRANT OF VIJAYABUDDHAVARMA.



ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 विजयबुद्धवर्मः ॥
 ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

I

ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 विजयबुद्धवर्मः ॥
 ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

IIa

ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 विजयबुद्धवर्मः ॥
 ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

IIb

ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 विजयबुद्धवर्मः ॥
 ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

III

Third plate.

[¹¹] Bahubhūṣa-vrasandhā	datā	bahubhūṣa-ch-ārupāṭi
[¹²] yasya yasya yalā bhūmih tasya tasya tādā phalam	[*]	
[¹³] Sva-dattām para-dattām vā	śā	harēṭta(ta) vrasandhasā
[¹⁴] gavyāh āta-sahasraya	lunāh	dh(p)ivati dushkrītam
[¹⁵] ānati Rāhāṇi-guṣāṭi		

No. LXXV.

This is another copper-plate grant from the original plates, which belong to Sir Walter Elliot, and were obtained for him by Sūmasundara Mudaliyār from Gōrnāḥ in the Coimbatore District.

The plates are three in number, and measure about 8½" long by 1½" broad; they are thin, and quite smooth, having no raised rims. Together with the ring and its seal, they weigh 35 tolas. The ring had been cut before the grant came into my hands; it is about ½" thick, and 2½" in diameter. The seal is circular, about ½" in diameter. The emblem on it is probably the figure of some god, sitting cross-legged on an altar; but it is anything but clear, even in the original. Like the emblem on the seal of No. LXXIV. above, it is sunk in the flat surface of the seal itself,—instead of being raised in relief on a counter-sunk surface, as is usually the case. The language is Sanskrit. The characters will be remarked upon below.

The inscription covers both sides of two of the plates. One side of the third plate is blank. But parts of three lines of writing, in the same characters as those of the extant inscription, can be distinctly discerned about the centre of the other side of this plate; thus, in 1, 2 I can clearly read *para-dattām*; in 3, 4 I can clearly read *para-dattām*; and, in 1, 3, 4 I can clearly read *para-dattām*; and many other letters are recognisable, though I cannot make a connected passage out of the first line. This obliterated writing has all the appearance of having

been beaten down with a hammer, by way of cancellation, after beating the plate. And the plate was evidently then attached to the other two, as a guard to protect the writing. Probably there was another blank plate, now lost, attached to protect the writing at the other end of the grant.

The inscription records that king Atti-varṇā, of the family of king Kāṇḍava, granted the village of Antakūr, and a field of the measure of eight hundred *poṭṭis*, or a field called *Antakūr-poṭṭi*, at the village of Tāṇḍikāṇḍa on the south bank of the river Kāṇḍavā in a Brāhmaṇa named Kottāṇḍa. The grant is not dated.

The names of Atti-varṇā and Kāṇḍava are unknown to me. But, from the style of the characters, which are of the same type as those of No. LXXIII. above,—and from the fact that this grant comes from the same locality as No. LXXIV. above,—and from there being the same peculiarity in the way of marking the emblem on the seal in both this grant and in No. LXXIV.,—and from the statement that Atti-varṇā was descended from the god Hiraṇyagarbha, or Bṛhaspati,—there can be no doubt that this also is a Pāṇḍya grant, and that it is one of early date.

A transcription of this grant is given in the second Elliot MS. Collection, entitled *Volaga Sāmanas*, Vol. I, p. 13; but it is wrongly attributed there to the Early Chalukya king Kirtti-varṇā I.

Transcription.

First plate: first side.

- [¹] Senastya-Atala-vipula-gaṇasa śrīmātya-Āmala-maharshi-vaṇiṣa-samantbhūṭa-śaṅkavātā
 Va(ṣṣaṇ)kēśava-ādih-
 [²] vāṇasa-tri-bhuvana-kartā Sahabhūṣa-charaṇa-kamala-njaḥ-pavitrīkṛtā Kāṇḍava-nripati-
 kulā sama-
 [³] bhūṭāṇa-mudana-sujāta-pāśala-jana-parichārāṇa-āpramāṇa-Hiraṇyagarbha-prasaṇḍa-
 prajāṇa-

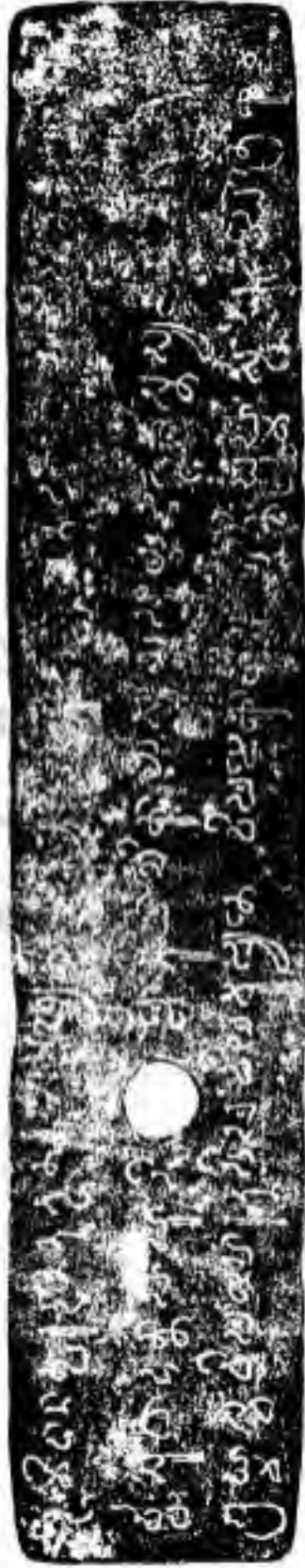
First plate: second side.

- [⁴] śa-sakala-sāmanas-maṇḍalāna Mahāśāstra-sama-vikrāntāṇa sama-guru-sādya-bhūṭāṇa
 samyak-prajā-pālan-

1/a



1/b



3. 9. 1912 NO. 4. 8

W. ORRIDGE PHOTOGRAPHIC RESEARCH



- [*] pūrjita-kṛtānāḥ rājāḥ Ativarmanas annapata-dharmas-kriyā-parāṇa Kāśyapa-gūṭra-
 [*] ya = Āpastambha²²-śūtra-vidā yama-ni[ya*]mavātā Rīg-Yajus-Sāma-vidā brāhmaṇya
 Brahma-kalpā-

Second plate; first side.

- ['] ya Kottisaramas Kṛishnabegga-dakshina-kūlā Tānthikontha-grāmā chatur-ddūsam=ash(a-
 āta-pa-
 [*] (i-kshētrāḥ=ch=Āntukkūra-grāmā=ch=śāka-pūrvvan=daśah sas(sa)rvvā(rvva)-hādha-
 parihāsam [i[*]] [S]v[a]-dattāḥ pa-
 ['] ra-dattāḥ vā yā hādā vasundharām gavāḥ āta-sahasraya hantuh pibati kilbisham [i[*]]

Second plate; second side.

- ['] Bhāmi-dāśa=paras=dīnan=na bhūtan=na bhuvishyati [tas]y=āiva haraṇāt=pāpa[n=na
 bh[ūtan=na bhuvishyati] [i[*]] [Bahubli]-
 ['] r=vasundhā datā bahubhā=ch=ānupālita²³ yasya yasya yadā bhūmin=taṇya taṇya
 [tadā phalam] [i[*]]
 ['] Brāhma²⁴-avaṇ visham ghōraṇ=na visham visham=uchyate visham=śākānāḥ hanti
 brāhma-avaṇ putra-pautrikam [i[*]]

Translation.

Hail! By king Ativarman, who is born in the family of king Kāndara²⁵, which is possessed of unequalled and extensive fame, and which is glorious, and which is descended from the lineage of the great saint Āsada, and which is purified by the pollen of the lotuses which are the feet of (the god) Sambhu, the holy one, who resides at (the temple of) Vākā-śvara²⁶, and is the maker of the three worlds; who is attended by beautiful and well-born and clever people; who is of the posterity of the inscrutable (god) Hiraṇyagarbha; who has reduced the territories of all chieftains by his prowess; who is equal in valour to (the god) Mahendra; who resembles in intellect the preceptor of the gods; whose fame has been acquired by properly governing his subjects; and who is intent upon (maintaining) the uninter-rupted practices of religion,—a field of (the measure of) eight hundred yojas, including (its boundaries in) the four quarters, at the village of Tānthikontha on the south bank of (the river) Kṛishnabegga, and also the

village of Āntukkūra, were given, with libations of water, free from all opposing claims, to the Brāhmaṇ Kottisarmā, of the Kāśyapa gūṭra, who knows the Āpastambha²⁷ śūtra, and who practises the major and the minor observances, and who is acquainted with the Rīg and the Yajur and the Sāma (Vāda), and who is a Brāhmaṇ, and who is almost equal to (the god) Brāhmā himself.

(L. 8.)—He incurs the guilt of the slayer of a hundred thousand cows, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself, or by another! There has not been, and there shall not be, any gift (better) than a gift of land; there has not been, and there shall not be, any sin (greater) than confiscating the same! Land has been given by many, and has been preserved in grant by many; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the benefit of it! The property of a Brāhmaṇ is said to be a terrible poison, (but, in comparison with that), poison is not called poison; (for) poison kills only one person, (whereas) the property of a Brāhmaṇ, (if confiscated), kills one's sons and sons' sons!

THE GAROS.

BY THE REV. W. AYERST, M. A.

The Garos are a type of the more primitive and savage of the clans, and all of this clan have more or less of a family likeness to each

other. They believe in the existence of a Supreme Being, who is "God over all." But they do not worship him by sacrifice, believing him to be

²¹ The recurrence of this form of the name, instead of Āpastambha, is, I believe, sufficient proof in itself of the early date of this grant. Dr. Bühler has written on this point; but I have not his remarks to refer to.

²² First Vā was engraved, and then it was corrected into ḍā.

²³ The note requires us to correct this into śākānāḥ.

²⁴ Śā, Kṛishna.

²⁵ Or, perhaps, Vākāśvara.

²⁶ See note 27 above.

benevolent, and therefore not in need of propitiation. Their numerous inferior deities are the objects of their dread, and they do sacrifice to them, whenever they believe that they have incurred their displeasure. Among the direct objects of their worship are the sun and moon. To ascertain which of the two they should worship on any given occasion, the priest takes a cup of water and some wheat; he then calls the name of the sun, and drops a grain into the water; if it sinks, that is a sign that they should worship the sun; if not, he drops another grain into the cup, in the name of the moon, and so on till one of the grains sinks.

Their minor deities are so numerous that even the votaries themselves cannot tell their names. *Bishi* is the chief of them. He is the same as the Hindu *Shiva*, and is also called *Surjong*. *Bishi* is said to preside over crops and health, *Surjong* over cotton. They are one, but divided into two. Their worshippers do not know of what gender they are, or where they live. *Bishi* is not displeased at murder.

Owing perhaps to their having no written language, the mythology of the Gáeros varies with the age. In this way they have come to regard our gracious Queen, "the mother of all the Foringis," as one of their divinities. Unhappily they have brought into the same pantheon the Hindu deity *Mahádeva*, whom they consider the spirit of evil.

They claim for themselves a divine origin, and practise hero-worship, making an offering to the newly-burnt ashes of the dead, and preserving the images of the deceased in their houses. They regard the higher mountains as the abodes of the blessed, the word *druk*, which signifies mountain, signifying also heaven, the abode of the gods. In the same way the Hindus regard the *Himálayas* as the dwelling of their deities.

The first created man is believed by the Gáeros to have been a priest, but their priesthood is not hereditary. It is the duty of the priest to perform certain rites at weddings and funerals, and at the investiture of chiefs; he also names children on the day of their births, but his most important ministrations are in time of sickness. Every house has one or more altars before it. The type is a certain fantastical disposition of bamboos, with festoons of cotton and

other light appendages that wave in the breeze. This is the general shrine for all common occasions, and is referred to in all cases of sickness or scarcity.

In time of sickness, the priest is sent for to offer sacrifice to the particular deity he may pronounce to have been offended. With his peacock's feathers in his hair, and his official sandals on his feet, and with little other covering, he takes his seat on a low stool in front of the altar, and addresses it (there is no image) in a low monotonous chant. Meanwhile another person leads the victim round and round the shrine. It is taken away from time to time for lustration, and then led back to the priest, who muzzles it and feeds it with salt; after this has been repeated, the head is struck off, and the altar is smeared with the blood. If a second blow should be needed, it would be thought of ill omen. The sufferer, in whose behalf the sacrifice is made, lies near the priest during the ceremony. At the burning of the dead, if the deceased was of rank, a bullock was sacrificed, and the head buried with the body. If he was a chief of the upper Gáeros, the head of one of his slaves is cut off and burnt with him. If he was of the first rank, it was formerly customary for a large body of his slaves to rally forth and seize a Hindu, and cut off his head, and burn it with their chief's. At weddings a cock and a hen are slain by the priest, but rather for augury than for sacrifice.

The dead are kept four days. They are then buried at midnight. The pile is erected at the distance of a few yards from the *clanag*, or house. The pile is adorned with stripes of red cloth, and the head of the victim named above, and the remains are placed in a small boat, and laid on the top of it. It is fired by the nearest relation, and the ashes are buried near the spot, and covered with a small thatched building surrounded by a railing. A lamp is lighted every night for a month in the building. Moreover, the wearing apparel of the deceased is hung on poles fixed at each corner of the railing, and left there for six weeks or two months, after which they are broken and allowed to hang downwards till they fall to pieces. The ruled graves of chiefs are decorated with rude representations of animals placed over the graves, and the railing is often decorated with fresh flowers.

The dead are moreover kept in remembrance by means of monumental images, placed in the porch of the dwelling-houses. These in a single house frequently amount to a great number, a reproduction, perhaps, of the Hall of Ancestors among the Chinese. The figure is adorned with the earrings or other ornaments worn by the person represented, but in other respects bears no resemblance, or hardly any, to anything human. Their belief is that a Garo, as soon as he is burnt, is born again a Garo in some unknown spot far away in the hills. It is probably on account of their custom of representing their dead by images that the Garos are unwilling to be sketched. They believe that the production of a likeness of themselves is ominous of their death.

Colonel Dalton describes one of these rude representations as "a full-length figure, decorated with all kinds of finery, and with an old silk umbrella supported over it." He thus describes the offerings made at the grave of a young girl. "In front of the house was a bamboo frame six feet long, two high, and three broad, at the corners of which carved posts were placed diagonally, and a lid of open lattice-work was lying ready to be placed on the top. Within the frame a small opening had been made in the earth, into which the rice, collected from amongst the ashes of the pile, were reverently placed by the nearest female relatives, the mother and the aunts, and then covered with earth. This done, the same mourners filled the bamboo framework with various offerings, of which I noted the following:—Three baskets of raw cotton, four baskets of unthreshed *dhan*, two grilled fowls, a few dozen shrimps, boiled rice, red pepper and salt, and gourd full of rhind or fermented liquor. After these, earthen vessels were broken and thrown in. The reason given for their being broken was that all this provision was for the use of the dead maiden, and that her spirit could not use the vessels till they had been broken, but that the fragments would reunite for her. The lattice-work covering was then laid on the top, and a coarse silk cloth, stretched upon hoops, spread over it. Meanwhile the boys of the community were beating drums, striking gongs, and blowing horns. Above all, a bull-light was exhibited, and attracted crowds. Indeed, but for the grave carriage and

silent grief of the poor mother, as she slowly and quietly put one offering after another into the grave of her child, all looked like a merry making. The bamboo frame is allowed to remain a year, and is then burnt amidst fresh rejoicings."

Their marriage ceremonies and customs are different from the European. If a young Garo should make advances to a maiden, and she rejecting him, chose to tell her friends of it, it would be regarded as an insult to her whole clan, which the blood of the offender must atone for if among the Upper Garos, but a feast will conciliate resentment among the lower clans. The custom is for all Garo maidens except *hepenses* (and these are only merry according to certain laws of kindred) to indicate their own choice of a husband. When the wedding day arrives, and the bridal party begin to lead off the bridegroom, his parents and family feign uncontrollable grief, and make loud lamentations, and *sonó-faroo* is used to tear the bridegroom from them.

The investiture of a chief consists in a horn ring being placed on each arm by the priest, who is to be presented with one ring, which he is entitled to wear on his left arm. The *faat*, which forms a necessary part of the ceremony, is so costly that none but the most wealthy can afford it.

When a man has been killed by a tiger, they believe that he appears in a dream, bidding his relatives change their names, whereupon his parents and brothers and sisters adopt new names. The object is to prevent the tiger from discovering the kindred of the man he has slain, and thus attacking them too. The tiger's nose is worn as an amulet, to facilitate child-birth.

These simple people have great reverence for truth. Their mode of attestation on oath is very solemn. The oath is taken upon a stone, which they first salute, and then, with the hands joined and up-lifted, and with their eyes steadfastly fixed on the hills, where they believe their god to reside, they will press him in the most solemn manner to witness what they are about to declare as true or false. They then again touch the stone, with all appearance of the utmost fear, and bow their heads to it, again calling upon their god. They also look steadfastly in the direction of the hills, and keep

their right hand upon the stone during their narration. In some of the hills they place a tiger's bone between their teeth before they give evidence. On rare occasions they swear with their weapons in their hands. When a Gâro is sworn in the Goalpara Court a little chalk scraped from the wall answers the purpose of earth. Amongst themselves, a lie is punished with instant death, not so much as an act of justice, as of indignation. In case of murder, the relatives of the slain are bound to demand blood for blood, and ought according to Gâro custom to put to death either the murderer or one of his kindred, or at least one of his slaves. The offending family is then bound to retaliate, and so on without ceasing, unless the Council succeed in bringing about a reconciliation. The mode of effecting this is by inducing the injured party to accept a fine from the other as the price of the blood.

In a deadly feud the weaker party flies to a distant hill to elude the stronger. Both parties immediately plant a tree bearing a sour fruit called *chālaka*, and make a vow that they will do their best to eat the fruit of that tree with the head of their enemy. A generation may pass away without opportunity of revenge. In that case the feud descends to the children. The successful person carries off his enemy's head, and boils it with the fruit of the tree which had been planted; he then drinks of the juices thus mingled, and the feud is at an end.

When head hunting parties have succeeded in massacring sufficient victims they call vast numbers of their friends to see the "rooking heads," which they fill with wine and food, and dance round them, singing loud songs of triumph. After these rejoicings the heads are buried for the purpose of rotting off the flesh. When arrived at a proper stage, they are dug up and cleansed of their putrid flesh, and then the warriors sing and dance round them again in triumph, and finally hang them upon the houses of the slayers as trophies. "Skulls so taken have a marketable value, varying with the position of the owner, and the degree of hatred entertained for the victim." Thus the skull of a Gomaista, who bought Kalumabopara, was valued at a thousand rupees, and that of an India-Talukdâr, an agent of the

Kanibani Zamindâr at five hundred rupees, while the price of a ryot's head is from ten to twelve rupees. Hence the Gâros are careful to reduce the skulls of their own kindred to powder, lest by accident or for gain they should find their way into the market. Of late years the British Government has brought its influence too near to admit of such raids.

In case of disputes between clans,—and among a people so impatient of unjust disputes these are very serious—the territories of the hostile clans are mutually proscribed. Neither may eat or drink within the territories of the other, food so taken would not nourish, water so drunk would be poison. The difference may be adjusted by the intervention of a third party. The angry clans may be brought together on neutral ground, that the cause of quarrel may be discussed. If the arbitrator succeed in effecting peace, the parties swear to observe it, by hitting their swords; as a sign that friendly relations have been restored, the representatives of the clans must put food into each other's mouths, and pour *chikâ*, the festival beverage, down each other's throats.

I will only add Colonel Dalton's account of a building "bee" among the Gâros. He witnessed the process, and has thus described it: "At the Lushkai's (chief's) village, there was a considerable gathering of young people from all the neighbouring villages, not often seen at this season, as the inhabitants are occupied on their farms, either planting cotton, or preparing their ground for cultivation. But I was most fortunate in finding here a house-building party, and a merry one it was. All the young men and young women of the Gaudupara clans were employed, and most rapidly and yet neatly they worked. The framework was ready, and they were thatching; curiosity at the sight of the stranger stopped them; but, on being reminded by some of their elders that the day is short, they went briskly to work again. The girls dived down the hills into the valley, and reappeared laden with bamboo-leaves, while the lads on the roof covered it in with them. A feast was in preparation for the house-builders, provided by the individual who profited by their labour, and this is all his house cost him."¹

¹ From a paper on "The North-east frontier considered as a Mission field," in *The Indian Christian Intelligencer*

vol. II. (Dec. 1878), pp. 365-377. For an early paper on this tribe by John Elliot, see *Asiat. Res.* vol. III., pp. 17-37.—K.

MISCELLANEA.

JAMES WALES THE PAINTER.

To the Editor, "*Indian Antiquary*."

SIR,—In the *Indian Antiquary* for February, page 52, there are several curious details regarding the Indian career of James Wales, artist, in connection with which the following additional facts may possess some interest for your readers.

In Stanley's edition of Bryan's *Biographical and Critical Dictionary of Painters*, it is stated in the notice of Wales, written by Stanley, that he died at Bombay in November 1798, and the article also mentions that he "made all those splendid drawings of the caves of Ellora and the plans which were, after his death, published by Thomas Daniell."

In the well known work, *Oriental Scenery*, by T. and W. Daniell, there will be found twenty-four views of the mountains of Ellora and the Hindu Excavations, (or as we now call them, Rock-Cut temples) drawn by James Wales, and engraved under the direction of Daniell.

It would appear, however, from a statement in the introduction to a small oblong quarto book in the possession of the writer, entitled *Sketches illustrative of Oriental Manners and Customs* by Robert Mahon, that Wales was assisted in his archaeological undertakings by Mahon, who says in his preface, dated Calcutta, February 1st, 1797:—"The following sketches were made during my travels, while engaged in an arduous undertaking (which took me five years to accomplish, for a Mr. Wales, lately deceased) viz:—*Oriental Antiquities, or Drawings of all the excavated Hindu Temples in India, particularly those at Ellora, near Aurungabad, Elfers, near Poona, and those on the islands of Elephanta, and Salsette, near Bombay.*"

"Being requested by a few Friends to favor them with Drawings illustrative of the Manners and Customs of the Asiatics, to send to these Relations, who had never been in India, I concluded a small Pocket Volume, containing Twenty sketches, would be very acceptable to them, and the Public in general; and accordingly published my Proposals for the present Work."

"I return the respectable few, whose Names are here annexed, my grateful thanks, for the readiness they have shown to encourage the undertaking; and sincerely wish it may answer their expectations on the subject."

The plates, 18 in number, are hand-coloured engravings, of considerable merit, each plate being accompanied by an interesting letter press description, full of allusions to "the Archaeological Survey" work on which the artist was engaged.

Robert Mahon appears to have been a good architectural draughtsman, as may be seen from those of his sketches (such as Nos. 9 and 16) in which buildings are introduced.

I have not been able to trace any reference to Mahon as yet, but doubtless a search in the *Calcutta Gazette* for the years 1790—1800 would discover some particulars of this English artist in India.

The Governor General of India, Sir John Shore; Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay; and many other well known names are among the subscribers to the book, which unfortunately bears no imprint whatever.

The title page, which is engraved, was given, as stated by the author, in substitution for the 20th plate, promised in the proposals for publishing the work, and is thus described by Mahon:—

"I have introduced a Frontispiece to this work, instead of the last mentioned subject in my proposals:—In the Vignette of the Frontispiece, the emblematical Figures are *History* directing the attention of *Painting* to Indian subjects, a part of one of which is represented on a Tablet, which she supports. I have given the Figure of *Painting*, the attitude of striking the Rainbow with her pencil, to denote the Power which this art has in giving a just representation of nature, and her many varied Tints." The "Indian subject" on the tablet is an Elephant, with a howdah on its back, kneeling down.

The following brief epitome of the contents of this book will, it is hoped, prove of interest, as this volume is, it is believed, the earliest published collection of authentic plates illustrating the manners and customs of the natives of any part of India. The Calcutta edition of Barthasar Soleyn's plates, illustrating the manners and customs of the Hindus, was not published till 1799, although the prospectus or proposal for publishing them will be found in the *Calcutta Gazette* for 8th February 1791. The better known French edition of Soleyn appeared in Paris in 1808, in 4 volumes, atlas folio, the publishing price being 100 guineas the set.

Plate I.—The manner of crossing the river at Wankar, near Poona, during the monsoon.

Seated on a trunk, on the top of a raft formed of "calihushes" lashed together, is an officer dressed in uniform; three natives swimming by the side of the raft are urging it over a river. "In the background I have introduced coolies with his baggage; distant from these, his bearers and palankeen, floating in the same manner. Since the year 1793, this mode of crossing the river has been discontinued, on account of accident.

which have happened, people having often been carried down by the strength of the current, notwithstanding the united efforts of those who conducted the *cullashes*."

Plate II.—Savoy Mahadownrow Pandit Purdhum, late Peshwa of the Mahratta Empire, seated on the *Mansud*, at the *Durbar* of Poona, in which is introduced Nana Furnavase.

The Peshwa is seated "*de-zana*" on the *mansud*, to the left is Nana Furnavase. "In surveying the Peshwa seated on the *mansud*, the eye is dazzled with the immense riches about him, but his effeminate dress and the unmanly-like attitude which the customs of the people make him under the necessity of observing, takes away from that dignity in appearance, which an European might expect to see in a Prince seated on a throne."

Plate III.—Savoy Mahadownrow, late Peshwa of the Mahratta Empire, exercising the long spear, with other *Bramin* Chiefs, near *Parbuttee*, at Poona.

Plate IV.—Savoy Mahadownrow Pandit Purdhum, late Peshwa of the Mahratta Empire, mounting his elephant on his return from *Parbuttee*, to the *Durbar*.

Plate V.—The late Mahadajee Scindia, the celebrated Mahratta Chief, seated in his tent.

Plate VI.—Mahratta *Pindarees* returning to camp, after a plundering excursion during the late Savoy Mahadownrow Pandit Purdhum, late Peshwa of the Mahratta's expedition against Nizam Ali Khan.

Pindarees, on elephants, mounted on horses and on foot, driving before them, villagers laden with sheaves of ripe grain.

"This sketch was made on my way to Ellora in order to make drawings of the stupendous excavated Hindoo temples there. At that period Savoy Mahadownrow had taken the field against Nizam Ali Khan, on account of the latter refusing to pay some tribute due to the Mahrattas."

Plate VII.—A *Suttee*, or ceremony of a Hindoo woman proceeding to the funeral pile, to be burnt with her deceased husband.

"While at Poona, I was present at three ceremonies of this kind: the annexed sketch was taken from the first I saw. The unfortunate victim was a beautiful young Hindoo woman. On the death of her husband, she declared her resolution to the court of Poona, that she would burn upon the same pile. They immediately issued orders, that every honor should be paid her; *sepoys* and a number of other attendants were sent, as also *palankeens*, and musicians, elephants, camels, horses, and in short everything which could form a grand procession. She went attended by these through the streets of Poona,

making a *kalam*, (the token of her departure,) indiscriminately, to almost every one she met, after which she proceeded to the funeral pile, attended by a vast concourse of people. The pile was erected at the side of the *Mulna* and the *Motta*, two rivers which form a conjunction at Poona. The construction of the pile was very simple—it consisted of four poles, about eight feet high, struck slightly in the ground, at the distance of seven feet by five. Billets of wood were placed regularly within the space marked by them, to the height of four feet; between these were placed *gobar*, or cow-dung, baked in the sun, straw and other combustible matters;—over these, oil was poured to accelerate the dissolution of the unfortunate victim. From the top of the poles others were tied across, so that the whole had the rude appearance of a bedstead. On the top of all were laid a great many billets of wood.

"On her arrival at the pile, her husband's corpse (which was carried before her to the place) was immersed in the river, during which (the *Bramin* priests, who attended on the occasion, muttered some prayers, and laid it on the ground. She sat some distance from it. Her head was adorned with flowers; her relations presented her with *boutanout* and sweetmeats, of which she partook; and they placed upon her wrists, bangles or *tasbeets*. She seemed to be almost in a state of insensibility, on account of their having previously given her *gunja*. After taking an affectionate leave of her friends she rose; her husband's body was carried beside her, and laid upon the pile, she ascended and laid down by it, embracing the corpse;—afterwards, four or five people laid hold of the poles fixed on the ground, and pulled them down, by which means, all the billets of wood, which were placed at top, fell upon them. In the interim, her nearest relations were employed in setting fire to the pile below, which they speedily effected, on account of the combustible matter contained; in a few minutes it was in an entire blaze—they retreated, applying their hands to their mouths, making a most lamentable noise; this with the shrieks of the unfortunate woman, were drowned by various music. She endeavoured to extricate herself from the flames, on which a *Bramin*, with a large billet of wood, struck her on the forehead; which effectually stunned her, or perhaps deprived her of life—as after it, she was at rest. In a few hours, all that remained of this faithful pair was ashes; these were thrown with some degree of ceremony into the river.

"Nothing could have induced me to be a spectator of this horrid scene, but a wish to give an exact representation of it."

Plate VIII.—A group of dancing girls.

Plate IX.—Getterba, or Annual Fair, held in front of the excavations of Ekvera, in the Mahratta Country.

"This wonderful work is very near the top of the Bhaur Ghaut, and almost opposite to the Fort of Lohur."

Plate X.—Mohometans performing the Mohurram, or mourning of Hussein.

Plate XI.—Parsons assembled for devotion at sunset.

Plate XII.—Different modes of conveyance used at Bombay.

"In this sketch, I have introduced palankeens, chair-palankeens, mahannas, doolies, and a hackery, or cart; these being the modes of conveyance prevalent there, and indeed all over India."

In the "chair palankeen," which is like a sedan chair, is seated a stout Englishman, in white clothes, reading a book, very like General "Kair Wig" in Rowlandson's sketch, in the '*Adventures of Quai H' in Hindostan*,' London, 1816.

Plate XIII.—Bombay Subadars, Jemadars, Sepoys, &c.

Plate XIV.—The launching of the ship *Carron* from the Bombay Dockyard.

Plate XV.—Artificers at work.

Goldsmiths at work on the steps in front of an Englishman's house, a lady and two gentlemen looking on.

Plate XVI.—Gentooes at devotion.

"In this sketch I have introduced the Bramin priest at Ekvera, with other two Hindoos worshipping in the temple there, the Lingam or Mahlew."

Plate XVII.—Gentooes lamenting the death of a deceased relative, or friend.

A group of six Hindu women at the door of a native hut, beating their breasts with the palms of their hands; through the doorway of the hut is seen the dead person, covered with a white cloth, laid out on a charpâi.

Plate XVIII.—Snake catchers exhibiting a cobra de capello.

Plate XIX.—Fakerees or devotees of different castes.

In this plate Mabon delineates, two Hindoos, two Muhammedan and one Sikh Fakir.

AROUND CONSTANTINOPLE.

A HINDOO SHRINE ON THE CASPIAN.

In our walks about the streets of Resht our servant Gopal, with his red turban and Indian costume, attracted great attention among the Khurds and Kosaks, who frequently inquired if he was a Türk. The Persians seemed to understand better his belongings, called him a Mul-

lani, and declared he had come to join his brother. I inquired what they meant, and learned in reply, that one of the "lions" of the place was Surakhani, a temple some ten miles away, which all visitors made a point to see, containing images that were worshipped. It was lighted by sacred flames, which shot up out of the ground, and for centuries it had been under the faithful guardianship of Multanis. Who the Multanis were I did not at first comprehend; but, finally, it occurred to me that a Multani must be synonymous with Hindustani, or a native of India; that the city of Multan on the Indus must have been in the distant past an important centre, commercially and politically; and Multani might have been used by the Eastern nations to designate the people from that city itself, as well as those who hailed from portions south of the Indus. We were now very anxious to see what we concluded must be a Hindu temple in Russia; and especially to interview the Hindu priest, if such he could be, in charge of the sacred spot, so we should then settle all doubts, and learn how it came to pass that the natives of Hindustan, who have such an antipathy to wandering to any great distance from their own country, were induced to make such an extensive journey, exposed to every kind of danger, both by sea and land, and finally be willing to erect a temple in such an out-of-the-way place, among people who were perfect strangers to their faith. Still more surprising was it that they should keep up so faithfully the guardianship of their idols, by constant recruits sent from time to time all the way from India, as we were told. These were points that cast an air of improbability about the whole matter, causing it to seem most unlikely, and made us very desirous of solving the mystery. If the pagoda was a fire-temple belonging to the Gushvros, such a circumstance would be not at all strange, but would rather be the most natural thing that could happen; and that it is such a temple is distinctly stated in the works of several travellers, who are regarded as authority on matters out here, but who evidently would not know a Hindu were they to meet him, and to whom a fire-temple and a heathen pagoda were one and the same thing. As much as a century and a half ago, Jonas Hanway mentioned the existence of forty or more Hindu devotees residing at Baku. Why, then, we thought, might there not be some descendant of them still living, who would be a curiosity to behold, and whose acquaintance it would be profitable for us to make? Accordingly in the afternoon, we hired a fine-looking droschky with a span of fast hardy Kalmuk ponies, who took us all about the town for only sixty kopeks (one shilling and

eightpence) for the first hour, which is the government regulation. The charge for the next hour is about one-half that of the first. An hour later, we had arranged with our driver to take us in his droschky to Surakhani, and bring us back, for the sum of five roubles (fourteen shillings). In addition to the span of horses we had, a third horse was quickly harnessed abreast of the other two, which we learned was the custom when driving off for some distance. We started from Baku at a quarter to four o'clock. Our driver was a Kosak, with a tall, black Astrakhan hat on; and, what is more, he was a regular Juhu, as he drove us over the undulating and poorly constructed roads, full of ruts and sand, at a ten-mile-per-hour rate. We passed through two small villages, and in sight of many oil-factories, which from the dark smoke they emitted, showed that they were running on full time. The air around was filled with an outrageous odour.

On approaching Surakhani, a place composed simply of two large oil factories, we readily distinguished the Hindu temple, whitewashed, and surrounded by a high stone wall, with a large wooden gate for its main entrance. Gopal could hardly contain himself. We got out of the carriage; but found the door locked, and could see no one in the inside. We then walked around into the nearest factory yard, where we were told that the priest had gone that afternoon to Baku, and that without him we could not enter the temple. However, by persuasion and the offer of a horse, the key to a small backdoor was forthcoming, by means of which an entrance was easily effected at a point where the walls of the factory and the temple joined. We passed through and out of one of the cells, several of which are built into the high surrounding wall, where the devotes lived. In the centre of this almost circular enclosure, with a diameter averaging about one hundred feet was the temple proper,—a strong, quadrangular structure, bearing marks of age, but in good repair, surmounted with a dome some thirty to forty feet high. From the dome hung a rope on the inside; and to its end, some three feet from the floor, was fastened, suspended in the air, a good-sized copper bell, just such as is rung by Hindus in their temples when performing their devotions. Besides the bell, nothing was to be seen, save a metallic tube, which protruded a foot or two out of the floor, and had some cotton baiting stuck into it. This the man who furnished us the key pulled out, and in its place held a lighted match. The result was the same as when one lights a gas jet. We then were shown into the only cell still occupied. In it we readily recognized articles peculiar to the Hindus. There were pictures of Gajpati, the

four-armed elephant god of Siva, and a few other deities. The last were Poustos, or household divinities, cut out of small pieces of silver and gilded ware. They were arranged on a small raised altar in the middle of the cell; and about them were gas-jets like the one already described, and which our ciceroni lighted, one after the other, whispering audibly that the place we were in was very holy. The man, though a Mahamadan, had evidently witnessed the Hindu priest in profound earnestness at his prayers; and the darkness of the room, lighted up with flames fed from the spirit world beneath, had impressed him with an awe that characterized his every action. Having noticed all that was to be seen, and satisfied ourselves that, though miles away from India, we had not yet got away from India's gods, we started to return to the city, hoping to find the old priest there, and get out of him something about the temple and its wonderful history. It was already growing dark. The fires from ignited gas in ditches, dug here and there for burning lime and baking brick, lighted up the sky, and enabled us to realize, to a very exact degree, the appearance of the country when under an extensive illumination gotten up by the citizens of Baku to celebrate some festive occasion, or in honour of the visit of some important official to their city. Few, if any, places have such natural resources for an illumination on so grand, yet economical a scale as Baku, and the idea that we were riding over "gas-works" on a gigantic scale, it must be confessed, suggested thoughts quite peculiar to the time and place. Our Juhu drove back even faster than when we came, breaking the harness twice in his efforts to urge on the horses, regardless of deep ruts and steep banks. We give the palm to Russian steel and Baku carriages, manufactured, we were told, in St. Petersburg, for withstanding all strain when a Kosak is the driver, and three Kalmak ponies harnessed abreast are making for home. We were back in the city by seven o'clock; and were just dashing round a corner, before drawing up by our steamer, when the driver suddenly reined in the horses and stopped. We wondered what had happened. The driver, pointing to a group of men seated on the steps of a liquor shop, informed us that the priest we wanted to see was there. I turned and spoke in Hindustani, asking the man to come to us. The sound of his native tongue startled him; and he stared at us wildly as he approached. When we told him that we had just come from his country, and as a proof showed him Gopal, the man's joy knew no bounds. His story, in brief, was, that he was a native of Lahor. Nearly ten years had elapsed since he left Karachi by native

craft, in company with two associates, and arrived at Bandar Abbas, after a narrow escape from drowning in a storm. From Bandar Abbas, they came on by land, exposed marches to Kirman, Yazd, and Teheran, and thence by the same route that we had taken. They were twelve months making their long journey. At Buke, they found the temple in charge of an old priest, who, on being relieved, returned to India, there to induce others to follow his footsteps, just as his predecessor had secured these three fresh arrivals. One of the associates died after a stay here of a year or two. Shortly after, the other became so homesick that he returned to India, promising straightway to send substitutes in his place. No one as yet had appeared; and the priest, still a man in the prime of life, was getting very much discouraged. He declared he could not stay any longer a voluntary exile from friends and country, even though he should have to commit the unpardonable sin of leaving the divinites unattended,—a circumstance without a precedent, he said; for no break had yet occurred in the guardianship by Hindus of the temple since its erection, over a thousand years ago, but about which he evidently knew as little as he did about its subsequent history. Further than this, he was rapidly forgetting his mother-tongue, and talking a mixture of Armenian and Turkish; so that, outside of a plain, ordinary conversation, he not only had difficulty in expressing himself, but often failed to complete his Hindustani sentences, making it very hard to understand him. One thing was evident: the man was losing faith in the virtue and efficacy of his Penates, and declared that they were not what they used to be. To prove this, he went on to show how much wealth had been slowly accumulating for ages at his shrine, part of which had come all the way from India; but the rest was the result of offerings from many people not so far away, who, though of a different faith, visited the sacred spot,—partly from curiosity, and partly from a general superstition in the vague belief that it is wise to appease deity under all forms. This wealth had lately been carried off in the night by parties who could not be found, and, if the gods could not take care of what was their own, the priest seriously doubted whether they could look after him and his interests, and that of those gone before him. Evidently this idea had made a strong impression upon him; for on the next day, when our steamer was advertised to start, this orthodox Hindu urged and besought me to take him along as my servant, just as I was doing by Gopal, even at the risk of his losing

caste and undoing the accumulated merit, which was the direct result of so many years of self-sacrifice and penance. From England he said he would return with Gopal to India. On finding I could not take him, he determined he would abandon the idols to the tender mercies of some Muhammadan friends, and go back the way he had come; declaring this life he was leading to be a humbug!

PROF. SCHIEFNER.

The death of Anton von Schiefner, which was announced in the *Athenaeum* of November 29th of last year, leaves such a sensible void in more than one department of Oriental and linguistic research that a fuller notice of his life and literary work may, it is hoped, be welcome to many students to whom his name has long been familiar as one of the foremost Oriental scholars in Russia.

Schiefner was born on July 18th, 1817, at Reval, where his father, who had emigrated from Bohemia at the end of last century, was established as a merchant. After passing through the grammar school of his native place, he matriculated in the University of St. Petersburg in 1836, and at the wish of his uncle, W. Schneider, who held the professorship of Roman Law and was anxious that young Schiefner should succeed him some day, enrolled his name as a student of jurisprudence, while he continued at the same time his philological studies under Prof. Graefe, who had been the first in Russia to write and lecture on comparative grammar. After creditably passing the usual examination at the end of a four years' course, he went to Berlin in 1840 to attend the lectures of the celebrated jurist F. G. von Savigny; but soon the classes of Boeckh, Bopp, Lachmann, and Trendelenburg had greater attractions for him, and eventually he gave himself entirely up to his favourite philological pursuits. The influence which the lectures of those far-famed professors exerted on him is traceable throughout his literary career. On his return to St. Petersburg he was made, in 1843, Professor of Latin, and subsequently of Greek, in the First Grammar School, and devoted himself exclusively to the study of the classics and more especially the Greek philologists. A few years later, however, he took up the serious study of Tibetan, for which the libraries of St. Petersburg offered special opportunities. After being appointed in 1848 one of the librarians of the Imperial Academy, he was elected in 1852 a member of that learned body, the cultivation of the Tibetan language and literature being assigned

¹ From *Midnight Marches through Persia*. By H. Balantine of Bombay, (Boston, 1879), pp. 229-235.

to him as his special function. Simultaneously he held from 1869 to 1873 the professorship of the classical languages in the Roman Catholic theological seminary. In the last-mentioned year he was promoted to an ordinary membership in the Imperial Academy, with the predicate "Excellency." After a fortnight's illness, which from the very beginning gave rise to the gravest apprehensions, he died on November 16th of the year which has closed.

It is in three directions that Schiefner has made his mark in literary history. In the first place he contributed to the *Mémoires* and *Bulletin* of the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg a number of valuable articles on the language and literature of Tibet, of which the following are of special interest:—*Additions and Corrections to Schmidt's Edition of the Dzunglish*, 1853; *The Life of Chakya-muni*, translated in abstract from the *Tibetan*, 1853; 'On Foucaux's Edition and Translation of *Ngpa-cher-rol-jar*,' 1859; *Studies on the Tibetan Language*, 1861, 1866, 1864, 1877; *On the Periods of Human Development, from a Buddhistic Point of View*, 1861; *Translation of the forty-two Kôlas*, 1861; *On some Eastern Versions of the Legend of Bhishmasmita*, 1869; *Buddhistic Stories*, translated from the *Tibetan*, 1876-7; *On Tsanabandza's Gôthi-sangshu* (the *Tibetan Dharmapada*), 1876. Besides, he separately published in Tibetan and German *Flammarion's Buddhistism*, 1868, and *Tsuanabandza's History of Buddhism in India*, 1869; in Tibetan and Latin, *Bharata's Annals*, 1875, and the ancient Sanskrit-Tibetan-Mongolian glossary *Mahadogutpati* (1859). When his fatal illness overtook him he was busy collecting and arranging materials towards a work on the Bonpo or pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet.

Schiefner possessed also a responsible acquaintance with Mongolian; but, unlike his predecessor I. J. Schmidt, who was a far better Mongolian than Tibetan scholar, he confined his principal labours to the Tibetan language.

In the second place, he was for a considerable number of years engaged in arranging and preparing for publication the memoirs and linguistic materials left by the great Finnish ethnologist Alexander Castrén, who, after spending twelve years among the various Ugro-Finnic tribes of Norway, Lapland, and Siberia, had finally succumbed in the prime of life to the hardships which he had had to endure. Of the twelve volumes brought out by Schiefner from 1853 to 1861 only two are narrative; seven treat of the languages of the Samoyedic tribes, the Kottai, Karagass, Tungusian, Buryat, Ostiak, and Kottic tongues, and three contain Castrén's researches on the mythology, ethnology, and literature of the

tribes he had visited. This mass of valuable material would probably long have remained dormant in the University library at Helsingfors had not Schiefner, at the instance of the Imperial Academy, arranged it and made it generally accessible in a lucid translation from the Swedish original into German. His independent works under this head comprise translations of the great Finnish epic *Kalevala* (1852), the heroic poetry of the Tartars of Minnassin (1859), and the lays of the *Wotes* (1863), as well as a number of highly interesting essays on Finnic mythology (1856-62).

While he was still in the midst of these studies, the languages of the Caucasus began to engage his attention; and it was in the first place the Tschak language on the analysis of which he brought to bear his wonderful philological acumen. After a preliminary report on that language, which he laid before the Academy in June, 1854, he brought out two years later a full treatise upon it. It was mainly through the study of this work that Baron P. Usser was stimulated to investigating on the spot also the other languages of the Caucasus. In a full account by Schiefner of recent researches on these languages, which will be found incorporated in the Annual Address of the President of the Philological Society, just published, the author speaks of his own share in these most difficult researches with a modesty and reserve which might well be recommended to linguistic scholars of far inferior abilities and attainments.

As that statement can easily be referred to for further details, it may here suffice to enumerate the various memoirs by Schiefner on those languages:—*Essay on the Awar* (1862), followed (in 1872) by a more comprehensive account of that language and a collection of Awar texts, with a translation; *Essay on the language of the Utes* (1864); *on P. von Usser's Abchazian studies* (1863); *Researches into the Tschakian language* (1864); *Report on P. von Usser's Kasik-Kamsh studies* (1865); *Reports on P. von Usser's investigation of the Herkavian* (1871), and *Kerintan languages* (1873). Also of the Ossetic language (which, though locally Caucasian, belongs to the Iranian group) Schiefner had made himself master; a number of translations from that language by his pen, several of them accompanied with the original text, appeared in the *Bulletin* of the Academy in the years 1863 to 1867. For many of his linguistic investigations he had, with as much tact as patience, availed himself of the presence in St. Petersburg of natives (soldiers chiefly) of the districts on the languages of which he happened to be engaged. The importance, however, of the vast mass of linguistic material thus opened up by him, and of the results to which his investigati-

times led, has not yet been fully realized, except so far, perhaps, as his numerous contributions to our knowledge of Eastern fables are concerned, for which branch of literature he evinces throughout his works a keen appreciation.

While his loss as the representative authority on all matters concerning Tibetan literature and the languages of the Caucasus is felt to be irreparable, it is not less deplored by many students in this country, as well as in France, Germany, and

Austria, with whom he was allied by ties of intimate friendship.

He visited England three times for the purpose of literary researches—in 1861, 1867, and 1878—and he will long be remembered here for his single-heartedness, his sprightly conversation, and his unwavering devotion to the scientific pursuits which he had made the task of his life.¹

R. ROSE.

January 1, 1886.

BOOK NOTICES.

Buddha Gayâ, the Birthplace of Sâkyâ Muni. By Rajendra Mitra, LL.D., C.I.E., &c. Published under orders of the Government of Bengal. Calcutta, 1878.

First Notice.

Outwardly this is a large quarto volume, handsomely printed, of 258 pages of text and 16 of preface, contents and errata, with fifty-one plates—34 tinted and 5 plain lithographs, and 12 photographs. Published by orders of the Bengal Government, no pains has been spared to make it look well by printers or lithographers.

Buddha Gayâ, the birthplace of Buddhism, the Holy City of the great monastic religion of Eastern Asia, is a place of much interest, and the illustration of its history and antiquities is well deserving the patronage of Government. Its remains had already been so conscientiously illustrated by Buchanan Hamilton, Major M. Kittoe, General Cunningham, Mr. Fergusson, and others, and in this bulky volume Dr. Rajendralâl Mitra takes up the subject with a view, we might expect, to an exhaustive treatment of it. It may therefore not be out of place here to examine, somewhat in detail, how he has performed this public task, and to indicate the quality of the contents of this large volume. The author has such a reputation as a scholar, that no one can wonder that the Bengal Government entrusted him with so important a duty. But of late he has so frequently contradicted our greatest authorities in Indian Antiquities—J. Fergusson, D.C.L., and General Cunningham—men of true genius, who have done lasting service to the subject of their special study,—that it seems desirable to learn whether he or they speak with the greater knowledge and authority, or whether the Bengali Doctor is not liable to mistakes of even more serious character than the authorities he differs from.

The great point aimed at in the volume seems to be to prove that Mr. Fergusson is wrong in attributing the building of the great Buddha Gayâ

temple to the Hottentots,—though his opinion is fully borne out by the style, especially when compared with that of existing remains of temples of about the same age in India,² and supported by the existence of inscriptions, one of which records the repairs or rebuilding of the temple in 1106 A.D.,³ and the other distinctly states (p. 208) that this temple "was constructed a fourth time and finished on Friday the 10th day of Pysola in the Sakkard year 867 (1305 A.D.)." The author on the contrary holds that—as there was a great temple here in the 7th century,—that still existing must be the same; the Hottentots could only have plundered it and done some trifling repairs!

At p. 102 we meet a statement that might have been expected in Baron Munchausen, and there is no correction of it in the Errata: it is to the effect that the author imagined ten bricks, and the first was $15 \times 8 \times 4 \frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the other nine were of five dimensions, would be a puzzle for mathematicians who knew that there are only three dimensions; and the other nine were also extraordinary bricks, for they measured from 14 to 16 feet in length, some 9 inches and others 10 inches broad and 2 inches to 2 inches thick! We have seen big bricks of great age but nothing like the size of these; possibly, however, it is a mistake or rather a series of mistakes, of which the author as well as the printer must share the blame.

We pass from the author's ideas on the representation of the sizes of bricks, to those on Palaontology, which are as strange. At p. 213 he remarks that the "Chhadanta" elephant, so well known in Buddhist mythology, could have been neither a *Mastodon trilepodon* nor *M. trilepodon*, nor yet an *Elephas* of the *stepadus*, *brevidens*, or *endelephas* species, but probably the extinct *Hippopotamus Sivalensis*! This long extinct fossil animal he believes to have been remembered by the early Hindus (p. 159). Are the representations of the Chhadanta Elephant like a Hippopotamus?

¹ From *The Athenæum* of January 24.

² It is nearly a counterpart of the Buddhâra temple at Pagan which was erected by King Jayasinhâ, 1294-1297.

³ See Crawford's *Buddhism in Art* (Bengal), vol. I, p. 117.

⁴ See *Journ. As. Soc. Ben.* vol. XXXVII, p. 37.

Some of the illustrations will amuse, if they do not perplex, the reader: thus on plate vii. is given a photograph of the 'Southern Façade of the Great Temple', which is intelligible enough, but the next plate is the same thing "restored." No one looking at it would suppose that the first could ever be restored so as to look the least like the second; their proportionate heights to the bottom of the final (which is destroyed in the first) are as 3 to 5. We turn to the text p. 79, and are told in a footnote that the plate is wrong; "the number of storeys above the terrace should be eight as in the photograph" (the first we suppose) "and not nine." But even this correction would not make the two in any way comparable. The author is trying his hand at a 'restored drawing' has failed to see that both the proportions and the details of the original should be followed; and, not having attended to this, his restoration is a delusion. After comparing these two plates, on looking next at the 'restored Porch of the Great Temple' in plate six, of which "there is at present no such structure," the reader will have no hesitation in concluding that it never did nor could have existed—unless it had been put up in the 19th century.

This failure to comprehend what is before him, must seriously affect the value of any reconstruction Dr. Rājendralāla may attempt. We doubt if he so understands the elements that enter into the distinction of successive forms of a style, as to be able to judge of the value of a restoration of any building.

From architecture we turn to the sculptures represented in his many tinted plates; and of these we first remark generally that the features given to the figures are not such as are usually met with in Hindu or Buddhist sculptures: the faces are too narrow below, and just such as students from our Schools of Art are most apt to draw if not carefully watched and kept right. In the smaller details also there are errors of carelessness and inaccuracy that the author ought not to have tolerated: some of these we shall remark below.

Dr. Rājendralāla, however, whilst intent on contradicting what he considers the mistakes of General Cunningham, Mr. J. Fergusson and Professor Weber, has but short space to devote to the description and explanation of the details of the sculptures he presents; but being a native of India, and having a great reputation for scholarship, it could hardly be supposed he would make any mistake in mythology. We are sorry, however, to have to point out even in this department such errors as he might surely have easily avoided.

* Here the draughtsman has omitted his tail.

* Here again the elephant's head, represented in the sculpture, is omitted in the drawing.

At p. 133 is a very meagre account of the sculpture on plate xx. fig. 3. The central figure is Buddha under the Bodhi tree conventionally represented by two leaves; and round him are some of the principal scenes in the legend of his life. Below, on his right, is a representation of the story told by Hiuen Tsiang, of Buddha at Mathurā, when the monkey brought him a pot of honey and then fell into a tank,* and was drowned, but, for this meritorious act, became a man in the next birth. Above this is the well-known incident at Rājagṛha, in which the elephant let loose to kill Buddha, is represented kneeling at the feet of the teacher. Above this, again, is the Baṇāra scene of Buddha seated (in the *dharmachakra* usāra) and first preaching his law. On the opposite side a similar representation is perhaps intended to represent him on his visit to Svarga to teach his mother; and just below it is the scene where Mahā Moggallāyana requested him to descend. Below this is Māyādevī holding the branch of a tree;† and on the lowest compartment is represented, according to custom, the maker of the image. Above all is the *Nirvāṇa* scene. Such slabs are abundant about Buddha-Gaya, all representing the same favourite scenes, none of which need be mistaken. In the Pāñcāla temple there is a very good example of it where the monkey in the first and the elephant in the second scene are very well cut; also the deer below the Baṇāra scene, and a sal tree at the head and feet of the *nirvāṇa* figure; while in the Svarga scene a disciple is making *namaḥkṛdā* to the standing Buddha, as related by Fa-Hien; and the infant Buddha is represented as being born from the side of Māyā—Śakra making music at the great event. Round the nimbus is the formula *Ya dharmas hetuḥ*, &c., and on the pedestal is an inscription, dated in the 11th year of King Mahipāla's reign which reads thus:—

[1] मद्रसनापयेनाभ्यासमातापिनुनैदमं कुस

सकलसत्त्वराशेरनुत्तरज्ञानायाय इति ममा-

[2] येश्वरपरमभारुक्परमसैमन्तशीरमहीशाल-

देवमहैमानपिपराख्ये एकादशमे समनस्ये अभिलिख्य

[3] एतन्मया विधी गन्धकुटीद्वयसहितादुपभक्षि...

कारितव्यि ॥

Why has Dr. Rājendralāla passed over all this in entire silence? The details are just what give interest to the sculpture, and the inscription so far fixes its age.

On plate xxx. are represented three figures, which he regards as 'Buddha and attendants or disciples' (p. 135): but if we look at the two

* This is so badly drawn that no one would recognise even the attitude.

attendants, the *ushās* (turban) or top-knot at once indicates that they are not disciples (who are never so represented), but all three are Buddhas. On plate xxi. fig. 3 is another similar sculpture which he has failed to explain (p. 135), though it is plainly enough Buddha travelling, with *Iṇḍra* the *rāja* of *Swarga* carrying the umbrella over him, and *Nāgarāja* the king of *Pātala* with the *akṣapāṇas* or seven-hooded cobra¹ and bearing the *kasaṇḍala* or water bottle.

The object in the lap of Buddha (plate xxiii. fig. 2) seems to have perplexed our author (p. 134), yet it is quite common in the later representations of Buddha, and indicates no penance, as he imagines, but is simply the *bhikkṣupātr*.²

With the representations of the Bodhisattvas he seems to be even less acquainted than with those of the Buddhas; for, (on p. 136) he makes out fig. 2^a on pl. xlii. with the *chakra chakra* on his hand, to be Avalokiteśvara—which is certainly not. On pl. xx. fig. 1, the figure now worshipped as *Tārā* & *dēvi*, was indeed originally a form of *Padmapāni*, though it is hardly ever recognised as such, but is well known as *Sītāhārā* & *Lokeśvara*—easily recognised by the lion which attends him, and on which he is sometimes represented as seated. At the right side of this figure is cut, in letters of the 8th or 9th century, the words *Sri Buddhadgaya*, which neither the artist nor the author has noticed. The figure on pl. xxiii. fig. 3 may be *Padmapāni*, as he says,—but it is much more like *Misra* & *the* or *Manjughosa*; and that on plate xxiii. fig. 6, is not *Padmapāni*, for it has a bell in the one hand and a *jala pātra* in the other, and is a figure frequently seen in temples of the *Abhyantara* sect of Buddhists. Figure 3 on the same plate is similarly wrongly called *Padmapāni* (p. 136), for it has the northern style of dress, described by *Varāha Mihira* as appropriate to *Sūrya*, with stockings on his feet and *ten* lotus flowers in his hands.

Figure 2 on pl. xxii is the image now worshipped as *Vāgīśvari*. This the author mistakes for *Vajrapāni*, whilst it is undoubtedly a form of *Manjūśrī*, the Buddhist god of learning, of which *Vāgīśvara* (*Vāḍ-guara*) is a well known name among the Buddhists of *Nepāl*,—a fact that might have kept the learned author right. The three figures (pls. xxi. and xvi. figs. 1 and 3) which he calls *Māyādevī* (p. 137), we suspect are not so, for what the *Bābū* calls a

tilaka is really a third eye which *Māyādevī* is never represented with;—these are most probably Tantric forms of *Tārā*.

The supposed female Demon, plate xxi. fig. 2, is *Vasudhārā*,—and here again the *Bābū* perhaps forgot his spectacles when he examined the original, for there are no horses on the stone (as on his drawing) but pigs! This figure is common on the east side of the great tops at *Sānci*: at least three lay there, not long ago, among the ruins. In *Banāras* there is a fine black stone one with seven hogs below, and an inscription; and there one of the faces of the *dēvi* is also that of a pig.

Again fig. 1 plate xxi. is another image of *Vasudhārā*, which he "fancies" is "intended for *Sāritrī Dēvi*, who has apparently seized an opportunity to have a drive in the chariot of her husband the sun-god *Sūrya*" (p. 132). Where in India did he get hold of such an idea? and the horses!—why, he has indeed represented them by seven horse heads, but the stone has tears!

Plate xxi. fig. 3 represents an image of a *dēvi*, brought from the ruins of the monastery to the north of the temple;³ by estimation it is about 7½ feet high by 4 broad. This figure with its nine pairs of hands⁴ is not accurately described by our author, (p. 136) nor does he notice the inscription below it in letters of the 9th or 10th century, which reads,—

[¹] *विष्णुर्देवी प्रसन्नमहात्मनायिके महाप्रदलम्बककरवि-
श्वीश्वरूपेण सर्वं पुण्यं सर्वान्नामोक्तध्यायनायि-
वृत्तिर्देवी कृष्ण स्कन्धः*

[²] *सर्वदेवीनुत्तरज्ञानायिके.*

What he calls in the text (p. 135) "another representation of this *dēvi*," but on the plate (xx. fig. 2) "a figure of Buddha,"—is a form of *Tārā*.

Figure 2 on pl. xxi. he calls a *Nāgakanyā* (p. 138); why a mother with her child in her lap should be called a *kanyā* or 'maiden,' he does not tell us. The dress is sufficient to show that his "devotee," on pl. xxiii. is only a *śālika* or figure of a laic, such as were often presented by worshippers to the temples.

Even Hindu gods, the author misnames; thus (p. 139) he calls fig. 4 on pl. xx. *Prithvidēvi*, whereas it is evidently *Yamunā* on the tortoise, as represented again and again at *Elurā*, at *Udayagiri* in *Bhopal*, and elsewhere. Fig. 4 on pl. xxi. he has not recognised as the Buddhist *Mahākālā*. The subject represented in plate xxvi. fig. 2 is at the *Mahant's* monastery, built into

¹ This again is quite misrepresented in the plate.

² It is almost always so represented in the images in *Nepāl*.

³ He says "fig. 1,"—but mistakes of this kind are numerous; on p. 132 he refers to fig. 4 on "plate xxx," when he means pl. xxi. On p. 125 he has *Sān* 1239=1153 A.D.

⁴ So an old man informed the writer.

⁵ The front or proper pair of hands are in the *dāra*—

chakra round; the right hands from below are,—2nd broken; 3rd in the *varā* round (blessing with prosperity); 4th, holds the *chakra* or wheel; 5th, in the *varā* or *chakra* attitude, or holding *varā*; 6th, holds the *śālika* or *chakra*; 7th, the *śālika*; 8th, the *varā*; and 9th, the *śālika*. On the left, the 2nd is broken, the 3rd holds the *śālika*; 4th, the *śālika*; 5th, the *śālika*; 6th, the *śālika*; 7th, the *śālika*; 8th, the *śālika* (?); and the 9th is broken.

the south-east corner of the surrounding wall, outside; below is an inscription in characters of the 8th or 9th century:—*Pañcāpāṭikādhīnendrabhadrasya*—"Gift of Pañcāpāṭika Dhīyendrabhadra." The two figures on which the third stands are—Bhōtī under the left foot, and under the right Bhōtī; it is a Tantric or secret image of a Bodhisattva,¹² but Dr. Rājendralāla phrases it off (p. 159), simply as a figure of Bhairava.

On plate xxxiv, fig. 2 he has a long story (pp. 153-54) to tell, which seems to have little to do with the sculpture except that it relates to a Kinnari; but the Buddhist Kinnaras had human busts and birds' wings and feet. We may refer for examples to the Barabāt tope, early Mathurā, and Māvalipuram sculptures, or the wall-paintings at Ajanta. But the figure here has not a horse's head even (as the Brahmanical legends represent the Kinnaras), it has the short mane and long ears of an ass.¹³ How would it wear the "jewelled coronet" he speaks of? On the inner side of a pillar of the rail of the second stūpa at Sāncī is a similar sculpture where the second figure is a child with three mangos in his hand, and carried on her side over the rocks by this assine mother. So here, we suspect, it is her son she holds by the hand. A third example was figured recently by Mr. Burgess at Bhājā where it occurs in the midst of a crowd of other figures. It must probably relate to some story of a Gandharī devī, as yet unknown.

Plate xxv, fig. 5 represents a man sitting in front of a cave on a rocky hill,—not a stone house as the Dān has it (p. 157). In all sculptures and paintings of the Buddhist period, hills are represented as in this figure.

The "acrobatic performer" (p. 158) in fig. 1, plate xxviii, is familiar to us in Buddhist sculptures as a *Gandharavyinghat*, or a *Gandharva* and *Apsara*; and fig. 6 is well known as a *śattīmukha* (also plate xlv, fig. 5).

Plate xlii—the *Dharmadhātumandala* perplexes the learned doctor (p. 143)—he does not even give its name. But in the area of almost every Buddhist temple two or more of these are to be seen of stone or brass or other metal.¹⁴ They vary in details but are all of the same type. The outer band is not "of leaves" as he describes it, but flames, and the circle is called *jagatī*; the 2nd, *vajradatī*, and the 3rd, *padmadatī*. Inside this is the *jagatī* (or surrounding wall) with its four doors, and in the centre is the *dhama* or seat, upon which is sometimes laid a large *vajra*. At the Svayambhūdhā tope in Nepāl is a large gilt copper *Dharmadhātumandala* and on it lies a huge *vajra* with an inscription of

the time of Pratiṅgarāṭha. The Mahāyāna sectaries say that Indra made such a throne for Śākya Muni when he was about to become a Buddha; it closely resembles the *śrāvastāśrāṇa* of the Jainas.

More than two pages (160-63) are devoted to prove that General Cunningham was quite wrong in supposing that the figure in plate 1, represents Agallo or Śārya. Now General Cunningham's account is quite correct—he speaks of the "two attendants" however without stating that they are females. What the Dān thinks the sculpture does represent he does not make very clear. We hold that it is Śārya in his chariot; and similar figures may be seen at Elurā and Sāncī, and always with his two wives Chhāyā and Prabhā, shooting at the Bākshasas. Mortal women do not usually shoot or fight for their husbands in Hindu poetry; the goddesses only do so; and this alone is fatal to the idea of its being any rāja or human being who is driven in the chariot.

We have now indicated sufficient mistakes, we think, to show how unscientific Dr. Rājendralāla is in his treatment of these parts of his subject, in which he ought to be most at home, and the reader will be surprised to learn from these specimens that the great native savant of Calcutta should have been guilty of so unscientific a spirit. If these criticisms are liable to occasional errors, he himself is quite as much so. We reserve the examination of the inscriptions for another occasion.

(To be continued.)

DR. RIVABAYANA, Vol. 8. GOLDSCHMIDT, (1st part.) Straßburg; K. J. Trübner, 191 pp. 40s.

The first instalment of Professor S. Goldschmidt's long-promised edition of the *Edouardāśa* (more generally known as the *Schāṇḍakā* or *Satapathaśra*) has recently appeared at Straßburg. It gives the Prākṛit text with various readings and critical notes, a complete Index (Prākṛit and Sanskrit), and an introductory essay on the materials from which the editor has constituted his text, and the principles of criticism by which he has been guided. A full account of this important publication will be rendered in the *Indian Antiquary* when the second instalment shall have appeared, which will give a German translation, explanatory notes, and a general introduction on the author and his work. Suffice it here to say, that this edition, the outcome of many years of patient labour and research, will be sure to secure for Professor Goldschmidt the thanks of Sanskrit scholars for having so successfully accomplished what may fairly be considered as one of the most difficult tasks in Indian philology. R. R.

¹² A counterpart of this figure may be seen in a plate in Rallies's *Japa* (vol. II, p. 56), from a metal cast found near the mountain Dīng or Prāsa.

¹³ We always refer to the originals; the plates, as already noted, not being quite trustworthy.

¹⁴ They can be bought in Nepāl for Rs. 30 to 12.

THE GANGAI-KONḌAPURAM ŚAIVA TEMPLE.

BY COLONEL B. R. BRANFILL.

THE great Śaiva temple at Gaṅgai-konḍapuram, in the extreme north-east part of the Trichinopoly district, twenty miles south-west of Chidambaram, and five miles north of the Kollidam (Coleroon), is the finest and grandest Indian temple I have seen, but is simple in design and chaste in ornament. This style of temple, built on anything like this scale, is very rare. The great temple at Tanjore and one other near Kumbakonam are the only comparable examples I can recall. That it is no common specimen may be gathered from Mr. Moore's *Trichinopoly District Manual*, p. 343, whence the following extracts are taken:—

"In a letter published in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Dr. Caldwell has remarked that he has reason to hope that future enquiry will firmly establish a supposition formed by him, that this temple is one of the great, if not the greatest of, present Hindu temples. He believes that the old and splendid temple of Tanjore is probably merely a model of it."

Mr. Moore's description is erroneous in several particulars. The size of the outer court, 584 by 372 feet, is an interior measure for the length, which is actually 610 from wall to wall, and the breadth apparently includes the additional court of the *Ammā Kōvīl* (lady-chapel) attached, only that would bring up the width to 400 ft. There is only one *Uppara* (or "gate pyramid") instead of six as stated, and a wrong impression is given of the ruinous state of the buildings, which is true only of the accessories and minor parts. The principal is in very fair order, but the stone of the inscribed portions is beginning to decay and peel off.

The first object of interest here is the great stone *vīṇḍua* dedicated to Siva, conspicuous from its situation and size, for many miles around. Roughly speaking, it is a fac-simile, possibly the prototype, of the Great Śaiva temple at Tanjore, which it closely resembles, but it is larger in plan, built of better stone, and less spoilt by stucco and white-wash.

A strict comparison however cannot be made without studying the two temples together by means of comparable photographs, or by visiting them in succession.

The Gaṅgai-konḍapuram temple, as it is now miscalled, consists of a nine-storeyed *śikhī* (steeple tower) or *vīṇḍua* over the shrine or sanctuary, 99 feet square at the base,* and about 165 feet high. This appears to be larger, though not higher, than any Indian temple of which the size is given by Mr. Fergusson in his volume (*The History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*). The two lowest storeys are vertical, and composed of five towers or compartments on each face; a large one in the centre, with two narrow ones beside it, and two of medium size outside, next to the angles of the building, all of them ranged in the same line forming a side of the square. It would seem more usual in Hindu temples for the central compartment of each face to project or stand forward next, the intermediate next, and the outer, or corner towers, to stand back, or be withdrawn so as to form the angles of a smaller square than would contain the central and intermediate projections. The base of this temple conforms to a peculiar square. The central tower or compartment of each face is ornamented simply by 16-sided pilasters at the angles, and has a deep niche between half-pilasters in the centre, containing a well sculptured figure or group in full relief or free standing. The blank wall-space, of which there is plenty, is covered with bas-relief scenes in which Rishis bear a prominent part in company with country-folk, herdsmen, and others, in great variety. The abundance of these fadomas is a characteristic of the temple. The intermediate narrow partitions are ornamented in the same manner except that the pilasters are octagonal, whilst the outer compartments or towers at the four corners of the temple have plain square pillars and pilasters. Each storey is marked by a bold projecting cornice of single (convex) flexure, an older form than that of double flexure. Above the second storey, the tower rises in seven steps or terraces pyramically, each terrace having five small domed cells, which cap the five tower-like compartments before mentioned, diminishing in size to the top of the pyramid. According to Fergusson, these small domed cells may be supposed

* On a basement terrace 106 feet by 104.

to simulate the monks' dormitories that surrounded the many-storied halls of the Buddhist viharas or monasteries, of which the monolithic temples of 'Seven Pagodas' are early imitations. These ornamental cells form a more conspicuous characteristic of this temple than is common elsewhere; at Tanjore for instance, where there are thirteen storeys of cell terraces, the cells being only about half the size, are consequently far less noticeable individually. Above the seventh or highest row of cells, there is a roomy terrace occupied by four large halls *each* at the corners, and from the centre rises a comparatively slender nook surmounted by an umbrella or semi-dome crowned by the usual kalasa or finial. The entire temple from base to summit is of hard stone, brought from a distance, for there is none in the neighbourhood. On the east side of this great *Stâbi* or *Vindâsa* stands the *Vellimandapam* or 'outer hall,' a plain rectangular building 160 feet long by 88 feet wide, with a flat roof supported by four rows of plain stone pillars and without any windows. This grand hall or covered court was evidently designed to be of two storeys in height, and was begun on that scale at the west end, but never completed, being only one storey, eighteen feet high, throughout.

Between the *Vellimandapam*, or outer court, and the great *Vindâsa*, there is a three-storeyed building joining them together, called *Mâlamandapam*, covering the transverse aisle between the north and south entrances by which the shrine is approached.* This portion or transept is designed and completed in keeping with the graded scale and style of the *Vindâsa*. The interior is too dark for its arrangements and details to be seen, nor are strangers permitted to enter the doors. A third entrance is provided at the east end of the *Vellimandapam* by a plain rectangular door in the centre, which is approached from without by a double flight of stone steps from the north and south sides, similar to the two other pairs of stairs by which the transverse aisle doors are approached. Gigantic stone warders (*dâdrâpâlas*) guard each entrance. This triple building (*Vindâsa*, portico, and outer hall) stands upon a grandly moulded plinth 5 or 6 feet high, no part of which is flat, and the whole is supported by a basement or

terrace 5 feet above ground level, which projects $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet beyond the plinth and forms a procession-path completely round the building. It is termed in Tamil *âpâdai* = "man-way" or "service-course." The mouldings below the procession-path are very bold and good, the ornament of the vertical or flat portion simulating a range of pillars or palings, alternately plain and sculptured to represent Yâti, (conventional lions) and various scroll-enveloped animals.

There is no trace of horizontal rails or of any wooden form of structure below the top of the plinth-moulding which is the floor level of the temple and 10 or 12 feet above the ground. Above that, wooden *karna* are frequent, as for instance in the projecting beam heads at all the angles, which are only slightly ornamented. The string-course of griffin heads between them, probably, also represents the ends of the intermediate timbers. The whole structure points to a style of architecture in which the basement was of masonry and the superstructure of timber.

The brackets underneath the lower projecting cornice represent rampant animals with attenuated bodies like greyhounds, of a rather wooden pattern.

The panel or flat part of the back wall of each recess, between the projecting tower-like compartments, is ornamented by a vase or some very florid object called *pârapakambham*. This is a common feature at Tanjore and elsewhere, and seems to correspond to our *coruscapia*.

The rounded plinth-moulding just above the procession-path is covered with inscriptions, mostly in old Tamil. Many of the letters correspond with those on the base of the Tanjore temple as shown in plate xviii. of Burnell's *S. Indian Palæography*, but others seem more modern, approximating to those on his plate xix., of the fifteenth century A. D. To the un-instructed, the architecture seems uncommonly good, chaste and archaic compared with the common great Hindu temples of Southern India. The sculptured figures and groups that occupy the niches in the middle of each compartment are very good indeed, both in design and execution. They are carved in very hard, fine grained, light coloured stone, occasionally approaching a cream colour. The figures are representations of Siva,¹ Vishnu and Brâhmâ, all

* It measures 50 feet by 30.

¹ Among some sketches by the writer, is one from a

niche representing Siva appearing out of the side of the *Linga*, four armed, with *parashu* and *tripura*, and a figure

of them less conventional and more natural than is common elsewhere.

The good state of preservation in which the temple generally now is, may be due to the hardness and durability of the stone, and to the fact that the site is very secluded and out of the busy paths of men, the highways of commerce, and tracks of armies. It has also escaped the fanatic zeal of the bigoted Moslem.

The temple stands in a courtyard 610 feet long E. and W. by 350 ft. wide N. and S., which contains several good subsidiary temples,* and the remains of a double-storied arcade or cloister which once surrounded it entirely. The *gopuram* proper or gateway tower in the centre of the east wall, is very fine, but quite subordinate to the temple (*vimāna*) itself. It is of good stone throughout, but has begun to fall down, and will shortly be a complete ruin.[†] Its style assimilates more to that of the Viṣṇuam than the Tanjore temple *gopurams* do, they being florid and highly ornate, whereas this is more severe and chaste than its principal. The chief adornment of the temple at Gangai-konḍapuram is the repetition everywhere on the walls and cornices of the fan-like window ornament resembling a spread peacock's tail.

The name Gangai-konḍapuram occurs frequently on the inscriptions, and would seem to indicate 'the city of Gangai-konḍa-chōli.' There is a place called Gangai-konḍa some 24 miles farther north, and the name is believed to occur elsewhere in Southern India. The local legend, perhaps invented to account for the name, states that a pious pilgrim, whose life and strength were spent in fetching water from Banāraś for the worship at Rāmō-varaṇa, had a vision in which it was revealed to him that he should find a spring of Ganges-water at this spot, a result which his great faith enabled him to effect, doubtless to his great material comfort; and a fine well of good water countenances the tradition. 'Gangai-konḍa' might signify something like 'a vision of Gaṅgā,' or 'water;' *gaṅgā* is not uncommon in Southern India with the meaning of water, especially for running water, and very many

river names in India and Ceylon have the word Gaṅgā affixed to them. Gaṅgai-konḍa or Gaṅgai-konḍin may mean 'he who obtained (or brought) water,' a title that might well have been given to, or assumed by, the prince who constructed the Ponnōri-karai, a great embankment in this neighbourhood designed for the storage and distribution of water, no less than 16 miles in length. A supply channel 60 miles long was designed to keep this great reservoir supplied with water from the Kollidam river, and it seems likely that the prince who designed this great water project, should have been also the founder of the great temple at the city which was to be benefited by it. The city has disappeared entirely, and the rural population is now scanty and poor, but the great temple and the skeleton of the great irrigation scheme remain to testify to the grand works that could be conceived by the minds and executed by the hands of the former rulers and people of this country. The high road from Madras to Kumhskōnam passes within a mile or so of the spot, but there is a cross road from Chidambaram railway station *via* Mannārguḍi, that leads directly to the place, the distance being about 20 miles.

For the age of this temple consult the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. XIII. (1844), the following quotations from which are taken from Captain Carr's Collection of *Descriptive and Historical Papers relating to the Seven Pagodas (Māvalivaram)*, where Sir Walter Elliot attributes this temple to Vira Rājendra Chōla surnamed Koppara-Keṭarivarma, and cites "inscriptions of this same prince on the magnificent temple at Gangondaram on the north bank of the Cavery, of which he appears to have been the founder," "one of these, in the 5th year of his reign (S. 991, A.D. 1069) runs thus: Ko-riṇḍa-keśarivarma named Rājendra Deva, wielding the sceptre, &c. &c." "Son of Rājaraja (Narendra) Chōla whom he succeeded in S. 986" (= A.D. 1064) . . . From the remoteness of the quarries, the hardness of the stone, the great size of the building, and the vast amount of carving displayed in the basement alone, below the rounded moulding on which the

groveling in front. This is similar to a figure in the Dēva Avatāra temple at Elura, only the subordinate figures of Viṣṇu and Brahmā are awaking in the southern corner.—Ed.

* Among these are,—on the north side those of (1) Bhadrakēśi Amman, (2) nearly opposite the *Mēla*-or *Saadhya*-

śaṣṭha Sādhikarar's, and (3) opposite the shrine, that of Brahma Nāyiki or Vāda Kallāva. In the south-west corner is (4) that of Gaṅgā Vidyāyātri; (5) south of the shrine is Viṣṇuśeṭha's, or Bakshara Kallāva; and (6) south of the great sanctuaries is 'Nēljar Kovil,' while at the east front is the bell Naṇḍi.—Ed. † It measures 75 feet by 40.

inscriptions mostly occur, I do not think it probable that so much of the work could have been done in five years. The whole design was never completed, perhaps because it took longer than the reign of the prince who founded it, and I should think that the Great Vimāna alone must have been nearer 50 years than five in building.

The epoch of Vīra Rājendra Chōla A.D. 1064 (to 1079 and later) seems well established, and his identity with the "Koppala-Kesarivarma, also called Udayār Sri Rājendra Devar" of the Vaishnava (Tamil) inscriptions at the Seven Pagodas, so that the year 1000 A.D. seems hardly too early for the foundation of this temple.

NOTES ON THE TANJU PALAYANS OF TRAVANKORE.

BY REV. W. J. RICHARDS, C. M. S. MISSIONARY, COTTAYAM.

The men of the Tanju Palayans (or Palayans who wear Tanju grass) wear the ordinary lower cloth of the kind worn in this country, but the distinctive name of the tribe comes from the women's dress, which is a very primitive article indeed. The leaves of a certain water-plant are cut into lengths of a foot long, and tied round the waist in such a fashion that the strings unwoven hang in a bushy tail behind, and present the same appearance in front, reaching nearly to the knees. This is accounted for by a tradition that in former days a certain high caste man of that region had been sowing grains and planting vegetables in his fields, but found that his daily work was in some unknown way frustrated: for whatever he planted or sowed in the day was carefully picked up and taken "when men slept." So he set a watch, and one night he saw, coming out of a hole hitherto unknown to him, certain beings like men but quite naked, who set to work destroying his hopes of a crop. Pursuing them, he succeeded in catching a man and woman, and he was so impressed with shame at their condition, that he gave the man his own upper cloth which was hanging on his shoulder, and made him put it on, but not having one to spare for the woman, she (following Mother Eve's example) made herself an apron of grass as above described. These were the progenitors of the

numerous slaves who are found there at this day. They are also called *Kur*, or *Pit Palayans*, from having originated as abovesaid.

Their language is Malayalam. They worship the sun and heavenly bodies, and I have seen among them a little temple about the size of a large rabbit's hutch in which was a plank for the spirits of their deceased ancestors to come and rest upon.

The spirits are also supposed to fish in the backwaters, and the phosphorescent appearance, seen sometimes on the surface of the water, is taken as an indication of their presence.

The food of the Palayans is fish often cooked with arrak and with the biliousness roots of certain waterplants.

When visited about 11—1 o'clock they are found intoxicated, especially the men.

They live in the Malayalam country, Travankore, south of Cochin, between the backwater and the sea, and another division of them is found more south near Alleppey, who are called *Kanna Palayans*. These wear rather better and more artistically made 'aprons.' When a girl of the Tanju Palayans puts on this garment—a sign of maturity—for the first time, there is a ceremony called the Tanju marriage. The state of these poor people is virtually that of slavery, though some of them possess property. I should be glad to see in the *Antiquary* any notes of similarly dressed natives of India.

NOTE ON A ROCK-CUT INSCRIPTION FROM RIWĀ.

BY DR. A. T. RUDOLF HOERNLE, PHILOLOGICAL SECRETARY, ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

The inscription under notice was not long ago sent by Mr. M. A. Markham, Collector of Allahabad, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.¹ It had been discovered by him in a cave near the falls of Keoti Kund on a tributary of the

Tanwas in the Riwa State. Of the locality in which it was found, Mr. Markham gave the following charming description in a subsequent communication: "As the name of the place (Keoti Kund) implies, there is a pool, into

¹ See the Proceedings of March 1880.

which falls a most lovely waterfall. The river Maháná, which rises in the Kaimé hills, and is a tributary of the Tsangwa (Tons), here precipitates itself over a perpendicular drop of 333 feet, unbroken even by a rug. The pool or *kund* below is almost quite circular, and is hemmed in by the perfectly perpendicular rock of the above height for about two-thirds of its circumference; the stream escaping through the opening and flowing for over two miles through

a mass of perpendicular rocks, keeping the above height almost the whole way. On one side of the 'sheeting crag' is a fine old native fort, and on projecting crags on the edge of the fall are picturesque Hindu temples. Altogether it is a most lovely place.¹

The copy of the inscription which Mr. Markham sent, and which the accompanying woodcut represents, is apparently a mere copy made by eye on the occasion of Mr. Markham's visit to

८१४५२३. २१७१ + १४५३१५

the cave. The relative size of copy and original is not known. A squeeze or rubbing would have been more satisfactory; still the copy is evidently drawn very carefully. All the letters, with the exception of the 6th, can be easily recognized. The 6th looks, at first sight, like *na*, but there can hardly be a doubt that it is *pa*, the upper horizontal stroke having become slightly displaced. The 4th and 14th are a little differently drawn, but they are closely meant for the same letters; and the only letter that will fit both words in which they occur is *pa*.² On the whole, the letters are very fairly preserved. The inscription apparently consists of two parts, there being an interval after the tenth letter. But the whole forms one connected sentence:

Haritiputanaṁ Saṇḍaka kṛtā paṭharāṇi

i. e. "the pool (cave) caused to be made by Saṇḍaka the son of Haritī." The language, as in most cave-inscriptions of this kind, is Pāli. The addition of the final *naṇvāra* in *paṭharāṇi*, if it be genuine, follows a well-known Pāli rule (see Hens Chauden, I. 27, and compare Kachchayana, I. 4, 8). The diphthong *au* of Saṇḍaka changes, as usual in Pāli, to *o*.

Paṭharāṇi,³ or pool, is the name of the cave, which is most appropriately so called, after the pool at the foot of the rock which contains the cave. Such caves were not uncommonly named after conspicuous objects in their neighbourhood. Thus General Cunningham

in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (p. 135) mentions a cave called *Vāpīyaka* after a fine large well immediately in front of it.

As the form of the letters shows, the inscription belongs to the period soon after Aśoka. The absence of the *uṭṭara* or heads, and the round form of some of them (as the *pa* and *ca*) prove that the inscription may be assigned to as early a date as A.D. 200.⁴

In the communication already referred to, Mr. Markham thus speaks of another cave in the neighbourhood, containing painted figures, and hunting and battle scenes: "In another cave, near a somewhat similar fall and pool on the Tsangwa (Tons), about 8 miles west of Kōmā Kund, I found several square yards of very well drawn, or rather painted, figures, and hunting and battle scenes, in a rather bright red. They were certainly not recent, but I could make no guess as to their age. The 'oldest inhabitant' says they were just the same as now when he was born. I wonder if they are of any value. I have no doubt that a close examination of the numerous caves would be rewarded with many inscriptions."⁵

I believe these particular caves have not been noticed hitherto by the Archaeological Survey. Perhaps this notice may serve to direct attention to them. From Mr. Markham's statements they would appear to well deserve careful examination.

¹ It may be noticed that in the first iteration of the Bharhut Stūpa (see General Cunningham's *Report*, p. 123) the letter *pa* is always written like the 14th; and that *paṭharā* is twice spelt with *na*, as here, but once with *na*.

² The Sanskrit *Paṭharāṇi*; and, the many 'Bāharas' or pools.

³ See Gen. A. Cunningham, the *Stūpa of Bharhut*, p. 15. [From the length of the strokes for the vowels, I incline to think it somewhat later than the author.—Ed.]

REMARKS ON THE WORD ŚRAMAṆA.

BY REV. SAMUEL BEAL.

General Cunningham (*Bullet Types* p. xii.) seems to conclude finally that Śramaṇa is a Buddhist title. But Colebrooke (*Asiatick Researches*, vol. II. pp. 203, 204) arrives at another conclusion, that the followers of Buddha are clearly distinguished from Brahmanas and Sramanas (arguing from Justin, whose opinion, however, is not final as the passage is ambiguous). Colebrooke as a general definition extends the term Samanensium to ascetics of various tribes (p. 204).

But to examine Cunningham's argument. He mentions first that Buddha was called Mahā Śramaṇa, but this proves no more than that this term was employed by Buddhists, adopted by them as it was by the Jains (Colebr. u.s. p. 196) and ascetics generally, as is evident from the inscription placed over the remains of the Indian who committed himself to the flames at Athens (Strabo, lib. xv. p. 720 Casaub.).

He then concludes that the Śramaṇas or Germanes of Megasthenes must be the Buddhists, because it is said that women were allowed to join them (*συνφιλοδοξία*) on taking vows of chastity (*ἀνδραγαθία* *ἡλικιανή*), adding that the Buddhists alone had nuns; but here we observe the words in the original do not bear out the assertion that the women were under vows, or became nuns; and we also find the same words used by Xenophon (Strabo, xv. § 40 ed. Siebenkees) in reference to the Brahmanas (*συνφιλοδοξία* *ἡλικιανή* *ἡλικιανή*), so that this is no corroboration of the theory.

The division of Klitarkhos of the Praxinos into *διδασκῆς*, *γυμναστῆς*, *θεωροῦ*, *ἐργαζομένου* deserves consideration. The identification of the first with the Arhans will not, I think, prove satisfactory—first as they used the skins of stags for their clothing—studying the art of healing, &c., which does not apply to the condition of the Rahun; and secondly, as we know that at the time when Buddha became an ascetic, there were in the mountains a class of men clothed as these mountaineers are described, in skins of stags, &c. As to the *γυμναστῆς*, it is distinctly said "*γυμναστῆς* διαζῆν,"

which will apply to no portion of the Buddhist community. The *θεωροῦ* are described as wearing skins, and having their hair bound up, which is equally foreign to Buddhist custom.

With respect to the division of the Germanes described by Megasthenes, into *Ἰνδοί*, *Ἰσχυροί*, *παιῖδες*—if the *Ἰνδοί* be *Allobhīn* in Sanskrit, it does not seem to refer exclusively to the Buddhists, for there were other ascetics who lived in woods and fed on berries; nor is it so applicable to the Buddhist as to others, for the Aranyaka or Buddhist ascetic was allowed to receive food from the householders (*vid. Prati-moksha*). With respect to the *Ἰσχυροί*, even if this were a corruption of *ἰσχυροί*, how do we account for the description that they were physicians and concerned themselves with women? a thing strictly forbidden to the Buddhist.

On the whole we see no reason to argue the antiquity of the Buddhist community from any of these suggestions.

But observe, on the other hand, that the word Śramaṇa (i.e., Germane) is distinguished by Buddha himself from the Brahman, and yet does not refer to his followers. (*Lalita Vist.*, pp. 248, 249). "Bhikkhus! there are Brahmanas and Śramaṇas who believe that there is a purity resulting from abstinence," &c., and so on, in all which passages the same division between Brahmanas and Śramaṇas is observed, which is noticed by the Greek writers above quoted. We argue therefore that this division was one generally accepted, and was equivalent to Brahmanas and non-Brahmanas.

Observe again that Buddha, when on his tour of inspection from the four gates, is described as meeting a Śramaṇa with a joyful face, &c. So that even before he entered on a religious life we read of this sect of Śramaṇas as existing commonly in India, proving (unless we allow a great solacism) that this appellation was applied to others besides Buddhists. If this were once granted, the argument falls to the ground.

¹ *Ἀλλόβου* of Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.*, lib. I. s. 15. —ED.

² From *afubhā*—content, free from covetousness.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Esq. D.S., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from p. 100.)

No. LXXVI.

The present copper-plate grant was published originally, with a rough facsimile, by the late Bâl Gaugôdhay Sâstrî in the *Jour. As. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 4 and 12; and it has been repeated by Prof. Bhâgîrîkar in *idem*, Vol. XIV, p. 16. The lithograph now appears for the first time.

My transcription is from the original plates, which belong to 'Nanan Walad Kanse,' of Nirpan in the Vigatpuri Tâlakâ of the Nâsik District.* The plates are two in number, each about 8½" long by 5½" broad; the edges of them are raised into rims, and the inscription has been very well preserved. They are connected by two rings. The right-hand ring is a plain copper wire about ½" thick, bent into the form of a ring of about 1½" in diameter; but the two ends of the wire do not appear to have been ever soldered together. The left-hand ring, which had not been cut when the plates came into my hands, is about ½" thick and 1½" in diameter; the seal on it is circular, about 1½" in diameter, and has, in relief on a countersunk surface, at the top, the mono,—in the centre, the motto *Sri-Jayâditya*,—and at the bottom, a lotus.

It is a Western Chalukya grant of Nâgavardhana, also called Tribhuvanâsraya, the son of Jayasîmha-varma†, also called Dharmâsraya, who was one of the younger brothers of Pulikêsi II. From the motto on the seal, it is probable that Jayasîmha-varma had also the title of Jayâsraya.

The grant is not dated. It records the gift of the village of Balagrâma, in the Gôparâhîra district, to the establishment of the god Kapâlêsvara, or Siva as the wearer of a garland of skulls. This village has been identified for me by Mr. J. A. Baines, C. S., with the modern Belgann-Tacâllâ about twelve miles to the north-east from Vignâpurî.

The doubtful points about this grant are,—1, that it is in the Gôrjara characters; 2, that it gives the title of Satyâsraya to Krttivarmâ I; 3, that it allots 'the horse of the breed called Châtrakapthâ' to Pulikêsi II; and 4, that it

speaks of Pulikêsi II as a *parama-adhîpâra*. But, on the whole, I am not inclined to question its genuineness. Considering the locality from which the grant comes,—so far to the north from Vâtâpi, which was then the capital of the Western Chalukyas; and comparatively so near to the Gôrjara capital,—it is probable enough that the Gôrjara characters would be used, instead of the Western Chalukya. Another result of this breach of the Western Chalukya being located in so far an outlying part of their dominions may easily have been a want of knowledge as to the exact nature of the genealogical and historical statements recorded in the Western Chalukya grants. Or even a more act of carelessness on the part of the engraver may have given the title of Satyâsraya to Krttivarmâ I, instead of to Pulikêsi II, to whom, by the way, no second title at all is allotted in this grant. And though it is not at all likely that the worship of Mahêsvara, or Siva, by Pulikêsi II, was ever so exclusive as to justify his being called a *parama-adhîpâra*; yet the Western Chalukyas undoubtedly encouraged the worship of Siva quite as liberally as the worship of Brahmâ and Viâghra and Jîvanêdra.

The Nâgavardhana who is mentioned in line 13 must have been the predecessor of Pulikêsi II. Such at least is the strictly correct interpretation of the epithet *Sri-Nâgavardhana-pâddandhyâdê*, which is applied here to Pulikêsi II. In some other inscriptions,—e. g., Nos. 3 to 10 of Dr. Bühler's Chalukya grants at Vol. VI, p. 180; and the 'Sihva' grant of Jayachandra in *The Paggil*, Vol. IV, p. 94,—*pâddandhyâdê* is used, by itself, to denote the relationship of son to father; and in the two Valabhi grants published by Dr. Bühler at Vol. VI, pp. 13 and 17, it is used, in addition to *ârya-mata* and *ârya-dârujâ*, to express the bond of filial and fraternal affection and respect uniting a son to his father and a younger to his elder brother. But, to interpret it otherwise than in its literal sense here, would necessitate our taking Nâgavardhana to be another name of Krttivarmâ I; and there is nowhere any corroborative evidence to justify

* When Bâl Gaugôdhay Sâstrî published the grant, the plates belonged to 'Li Narsai Holsi Thakôr, formerly of Kaverî in the valley of Triambakeswar, and now of Nâsik'

given in the Northern Kânkan."

† For brevity, and convenience of distinction, I shall call him in future notices Jayasîmha II.

this. It is plainly used here in the sense in which it occurs in *Sāhā-Mahāśāstra-pāṭhaśāstra* in, e.g., line 1 of No. XL, at Vol. VII, p. 161, and in *Bhagavat-pāṭhaśāstra* in line 13-14 of

No. XII, at Vol. V, p. 51, and in line 12-13 of No. XV, at *ibid.* p. 155; and it has the same purport as *pāṭhaśāstra*, which occurs in line 14 of No. XII, and in line 13 of No. XV.

Transcription.

First plate.

- [¹] Svasti (||) Jayaty-āviskāritam Vishvā-vivārahāṁ kshābhāt-īrggavāt | dakahā-ānata-
 [²] dāhātr-āgen-viśānta-bhuvanaṁ vapuḥ || Śrīmatam śakula-bhavana-saṁsthāyamaṇa-Mā-
 [³] nava-sagatānām Hāṁti-patrayām asptadākamātrībhiḥ sapta-mātrībhiḥ
 [⁴] r-ābhivardhaṁśānām Kārttikēya-parikṣat-āvipta-kalyāṇa-paramparāpām
 [⁵] bhagava-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsāditā-varāha-tuchā*(tuchā)ṇa-dāhāpā-
 [⁶] kshāya-yuṣṭi-āśāsha-mahābhīṣām Chalakyaṇām* kulam-ābhikarishpōr-a-
 [⁷] āvamādh-āvakāritā-sāṅga-pavitrikṛtā-gātrasya satyāśasya-Śrī-Kīrttiyama-
 [⁸] rājasy-ātma-jō-nāka-narpati-āta-makūṣa-tala-kāṭi-ghṛṣṭa-āharat-āravī-
 [⁹] ndā Mōru-Malaya-Mandara-samāna-dhairyāḥ-āhar-āhar-ābhivardhamāna-vara-kari-ra-
 [¹⁰] tha-taraga-pādāti-bālā mādājar-āka-Kuṁbhachit-ākhyāḥ(khya)-pravara-tarāṅga-
 [¹¹] māṇ(y)-āpārjita-avarājya-vijita-Chōra-Chōla-Pāṇḍya-kramāgata-rājya-tra-
 [¹²] yāḥ śrīmad-uttarāpath-ādhipati-Śrī-Haraha-

Second plate.

- [¹³] parājay-āpalādh-āpara-nāmadhāyāḥ Śrī-Nāgavardhana-pād-ānu.
 [¹⁴] dhyaṭa(h*) parama-mahādevatā Śrī-Palakōśivallabhaḥ tany-ānujō hbrātā vijit-ā-
 [¹⁵] ri-sakala-pakṣāḥ dharmāyāḥ Śrī-Jayasthīḥ(sc. sithā)varma-rājasaṁsya sūnna-
 [¹⁶] āmya(h*) Śrī-Nāgavardhana-rājā sarvāt-ōv-āgāni-varātātātān-bhaviṣyā(h*)ā-cha-
 [¹⁷] nānu-
 [¹⁸] tina-samanāśānyāy-āsta vāḥ anāriditām yathāśāmbhīr-āpārāśtra-vishay-āsta(h*)-
 [¹⁹] pāti-Balagraha(h*) sūdraṅgāḥ sa(s)parikara a-chāta-bhāṭa-pravāṣya ā-chāndr-ārk-
 [²⁰] āgavara-
 [²¹] kabhiti-ābhīti-samākāṣṭa(h*) māta-pitrōr-ādd(āy-ānānā-sāna vipula-pūya-yaṣṭi-bhi-
 [²²] vridhy(dhīy)-arthāṁ Dādamā-Thakkura-vijhaptikayā Kāpālāvarasya Gaggala-pājā-
 [²³] nimitta(h*)
 [²⁴] ian[n*] (vāṇa-mahādevatibhyaḥ) apabhāgāya sūta-pūrvvakam prapitpāditas-tad-asnad-vamāyā-
 [²⁵] r-sayār-vv-āgāni-n-epatibhi(h*) āraṭ-abhira-chāchhalāḥ ||ritam-āknly(tay)-āyama-
 [²⁶] asnad-dāyō-numanāy(h*)
 [²⁷] prapitpālayitayāḥ-oh-ōy-uktam bhagavatā Vyāṣṇa | Bārahīr-vrasudhā bhuktā rāja-
 [²⁸] bhā-Sagur-ādibhiḥ yasya yasya yadā bhūnā-sasya tasya tadā phalam-iti (||)
 [²⁹] Sa-dāṭish pta-dātām vā yō karāta vasmādhānāḥ shāstām varisha(sc. varsha)-sahasrāpi-
 vishthāyām jāyātō kṛimī(h*) ||

Translation.

Hail ! Victorious is the form, which was that of a bear; that was manifested of (the god) Vishnu,—which troubled the ocean, and which

had the earth resting upon the tip of its up-lifted right-hand tusk !

(L. 2).—The son of the king Śrī-Kīrtti-varma, the asylum of truth¹⁰,—whose body

* The rule of doubling consonants after the letter *r* is sometimes attended to, and sometimes not, in this grant.

* Chief, perhaps for *prācha*, in l. 14 of the Dāś Gūjara grant at *Jour. R. A. Soc.*, Vol. X, p. 19.

* This form of the *n* occurs only here, and in *Sāhāśāstra*, l. 25, and, doubled, in *Śrīnavaṇi*, l. 1. The second, and more usual, form of *n* used in this inscription, occurs in the doubled form in *Śrīnavaṇi*, l. 18.

* Prof. Bhāskara reads, and translates, *Chāṭāyāṇa*, with the vowel of the first syllable long; but he is wrong.

* This, of course, is a mistake for *Chitrakṣha*.

* As we have already had *āgāni*, this use of *ānāyāṣya* is a tautology.

* It is not usual to express the double *ks* by an almost complete repetition of the letter, as is done here and in l. 26. We have an analogous instance to the present one in the word *Kerkāḍāyāpāṇa* in line 36 of Prof. Dawson's first Gūjara grant at *Jour. R. A. Soc.*, New Series, Vol. I, p. 247.

¹⁰ *Satgōpaya*.

[illegible]

was purified by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices; and who adorned the family of the Chakryas, who are glorious, and who are of the kindred of Māyaya which is praised throughout the whole world, and who are the descendants of Hārītī, and who are nourished by seven mothers who are the mothers of mankind, and who have an uninterrupted continuity of prosperity acquired by the protection of (the god) Kīrtikēśva, and who have had all kings made subject to them on the instant at the sight of the sign of the bear which they acquired through the favour of the holy (god) Nārāyaṇa, — was Śrī-Puṣṭakāśīvalīśa, the water-lilies of whose feet were scratched by the edges of the diadems of many hundreds of kings; who was equal in steadfastness to (the mountain) Mōra and Malaya and Mandara; the army of whose excellent elephants and chariots and horses and footsoldiers was always increasing day by day; who acquired his own kingdom, and conquered the three hereditary kingdoms of the Chēras and the Chōlas and the Pāṇḍyas, by means of one horse, as swift as thought, of the breed called Chitrakapṭha¹¹; who possessed a second name¹² which he had acquired by defeating the glorious Śrī-Harsha, the supreme lord of the region of the north; who meditated on the feet of Śrī-Nāgareṣṭhara; and who was a devout worshipper of (the god) Mahādeva.

(L. 14.)—His younger brother was the king Śrī-Jaynāśībhavarmā, the asylum of the earth¹³, who conquered all the ranks of his enemies.

(L. 15.)—His son, the king Śrī-Nāgavardhana, the asylum of the three worlds¹⁴, issues his commands to all future and present and future¹⁵ kings:—

(L. 17.)—"He is known to you that, for the sake of (our) parents and in order that We Ourselves may acquire great religious merit and fame, the village of Bāhgarāma, which lies in the district of Gōpāṛāśhṛṇa, has been given by us, at the request of Bāhama-Ṭhakkara, with libations of water, and together with the *śrādhā*

and the *aparikara*, and not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops, and to endure as long as the moon and the sun and the ocean and the earth may last, for the purpose of the (vile) called *Guggula-pūjā*¹⁶ of the temple of (the god) Kapāśdeva¹⁷, and, for their usufruct, to the great ascetics who reside at that (temple). Therefore this our gift should be ascertained to and preserved by future kings, whether of our lineage or others, having borne in mind that life is as transient as an autumn-cloud."

(L. 23.)—And so it has been said by the holy Vyāsa:—Land has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagarā; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the fruits of it! He is born as a woman hereafter for the duration of sixty thousand years, who considers land that has been given, whether by himself or by another!

NO. LXXVII

This is another of the Serār plates, of which I have spoken at Vol. VII, p. 651. General LeGrand Jacob gave a notice of this grant, but did not publish it in detail. He treated it, in fact, as two separate inscriptions; the first and second plates being given as No. V in his paper, and the third plate as No. VII. It is plain, however, from the measurement of the plates, and from the uniformity of the writing, and from the context of lines 31 and 32 in my transcription, that we have one entire grant, and not parts of two separate grants.

My transcription is from the original plates, which are three in number. The first measures about 8½" long, the ends of the lines being broken off by 4" broad. The second is entire, and measures 9½" long by 4½" broad. The third plate, again, is only a fragment, the last two or three lines being broken off; it measures 9½" long by 3" broad. Measuring from the top and the left side of each plate, the ring-hole occupies exactly the same position in plate III as in plates I and II. The edges of the plates are raised into rims to protect the writings. In addition to the parts broken away, plates I, II & III are a good deal damaged by rust.

¹¹ See note 7 above. See also post. 4 of the introductory remarks to No. LXXVII.

¹² The second name, however,—that of Pūṣṭakāśī, or Supreme Lord,—is omitted.

¹³ Dharṇīraja.

¹⁴ Tridharmadharma.

¹⁵ See note 8 above.

¹⁶ *Guggula*, *guggula*, *guggula*, *guggula*, as *śādhana*, a

fragment, part of resin, which is burnt and mixed before being in procession. Lines 31 and 32 of the notice referred now to the 'worship of Pūṣṭakāśī'.

¹⁷ *Śrī*. The word in the original is *Śrī* (or *Śrī*), which could be rendered by 'the temple or establishment of Kapāśdeva.' In other ancient inscriptions the name of a god is frequently used in the matter to signify the temple, instead of only the god itself.

Plate II a is better preserved; but here, as elsewhere, many passages would have been very doubtful but for the style followed in this grant being so well known. On the outside of plate III there are the remains of six lines of writing,—probably a later addition to, or variation of, the original grant; detached letters are legible enough here and there, but no connected passage can be deciphered. The ring and seal of this grant have been lost. The characters are those of the usual Western Chalukya alphabet,—very similar to those of No. XXIX, at Vol. VI, p. 85, but not quite so well formed, and with the same slope to the right.

It is a Western Chalukya grant of Vijayāditya, dated Śaka 622 (A.D. 700-1), in the fourth year of his reign. It is issued from his victorious camp at the city of Ilāṣānānagara, and it records the grant of the village of Nerūr itself, bounded on each side by the villages of Baḷḷavaḷḷigraṇa and Sahasynpura. The former of these is evidently the modern 'Wellawul' of the Trigonometrical Survey Map, about three miles to the west of Nerūr; but the map does not give any name corresponding to Sahasynpura. I am not able at present to identify Rāṣānānagara, unless it is Rāṣān in the Ahmadnagar District, about twenty-two miles W. by N. from Kōrti.

I have translated ll. 10 to 15 in such a way as to make the 'horse of the breed called Chitrakaptha' belong to Vikramāditya I. In this I differ from Mr. Rice, who translates the same passage in the Vokkalḍi grant (Vol. VIII, p. 23) in such a way as to make this horse belong to Satyāśraya or Pulikēṣi II. The whole passage from line 8 to line 19, including three generations, is a genitive construction; and it is possible to apply the epithet ending with *vijigṣhā*, l. 11, to *sa-*

gurdh, l. 12, and thus to make the horse belong to Pulikēṣi II,—instead of applying it, as I do, to *Vikramāditya*. . . . *bhāṭṭarakṣa*, ll. 14-15. The only direct statements that we have on this point are,—1, ll. 12-13 of No. XXVIII (Vol. VI, p. 76), where the nominative construction is used, and the horse is specifically stated to belong to *Vikramāditya I*;—2, l. 9 of the spurious grant of *Vikramāditya I*, No. XLV (Vol. VII, p. 219), which follows the construction and language of the preceding;—3, ll. 11-12 of the spurious grant of *Pulikēṣi I*, No. XLIV (Vol. VII, p. 211), where the horse is allotted, neither to *Vikramāditya I*, nor to *Pulikēṣi II*, but to *Pulikēṣi I*;—and 4, ll. 10-12 of No. LXXVI above, where the horse, under the mistaken name of *Kaṣṭhachitra*, is made to belong to *Pulikēṣi II*. This last grant may, or may not, be genuine; but it is at any rate one of no particular authority. And the only authoritative statement that remains is that contained in the first of the four grants that I have just spoken of. Looking now to the wording of the present grant,—if the epithet ending with *vijigṣhā* were intended to be construed with *sa-gurdh*, then the natural arrangement would have been to place *saṃputi-trilaya-dhuvitā*, 'which (regal splendour) had been interrupted by a confederacy of three kings'¹⁸, after, instead of before, *sa-gurdh*. These words can only have been placed before *sa-gurdh* expressly for the sake of emphasis, and to indicate that the epithet ending with *vijigṣhā* is not to be construed with *sa-gurdh*. I do not know of any extraneous evidence, apart from these inscriptions, bearing on this point; and,—in the absence of such,—on the authority of No. XXVIII, and on the arrangement of the words in the present grant, we cannot but allot the horse to *Vikramāditya I*.

Transcription.

First plate.

[*] Svasti [[*] Jayaty-āviśhṛṇam Viśhṛ-*vārahā* kshō[bbit-ā]rṇṇavām dakshig-
ḍanata-damshtr-āgra-vīrā[nta-bhuvanaṃ va]-

[*] pub [[*] Śrīmatām sakala-bhuvana-saṃstūyamāna-Mānavya-sagō[trāṇām] Hārīt-
putrā[ṇām aspta-lā]-

[*] ka-mātṛibhī-supta-mātṛibhīr-abbhivarddhitanām Kārttikēya-paris[kaṇa]-prāpta-
kalyā[ṇa-parashparā]-

[*] ṇām bhagavan-Nārīyaya-praśāda-samīśādi[ta-vrā]ha-lācchhan-ākṣaṇa-kṣaṇa-va[śīkrī-
śāśha]-

¹⁸ Mr. Rice has altogether missed the meaning of these words, which he renders by 'together with that (wealth) inherited for three generations.'

- [²⁰] tsārayan-Vātasrāja i[v-ān-apō]kshīt-āpura-sāhāyakas-tad-avagrahān-nirggatya sva-bhuj-
āvashtā-
[²¹] mbha-prasādhī(dī)l-śśśha-viśvambharaḥ prabhur-akhaṇḍita-śakti-trayatvāch-ebhastu-
mada-bhañjanatvād-udāra-
[²²] tvān-niravadyatvād-yaś-samasta-bhuvan-āśrayas-makala-pārumaiśvarya-vyakti-bōta-pālī(lī)-
dhvaj-ādy-ujva(jīva)-
[²³] la-prājya-rājyō Vija[yāditya-Su]tyāśraya-śrī-prithivīvallabha-mahārāj-ādhirāja-
paramāvaraṇa-bha-
[²⁴] tīśakus-sarvayūn-ōva[m-ūjāpaya]ti [²⁵] Vīditam=astu vō=amābhīr=dvā-vimīaty-uttara-
śat-ślāntāha Śaka-varahō-
[²⁶] shv=atīśha pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-amāyatsarē chatartthō varā(rta)mānō
Rāśana²⁷-nagara-

Third plate; first side.

- [²⁸] m=adhiyasati vijaya-śkandhāvārō Āhāḍa(dha)-pauruṣamāyām Nandō²⁹ . . . ya-
vijāpanayā Va(?)ha(?)-
[²⁹] angōtra(trā)ys(ya) Rōvasvīmī-dīkshīta-pautrīya Jannasvāmīnab putrīya Dīasvāmīnā
Irādī(?)gō(?)-
[³⁰] vīdhayō Vī(?)hīgō(?)bha)-madī-tata-śthab Ba||āra||igrāma-Sahamyapura-grāmayōr=
mamādīya-śthab Nerō-
[³¹] vnnāmā gōmas=as-lhāgas=asvva-bādha(dhā)-paurhārō dattab [³²] Tad-igāmūbhīr=
samad-vamāyār=anyāś=cha rāja-
[³³] bhīr-āyur-aiśvarya-lālakha vīlāsītam=achīrāśha-chaśmāślam=avagachchadhīr=ā-chaandr-
ārka(ekka)-dhac-kannava-śhīti-
[³⁴] samakālah yāśśchīchīśhūhha-eva-dattī-nirvīśhām paripālanīyas=uktaś=cha
bhagaratā vēda-vyā-
[³⁵] āna Vyāśna [³⁶] Bahubhīr=vvauddhā bhaktā rāja(bh)ā-Sagar-ādī(bhī) yasya
yasya yudā bhūmīn=ta-
[³⁷] [aya] tasya [a]dā phalāt [³⁸] Svau-dātāś su-mahāch-ābhakyaś dūkhama-
anyasya pīṇam dānāt vā pū||ā||nab v-ōtī dā[nā]³⁹.

Translation.

Hail! Victorious is the form, which was that of a bear, that was manifested of (the god) Vishnu,—which troubled the ocean, and which had the earth resting upon the tip of its uplifted right-hand tusk!

(L. 2.)—The son of the Great King Śrī-Palakōśīvallabha,—whose body was purified by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices, and who adorned the family of the Chulikyas, who are glorious; who are of the kindred of Mānavya, which is praised over the whole world; who are the descendants of Hārit; who have been nourished by seven mothers, who are the mothers of mankind; who have attained an uninterrupted continuity of prosperity through the protection of (the god) Kārtikēya; and who have had all kings made

subject to them on the instant at the sight of the sign of the bear, which they acquired through the favour of the holy (god) Nārāyaṇa,—was Śrī-Kīrtivarmā, the favourite of the world, the Great King, whose pure fame was established in the territories of the hostile kings of Vanavāsi and other (cities), that had been invaded by his prowess.

(L. 8.)—His son was Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, who had acquired the title of 'Supreme Lord' by defeating Śrī-Harshavardhana, the warlike lord of all the region of the north.

(L. 10.)—His dear son was Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who was

²⁸ Gen. Jacobi's Pāṇḍit reads Nāndō. But the second syllable is certainly *ar*, with the vowel long or short; and though the third syllable might be *va* with the lower part eroded away, I consider it to be *na*.

²⁹ One consonant and vowel are quite uncertain here. There seems to be visible the letter *v* subjunct to them.

³⁰ This letter, *vā*, is broken away at the end of the line; and the rest of the plate, containing two or three lines more, has been broken off and lost.

conversant with the art of government; whose only aid was his sword; who was desirous of conquering all people, whom he drove before him by means of only one horse of the breed called Chitrakastha²²; who, having acquired for himself the regal splendour of his father, which had been interrupted by a confederacy of three kings, subdued (*like Indra*), with the thunderbolt which was his prowess, the mighty tumult of the mountains which were the Pāṇḍya and the Chōḷa and the Kōṛṇa and the Kaṣabha²³ and other kings; and who had the waterlilies which were his feet kissed by the diadem of the lord of Kāśhī, who had bowed down before no other.

(L. 15.)—His dear son was Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who, having at the command of his father arrested the extremely exalted power of the lord of Kāśhī whose kingdom consisted of three (*conquest*) dominions, just as Tārakharati²⁴ (*at the command*) of (*his father*) Bālendrasēkhara²⁵ did arrest the power of the demons, caused the rulers of Kandrā²⁶ and Pārasika and Sihhala and other islands to pay tribute to him; and who was possessed of the *pāṇḍhava*²⁷ and all the other mighty insignia of supreme dominion which he had acquired by crushing the lord of all the region of the north.

(L. 19.)—His dear son, Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who even in his childhood acquired a knowledge of all the writings on the use of weapons; who, his grandfather having been victorious in the region of the south, confronted the thicket of the thorn-bushes which was the assemblage of his foes (*in that direction*); who, following the avocation of war even in front of his father who was desirous of conquering the region of the north, had the edge of his sword worn away by splitting open the foreheads of the elephants of his foes;

who was in the foremost rank in all battles; who was flavoured with the quality of excellent impetuosity; who drove back the bands of his enemies; who,—while acquiring for his father the tokens²⁸ of the (*river*) Gaṅgā and the (*river*) Yamunā and the *pāṇḍhava*, and the insignia of the *dhakṣa*-drum and the *mahā-śabda*, and robes and elephants, &c.,—having been attacked by his enemies, (*who turned upon him*) while they were fleeing, and having been somehow or other, through the force of destiny, led away (*into great danger*),—by his prowess quelled the anarchical disturbance in his country, and, resembling Vaisarāja is not depending on any other for assistance, came safely through his obstacles and tranquillised the whole world by the support of his own arm: who, being then the lord, became the asylum of the whole world²⁹ by reason of possessing in all their integrity the three constituents of power, and by reason of having broken the pride of his enemies, and by reason of his high-mindedness, and by reason of his blamelessness; and who possesses the *pāṇḍhava*, which indicates entire supreme dominion, and the other brilliant (*insignia of*) mighty sovereignty,—thus issues his commands to all people:—

(L. 30.)—"Be it known to you! Six hundred and twenty-two of the Śaka years having expired, and the fourth year of (*our*) increasing and victorious reign being current, and (*our*) victorious camp being located at the city of Rāśanāgara³⁰,—on the day of the full-moon of the month Āshāḍha, the village named Nerār, situated between the villages of Baḥḥavāḥ and Sahanyapura on the bank of the river (?) Viliga in the (?) Triliga district, has been given by Us, at the request of Nandā,....., with the enjoyment of it and with the relinquishment of all opposing claims, to Dēvasvāmī of the (?) Yatsa *gṛha*, the son's son of Rēvasvāmīkshita and the son of Jannasvāmī. This (*grant*) should be preserved by future kings, who are desirous of acquiring fame, whether they belong to our lineage or to other families,

²² See para. 4 of the introductory remarks to this grant.

²³ See note 21 above. No. XLVIII, compared with No. 16 of Pāli, *Nandī-rit*, and *Old-Canarese Inscriptions*, shows that Vinayāditya's campaign against the Pāṇḍya, Kaṣabha, &c., took place in Śaka 614-5.

²⁴ Kārtikēya.

²⁵ Śiva.

²⁶ See note 24 above.

²⁷ I have suggested two possible explanations of *pāṇḍhava*.

dhakṣa or *pāṇḍhava*, at Vol. VII, pp. 111 and 215, but the meaning is still doubtful. The explanation suggested by Mr. Rice in his introductory remarks to the *Viśākṣī* grant will certainly not hold water.

²⁸ *Prāṇa*.

²⁹ *Samantabhaṇḍita*. This is, I think, the earliest instance of the use of this title, which became, under the Western Chōḷakya, one of the perpetual titles of the family.

³⁰ See note 25 above.

as long as the moon and the sun and the earth and the ocean last, just as if it were a grant made by themselves, bearing in mind that the charms of life and riches, &c., are as evanescent as the lightning."

(L. 37.)—And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the arranger of the *Vēdas*:—Land has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sāgara; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the fruits of it! It is a very easy thing to give one's own property, but the preservation of (the grant of) another is difficult; (if the question is) whether giving or preserving (is the more meritorious act),—preservation is better than giving!¹⁷

No. LXXVIII.

This is another of the Nerūr plates, transcribed and translated in full by General Le-Grand Jacob as No. II. in his paper.

My transcription is from the original plates. They are three in number, about 1½" long by 4½" broad; the edges are raised into rims to protect the writing. The third plate is eaten through by rust in a few places. The other two plates have not suffered in this way. But the whole inscription was evidently very much injured by whatever process was adopted to clean it for General Jacob's *Thyāgār*; for the hand-copy

attached to his paper, rough as it is, shews that at that time the whole inscription was very legible indeed; whereas now, though it is sufficiently legible to any one who knows the text from other similar grants, to any one else it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to decipher the greater part of it. The ring, which had not been cut when the grant came into my hands, is about ⅜" thick and 4½" in diameter. The seal is circular, about 1½" in diameter, and has, in relief on a countersunk surface, a standing lion, facing to the proper right; a facsimile of it is given on the same plate with the Western Chalukya grant of Nāgavardhana. The characters are of the same type as those of the preceding grant.

It is another Western Chalukya grant of Vijayāditya, and is dated Śaka 627 (A.D. 705-6), in tenth year of his reign. It records the grant of the village of Hikuḷamba or Hikuḷambha. I cannot find any name approaching this on the map; but the inscription tells us that it was in the same *viśaya* or district with Nerūr itself, the name of which seems to have been Tridiga, and which, as it is called a *śūbhakṣetra*, appears to have been one of the districts constituting the Seven Koṭṭaṅgas.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] Svasti. [1*] Jayaty-āvisikṛitām Viśvāśā vārāhaṁ kṣobhāt-āra(ṇṇa)vaśi
daksini-ānanta-dakṣiṇ-āgrya-viśranta-bhavanam

[2] vapuḥ. [1*] Śrōṇatām sakala-bhavana-sahatūyamāna-Mānavya-sagōṭṛiṇām Hāriti-
pitrāṇām sapta-

[3] lōkamāṣṭrībha-sapta-mātṛībhir-ābhivardābitānām Kīrtikāya-parākṣaṇa-prāpta-
kalyāṇa-pa-

[4] rāṣṭrapāṇām bhagavaṇ-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsāḍita-varāha-tāḍehhan-ōkaḥaṇa-kṣaṇa-vāśi-

[5] kṛit-āśōḥa-sahibhṛitām Chalukyaṇām kulam-ānakāśhṇō(vishṇō)c-śāyamaḥ-āvabhīṣha-
nāna-parīkṛita-gā-

[6] trasya Śrī-Palakūśivallabha-mahārājasya sūnuy parākram-ākānta-Vanavāsy-ādi-pa-

[7] ra-nṛpati-mandala-pravādhadha-viśādha-kīrtiḥ Śrī-Kīrtivarama-prithivivallabha-
mahārāja-in-

[8] syekṛtmaja-samara(ātmanasya samara)-sahankta-sakal-ōttarāpath-āvara-Śrī-Harṣavard-
dhana-parājay-ōpātta-pa-

[9] ramōśvara-śabdasya Satyāśraya-śrī-prithivivallabha-mahārāj-ādhibīja-paramōśvarasya
[priya-śaśvasya*]

[10] prajñāta-nayasya khaḍga-mātra-sahāyasya Chitrakṛt-ābhīdhāna-pravara-taraṁgamaṇ-
nikṇṇaiv-ō-

[11] [12] rit-āśōḥa-vijigāhōr-āvanipati-tritay-āntarīṣām aya-gurō[13] śriyam-ātmanā[t-kṛi]-

¹⁷ The rest of the grant, including the certificate of the minister in whose office it was written, has been broken off and lost.

- [²⁰] r=v[*v*]asudhā bhaktā rājābhis-Sagar-ādibhir-*ya*(*ya*)*ya* *ya**ya* yadā bhāmīś-*ta**ya* *ta**ya*
 [²⁰] tadā phalaṁ ||*] Svan-dātām su-mahach-*ch*akyaṁ duḥkham-*any**ya* pāṇam
 dānam vā pāṇam v-*eti* dātū-
 [²¹] ch=chirōyō=anpāṇam ||*] Sva-dātām para-dātām vā yō harēta vasundharīm
 shashtim varāha-sahasrōpi
 [²²] viśvāyām jāyātē kṛimā ||*] Mahā-sāndhi-vigrahika-Nira[*va**]dyapūṣyavallabhēna
 Ikṣvām-
 [²³] dātū āsannam ||*

Translation.

Hail! Victorious is the form, which was that of a boar, that was manifested of (the god) Vishnu,—which troubled the ocean, and which had the earth resting upon the tip of its up-lifted right-hand tusk!

(L. 2).—The son of the great king Śrī-Pulakōśivallabha,—whose body was purified by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices, and who adorned the family of the Chalikya, who are glorious; (Ac., as in No. LXXVII).—was Śrī Kṛtivarman, the favourite of the world, the Great King, (Ac., as in No. LXXVII).

(L. 7).—His son was Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord—who had acquired the title of 'Supreme lord' (Ac., as in No. LXXVII).

(L. 9).—[His dear son] was Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who was conversant with the art of government; Ac., as in No. LXXVII.²²

(L. 14).—His dear son was Vijayāditya-Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who, having at the command of his father (Ac., as in No. LXXVII).

(L. 18).—His dear son, Vijayāditya-Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—he even in his childhood acquired a knowledge of all the writings on the use of weapons; (Ac., as in No. LXXVII²³).—thus issues his commands to all people:—

(L. 29).—"Be it known to you! Six hundred and twenty-seven of the Śaka years having expired, and the tenth year of (Our) increasing and victorious reign being current,—

the village named (?) Hikūlambā, between the villages of Kumāra and pūrī, in the mahāsaptama²⁴ district of (?) Tridiga, has been given by us, at the request of the glorious Upendra, to eight Brāhmins who are thoroughly acquainted with the *Vedas* and the *Vidāngas*. Their names and *gōtras* are declared:—It has been given to Dēvasvāmī of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, and Karkasvāmī of the Kauśika *gōtra*, and Yajñasvāmī of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, and Nāgammasvāmī of the Kaundinya *gōtra*, and Dēvasvāmī of the Maudgalya *gōtra*, and (?) Gargāsvāmī of the Ārśya *gōtra*, and Rudrasvāmī of the (?) Kākyapa *gōtra*, and Dāmasvāmī of the Vatsa *gōtra*. This (*grant*) [should be presented] by future kings, (Ac., as in No. LXXVII)."

(L. 31).—And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the arranger of the *Vedas*:—Land has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagar; (Ac.)! It is a very easy thing to give one's own property, (Ac.)! He is born as a woman in order for the duration of sixty thousand years, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself, or by another!

(L. 42).—This charter has been written by Niravadyapūṣyavallabha, the high minister entrusted with the arrangement of peace and war.

No. LXXIX.

This is the last of the Nerūr plates, noticed by General LeGrand Jacob as No. IV in his paper, but not published in detail by him.

My transcription is from the original plates. They are three in number, about 7½" long by 4½" broad; but a good deal of the first plate, including the whole of the first line, has been broken off and lost. The edges are slightly raised into rims to protect the writing; the inscription, however, is here and there so much worn away as to be very difficult to read. The ring, which had not been cut when the grant

²² But omitting any mention of the Kālikas.

²³ But omitting the words *uśāḍi-bala-chakras*.

²⁴ 72, 'the great seventh.'

- [¹⁹] graha²²-vighra-a(ā)[grō*]saras=mat-sa(sā)ha[su-ra]sika[pa[rāḥm]ukhikṛita-śatru-maṇḍa(lō)]
 [²⁰] Gaṅgā-Yasomā-pāṭidhva-ṣa(ṣa)ḥ-ka-kā-mahāśabda-chihna-(mā)-
 [²¹] pika-matāṣṭaj-ā(dīn-pitṛi)j-t-kurvvan=pamīl-paṇa(lā)yaṁ(mā)n[air=ā]-
 [²²] sa(sā)ḍya kathamapi vidhi-vu(hā)ḍ-apa[nṭō]=pi prata(tā)pa(pā)ḍ-ḍya, viśaya-[pra]-
 [²³] kōpam-a-ra(rā)ḥakam=ntsa(tā)rayaṁ=Vatsara(rā)ja iv-a(ā)n-apōkṣit-a(ā)para-ma(mā)[hā]-
 [²⁴] [ya]kas-ta[ḍ-ara]grahān=nirgatya aṣa-bhāj-a(ā)vaśtambha-lipra(pra)sa(sā)dhī(di)t-
 āśō[sha-vi]śvambhara(h)
 [²⁵] [pra]bhur=aka(kha)ḍḍim-ḍḍi-triyatva(tvā)śh-śhātra-mada-bhāmjanatva(tvā)ḍ-uda(dā)-
 mātva(tē)ḥn-nirvadya(tvāḍ-yaḥ)
 [²⁶] samasta-bhavan-a(ā)śraya-śrī²³-a-sakala-pa(pā)ramō(mai)śvarya-vyakti-hṛta-pa(pā)ḍva-
 (ḍiva)j-ḍy-ajjya-
 [²⁷] la-pa(pā)ḍya-ra(rā)jyō
 Vijayāditya-Satya(tvā)śraya-śrī-pri(pri)thiviralla-
 Third plate.
 [²⁸] [bha]-maha(hā)ra(rā)j-ādihra(rā)ja-paramēśvara-bhāṭa(tā)raṇa-sarvvaṁ-śram-ājā(jā)-
 payati [*]
 [²⁹] [Vi]ditam=asta vōuma(smā)bhāḥ(bhāḥ) sa(sā)ṇa[h*] Vikra[mā]ditya-Satya(tvā)śra[ya*]-
 śrī-pri(pri)thi-
 [³⁰] vivalabhā-maha(hā)ra(rā)j-a(ā)dhira(rā)ja-paramēśvara[h*] sarvva(rvā)[n=śvam=ā*]jā-
 (jā)payati [*]
 [³¹] Śākānti datta Mahav(vō)ra-nā[ma-grāmaḥ*] sa-lhḍga(h) sarvva-bo(bā)ḍha-pari(hāḍ)
 ḍa(tāḥ)
 [³²] Kāru(sc. kua)ḍḍina-sagōtra(tā)ya Hammaṇḍas(āḍ)mina[h*] putra(sc. putrāya)
 [³³] dīkṣita-Sarva-Āditya(tvā)ya* bhā(cha)ta(tar)-vidya-sama²⁴.
 [³⁴] piya [i*] [Bakubhīr-vvaṁśhā bhukti*] ra(rā)jābhāḥ [Sagarādibhāḥ*] yaṁya yaṁya
 ta(ya)ḍa(dā) ha(bhā)ṇa[h*] ta(ya) [taṁya*] (taḍ pā)-
 [³⁵] laṁ [i*] Sata(sc. aṣa-dattāḥ) para-datta(tā)ḥ[n*] vā yō hara(ta*) va(su*)ndharāśi
 [śaśhṭi-vrsha-sahasraḥpi viśṭāyāḥ*] jāya-²⁵.
 [³⁶] ma(tō) krimi[h*] [i*]

Translation.

Hail! Victorious is the form, which was that of a boar, that was manifested of (the god) Vishnu,—which troubled the ocean, and which had the earth resting upon the tip of its up-lifted right-hand trunk!

(L. 2).—The son of the Great King Śrī-Polekṣīvalabhā,—whose body was purified by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices, and who adorned the family of the Chāṇkyas, who are glorious; (&c., as in No. LXXVII).—was Śrī-Kirtti-varma, the favourite of the world, the Great King, (&c., as in No. LXXVII).

(L. 10).—His son was Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord,—who had acquired the title of 'Supreme Lord' (&c., as in No. LXXVII).

(L. 13).—His dear son was Vikramā-ditya-Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who was conversant with the art of government; (&c., as in No. LXXVII).

(L. 20).—His dear son was Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who, having at the command of his father (&c., as in No. LXXVII).

(L. 25).—His dear son, Vijayāditya-Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who even in his childhood acquired a knowledge of all the writings on the use of weapons; (&c., as in No. LXXVII)—thus issues his commands to all people:—

(L. 39).—"Be it known to you! By Us, (Our)

²² This syllable, ha, is superfluous.

²³ This syllable, śrī, is superfluous.

²⁴ Four or five letters are quite uncertain here.

²⁵ Three or four letters are quite uncertain here.

²⁶ Two or three letters seem to have been engraved here but they are quite illegible. If engraved, they were superfluous.

son Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, thus issues his commands to all people:—The village named Mājāvāra has been given⁵⁷ with the enjoyment of it and with the relinquishment of all opposing claims, to Sarvāditya-

dikshita, of the Kaundinya gōtra, who is the four Vēdas, and who is the son of Bacumandavāmi⁵⁸

(L. 44.)—[Land has been enjoyed] by [many] kings, [commencing with Sogera]; (&c.)⁵⁹ He is born as a worm [in order for the duration, of sixty thousand years], (&c.)⁶⁰

BUDDHIST SYMBOLS, &c.

BY E. THOMAS, F.R.S., CORRESPONDANT DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

(Continued from p. 133.)

I have lately availed myself of the opportunity of studying the collection of the Amarāvati Marbles, at present in the India Museum at South Kensington, with a view to determine the nature and bearing of the more popular symbols and devices appearing on these sculptures, so closely associated with the old houses of the Āndhras—in the hope of illustrating and explaining the parallel emblems on the series of coins, pertaining to proximate localities, recently under consideration.

My first impression, derived from a very cursory examination of these sculptures, led me to conclude, that whatever extraneous elements might have been introduced from time to time, that the Tope itself had been primarily devoted to the cause of solar worship. The dominant circular pattern indeed was obviously suggestive of such a purpose.

It need not be reiterated that the sun constituted one of the earliest objects of worship among primitive nations, as in the ordinary course it would present itself to the untutored mind, as the "natural selection." How many races of men intuitively adored the sun, or how many classes of the priesthood have taken "the light of the world" as the basis of their religion, it would be hard to say.

As the Greeks and Romans created many personifications of the sun-god, so the Indian Āryans recognised its leading representative deities by the various names of Sūrya, Savitṛi, Aditya and Viśvān, besides assigning many of

the attributes of the god of light in reduced gradations to several of the minor members of the Indian Olympian.

In India at large the prevalence, if not universality, in primeval times, of the worship of the sun is attested by the survival of generic names, the concurrent testimony of home tradition and inscriptions, the evidence of travellers, and the more material endorsement of sculpture.

We can roughly complete a goodly circle of geographical proof from the earliest Sauras of Saurāshtra, by way of the Temple of the Sun at Multān, to Gayā and Orissa on the east coast, and back again to the written testimony of the Western copper-plates, and the caste-marks on the foreheads of the women in the oldest painting at Ajāṭhā.⁶¹

To revert to the symbols on the Amarāvati Tope.

THE WHEEL.

The leading and most important device among the objects of worship is what it has hitherto been the custom in modern parlance, to designate as the "Buddhist wheel." To my apprehension these carvings were not designed to represent the "Wheel of the Law," or any such fanciful machine, but represent the conventional symbol of the sun, in the form of a wheel, as indicating his onward revolution. At times it is difficult to discriminate the sculptor's intention, as to whether he designed to make the wheel like the sun, or the sun like a wheel,⁶² but one of the most striking examples of the presiding motive is

⁵⁷ *śikṣantī*, l. 41, meaning not apparent, unless the word is a chronogram containing the date of 615. Śaka 515, however, was not in Vijayāditya's reign; and I know of no other instance in which a Chalukya date is expressed by this method.

⁵⁸ *śr.*, 'Brahmāśāstramī.'

⁵⁹ Burgess, *Arch. Survey*: Notes on Ajāṭhā, 1879, pls. viii, ix, x.

⁶⁰ The earliest Chalukyan type of the sun was formed of a simple ring or circle, like the Indian Sūrya-mandala; but it was speedily improved upon by the addition of cross-

lines within its circumference, and these again were superadded by ornamental double lines with a circular centre-line. (Rawlinson's *Ancient Mesopotamia*, vol. I, p. 111.) In this latter form it is figured at Bavian, in association with the half-moon and 7 planets (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 1833, p. 211). In Lejard's *Culte de Mithra* (Paris, 1867), various varieties of the symbolic forms of the sun are collected, chiefly of more or less ornamental patterns, but in one instance (pl. xxix, fig. 6), the sun is represented by a simple six-spoke wheel, with the worshipper in front and the half moon to the left on a similar pedestal.

afforded by the parallel figures at Bhilsa. In pl. xliii. Fig. 5, of Mr. Fergusson's work,² the wheel is ornamented on the outer edge of the fully with a succession of arrow points, reminding one at once of the "arrows of Apollo," or the blaze of the sun's rays,* an addition which, in the solid form, would have sadly impeded the roll of a mundane wheel. At Amaravati these arrow-heads are replaced by a succession of tridents (pl. xviii. fig. 7), and the multiplicity of the sub-divisions of the wheel itself are far more suggestive of the rays of the sun, than of useful wooden spokes. Again, in one instance of the examples of the various designs of wheels at Sanchi, we find the spokes converted into something very like flames of fire.³

The arrow points are still more marked and directly indicative of their purport in the numerous instances of the representations of signs on the coins, especially in the Ujjain series, whose mintage locality is determined by the insertion of the word *Ujjaini*, in Lat characters. A large number of specimens of these pieces have been collected and figured in *Journal Asiatic Society, of Bengal*, vol. VII. plate lxi. These examples abound in the various symbols and enigmatical emblems of the sun, such as the local imagination delighted to associate with his various powers. The barbed arrow points, in these instances, start from the central wheel and project considerably beyond the felly.⁴ In one case (No. 1) we have confirmatory evidence of the local reverence for the four-fold sun in the repetition of that number of smaller rings, within each of the four circles connected by the cross-lines of the standard *sanskrit* pattern.

² Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, pls. xxi. l. xxvii. l.

³ The arrow heads are of two kinds, and are made to alternate from the rounded cutting point, depicted in Mr. Fergusson's Sanchi plate xxvii. to the simple unbarbed point represented in the coins in plate xxviii. See also arrows in the *Rig Veda*, v. 1. xvi. Wilson, vol. IV. p. 26.

⁴ Fergusson, *Trees and Serp. War.*, pl. xliii. fig. 5. See also Genl. Cunningham, *Arch. Report*, vol. III. pl. xxi. n., and Col. J. Low, *Transactions Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. III. plate 3.

⁵ Nos. 2, 11, 16, 21, 36, &c.

⁶ *Dharmasankhaya*, Dominion of the Law. The well known phrase *dhammacakkapavatteti* is usually rendered "to turn the wheel of the law," but that this was its original meaning I consider extremely improbable. *Pavatteti* does not mean "to turn" so much as "to set going," "to establish," &c. and *cakka* is probably used in its sense of "domain" or "dominion." It is most important to bear in mind that this famous phrase is used not of the whole period of Buddha's ministry, but only of his first sermon in which he "began" or "set on foot" his religion. Ajahnas is reported to have said in reply to the priests about the contemplated general council: "The well-reverend men, you may rely upon me, but mine be the

We must now examine, on the other hand, what title the Buddhists can show to establish their claim to the worship of the wheel, as an essential part of their own system, except in so far as it was borrowed, in the way of an appropriation, from the earlier devisers and legitimate employers of the symbol.

A certain amount of confusion has been introduced into this enquiry by the fact that the *chakra* or 'wheel' was not only supposed to represent the sun or the wheel of the sun's chariot, but it had also a worldly significance of 'universal' sovereignty, or the kingdom of the entire circle of the known world.⁷ It is in this latter sense that Buddha himself is reported to have used the word, when he says "Hurry me like a *Chakravertti* Raja,"⁸ that is as a "king," not as a saint: and, as he contemplated at the time, no worship of his mortal remains, so we may fairly infer that he did not anticipate the imaginary *wheel*, he merely claimed in virtue of his royal extraction, would be elevated into one of the symbols of the faith he taught.

Burnouf,⁹ Foucaux,¹⁰ and other early investigators were not very clear in their discrimination of the contrasted import of the term *chakra*, but later authorities altogether discard the claims of the legitimate Buddhists to any such piece of machinery as a sacred wheel.¹¹ Spence Hardy, while recognising the *Chakravertti* as a universal emperor, has no such word as a "wheel" in his index.¹²

Mr. Beal, who has consistently rejected any idea of the virtue of a wheel, as an aid to Buddhist faith, sums up the relative bearings of the question in the following emphatic terms:—"I

domain of temporal authority, yours the domain of religion."—*Children's Faith Dictionary*, 1875; sub voce.

⁷ *Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, vol. VIII. p. 1093. Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. I. p. 187.

⁸ Burnouf, *loc. cit.* pp. 308, 357-8, 416.

⁹ *Histoire de Bouddha Saïya Muni* (Paris, 1846) pp. lxi. 14 s. 108, &c. La triser de la roue divine apparaît dans le Rigveda, avec mille fois, une circonstance et un moyen, toute d'or, non fabriquée par un chariot, et de la hauteur de sept têtes (esp. iii. p. 11). Bâth Hâleन्द्रa-lila, in his translation of *Lalitâ-Pâtra*, is decided in the opinion that "The Legend of the Chakra ratna" is an doubtful an after-construction intended to adapt the title for a Buddhist prince," p. 28.

¹⁰ I conclude that no one has hitherto ventured to suggest the stolidity of *Wheels of the Law*, to the hand-revolving Buddhist praying-cylinders, or to the larger water-power mills which call nature to aid in the performance of the religious rites of entire village communities, in making the prayer-inscribed drums, attached to the water wheel, speed their devotions to heaven. See General Cunningham's *Laddi* 1854, p. 375.

¹¹ *Manual of Buddhism*, London, 1853, pp. 30, 126. See also *Eastern Monachism* (1860), pp. 37, 82.

proceed to make some reference to the scenes of the sculptures on the gates and beams at Sanchi. But before doing so, I would start the query, whether there is any proof to be gathered from the character of these sculptures, that the followers of Buddha worshipped either the Tree or Naga? If they did, nothing in the world would more effectually destroy the theory of their religion. The Buddhist convert, theoretically at least, acknowledged no superior to himself in heaven or earth.¹²

M. E. Senart, who has more recently gone over the whole ground of Indian symbolical devices, in his *La Légende du Buddha*, expresses his conclusions and convictions in an equally positive way: "Quoiqu'il en puisse être, l'expression *chakravartivajrasana* forme la partie fondamentale et vraiment significative dans notre formule. Tout nous interdit de séparer son emploi dans la légende du Buddha de son application, précédemment examinée, au Chakravartin. Dans la roue du Chakravartin nous avons sans peine reconnu le disque du Vishnu et les images empruntées à la roue solaire; la roue du Buddha n'a point à l'origine d'autre sens; c'est en sa qualité de véritable Chakravartin que le Buddha la met en mouvement (*Rig. Fol.* viii. 5, 8)."¹³

I quote M. Senart, in this instance, on account of his more comprehensive knowledge of Buddhism and Buddhist literature. I have ordinarily sought to form my own independent opinion from the Indian point of view, of questions before us.

¹² *J. R. A. S.* (N.S.) vol. V. (1871) page 163. See also *The Travels of Fa-Hien*, (London, 1830) pp. 108, 127. Gen. Cunningham, in somewhat the same sense, remarks: "With respect to the title of this last work of Mr. Forcman, 'Tree and Serpent Worship,' I submit that it is not borne out by the illustrations; and further, that as serpent worship was antagonistic to Buddhism, such a title is not applicable to a description of the religious scenes sculptured on a Buddhist Stupa."—*Archæological Reports*, (Sculi, 1871), vol. I, page xiv.

¹³ *Journal Asiatique*, 1875, vol. VI, p. 116.

¹⁴ Since this was written, my suspicion of the authenticity and good faith of those labels has been signally confirmed. The more important ones are, in many cases, obviously after-insertions, cut in at hazard in any vacant space available. Furnishing, indeed, a new proof of the casuistic propensities of the Buddhists.

¹⁵ The author of the *Tubāṭṭi-Nāṭi*, in advertising to the partial destruction of the Balaia Topa by Albinus in A. D. 631, A. S. 1233, adds the information that it originally took 500 years to build, and stood at a height of 105 pā.

The passage in the Persian text runs as follows (Calcutta Text, 1834, p. 175):—

و حسن و شهر بیلارا بگرفت و بنجانه که سیم

Undue importance, I think, has been attributed in later arguments on the subject to the illustrative label attached to one of the scenes at Bārahāt; comprising the words *Bhagavato dharmas chakam*. This definition of the purport of the sculpture would, undoubtedly, be of the highest importance, if we could only fix the period of its incision, or if we could pretend to determine how soon after the death of Śākya Muni, the first adaptation and appropriation of "wheel worship" was received into the Buddhist formula.¹⁶

If the Amaravati Topa took anything like the three centuries to finish, which is claimed for its fellow mound at Sanchi,¹⁷ there was room enough, in all conscience, for the growth and interchange of religious and their authorized symbols. Such an inference would, in a measure, account for the apparent variety of emblems depicted in the several groups of sculpture, and explain, in the plenitude of pilgrim's gifts of "walls and pillars," the reason for the slow progress of, what England irreverently calls, the preaching-up of a church steeples.

The 123 nominal rolls, mostly proclaiming small donations or donations collected as a preliminary list in Genl. Cunningham's *Balaia Topa*,¹⁸ sufficiently indicates the law of progress in this instance. But we have more direct and material evidence to this end, in the appropriation of a sculptured stone of ancient date by the Buddhists themselves, where they are seen to have taken advantage of the abandoned back of a slab of a much earlier period of art, with an original design of a tree and Vishnu padas—to

سال بودا آرا بگرفت و بنجانه که سیم
و بنجانه که سیم بگرفت و بنجانه که سیم

Major Haverly is inclined to consider that it was the Temple at Ujjain, that took 500 years to finish; but the text, under his own interpretation, does not sanction such an inference, even if the great devotion of the structure alluded to by the Muhammadan author, was not altogether opposed to the conclusion. *Termination of the Tubāṭṭi-Nāṭi* (1875), p. 631; see also Elliot's *History*, vol. II, p. 328.

While advertising to the Balaia Topa, I desire to advert to an opinion expressed by Mr. Hall of the solar indications associated with the name and the place:

"I have discovered that, in the middle ages, the sun was worshipped in Central India, under the designation of Bhūṭa,—from *bhu*, 'light,' and the Persian termination *-ta*, denoting possession. There was a temple to Bhūṭa at or near Balaia, which I take to be a corruption of bhūṭa + ta, or bhūṭa-ta."—Mr. Hall, *Pishin Peshawar*, vol. II, p. 150. See also *Jour. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, (1862), p. 112. The transcription of the name as Bhūṭa-ta, *Mahābhārata*, &c. by Reinand, quoting Al-Bīrūnī, seems to support Mr. Hall's pronunciation. See Elliot's *History*, vol. I, p. 30.

¹⁷ *Balaia Topa*, London, 1854,—plates xvi, xvii, xviii, pp. 233, 47.

figure on the reverse in finer lines and more elaborate treatment, their conventional representation of the standing form of Śākya Muni.¹⁷

VISHNU PADAR.

The hollowiness of the Buddhist pretensions to the origination of this popular symbolic combination, was exposed some fifty years ago by a very competent judge, who examined the consistency of the faith from the point of view presented in extra-Gangutic or Siamese localities. Captain J. Low concludes his observations on the subject in these terms:—"To whatever country or people we may choose to assign the original invention of the *Phra Prāh*, (foot of Buddha,) it exhibits too many undoubted Hindu symbols to admit of our fixing its fabrication upon the worshippers of the latter Buddha; of whose positive dogmas it is rather subversive than otherwise, by encouraging polytheism."¹⁸

In somewhat the same sense, our latest commentator on these matters, Dr. Rājendralāla Mitra, freely admits that, "on the whole, the marks on the *Buddha-pād* bear a closer resemblance to Hindu than to Buddhist religion," and I am disposed to accept the authority of the inscription,¹⁹ and to believe that the stone, though popularly called the foot of Buddha, was put up by the Hindus.²⁰

In this instance, in short, the Buddhists merely acted, as other people, before and since, have had a tendency to do, i.e. to follow the sensible, if not inevitable, course of conciliating the local races by incorporating or assimilating the outward signs and symbols of a pre-existing faith.

We learn from the collection of Ujjain coins, arranged by Prinsep, above adverted to (*J. A. S. Beng.* vol. VII. pl. lxi.), that in covering their dies with figures and forms, *dāmyatas* and *gautras*, the indigenous races admitted in combination many and various devices having reference to the manifest power of the *sun*, and that its

emblems predominated in the general selection, if not to the exclusion, of conflicting symbols. We know what importance has been attached to caste marks in India, from time immemorial, we have seen that the *chakra* of the Jain Tirthankaras was of more consequence than the outline of the special status itself;²¹ and the question then arises, as to whether these various devices are not merely the discriminating sectarian emblems adopted from time to time, by sub-divisions of worshippers of a common object? This leads on to the consideration of the further query, as to whether all the four or five devices engraved on the soles of "the two feet" may not emanate from one and the same idea, and carry a like significance? The central wheel is many-rayed and sun-like, the closeness of the spokes or rays seeming to indicate quick rotation. The *swastika*—here repeated over and over again, even unto its appearance on the toes—has already been noticed in its connection with the sun, the circle surmounted by the *trishula* is found to be a near counterpart of the figure of the crude god, in the temple of Jagannāth.²²

It forms a prominent object of devotion placed at the head of a cone, in very many of the sculptures at Amarāvati,²³ and it will be remembered that it proves to be identical in form with the ornaments which constitute the outside rays of the wheel of the sun in the same series, taking, in effect, the place of the more pronounced arrow-rays at Sanchi, but a strange confirmation of its import and direct connexion with the sun is afforded by the so-called "Asoka railing," at Buddha Gayā,²⁴ where the lower compartment is devoted to the chariot and four horses of Śūrya himself, with his attendant archers,²⁵ while the upper storey of the edifice represents a covered niche or shrine in which the ball or circle with the superimposed *trishula* object stands alone and

¹⁷ Fergusson, *Tree and Stone*, (Lond.), pl. lxxviii, figs. 2, 3, page 291; India Museum Slab, No. 50.

¹⁸ Captain J. Low, "On Buddha and the Phra Prāh," *Transactions R. A. S.*, vol. III, p. 64, (March 20th, 1830). See also *J. R. A. S. (N. S.)* vol. IX, pp. 65 and 163.

¹⁹ Sanskrit Inscription, dated 1189 Śaka.

²⁰ Buddha Gayā (1878), p. 127.

²¹ The Babylonians are remarkable for the extent to which they affected symbolism in religion. In the first place, they attached to each god a special mystic number, which was used as his emblem, and may even stand for his name in an inscription.

²² Further, each god seems to have had one or more emblematic signs by which he could be pictorially symbolized. The cylinders are full of such forms, which are

often crowded into every vacant space where room could be found for them."—Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. III, p. 467.

²³ Gen. Cunningham's *Bhilar Topes*, p. 358; *J. R. A. S.* vol. VI, p. 430.

²⁴ Fergusson, *P. and S.* IV, plates lviii. to lixii, page 102; *Bihar Topes*, pl. xxxii, figs. 4, 5, 10.

²⁵ Rājendralāla Mitra, *Buddha Gayā*, (Calcutta, 1878,) pl. l, p. 160. I am bound to add in my interpretation of these sculptures that the Bāhū does not see anything "solar" in the leading figure in the chariot, p. 162. He does not seem to have taken any notice of the upper compartment. *J. R. A. S. (N. S.)* vol. III, p. 161.

²⁶ The archers appear to be females. The bows are of the same form as those on our toes.

undivided in its glory,"²⁷ and seems to declare itself as the direct crypto-emblem of the more definite embodiment of the god in the associate sculpture.

The fourth prominent symbol in the order of the general combination, of which there are two examples on each foot, consists of a diagram, which may be reduced into the simple alphabetical elements of $\ddot{\text{r}}$ (*ra*) or a possible crypto $\ddot{\text{r}}$ (*uri*). I fear that it would be useless at present to speculate on the meaning of the compound.

It may be the counterpart of a more Chinese-looking device, of a square pedestal or box, surmounted by a T , which figures on the leading class of Behat coins, and which General Cunningham pronounces—he does not say on what authority—to be "an emblem of the sun,"²⁸ a conclusion which is, to a certain extent, supported by the new evidence now adduced of the real import of the combination of the central sun and four surrounding tridents, which symbol is found occasionally to supply its place above the back of the deer.²⁹

In the Assyrian system a nearly similar device constituted the ideograph of "le nom du dieu de l'unction royale," and at other times stood for the royal sign of Nebo,³⁰ but it would be difficult to establish any direct connexion between the two. My own later impressions were that it was an early conventional type of the Sacred Tree, for which conclusion the appearance, in some instances, of a ruling on the lower box seemed to give authority.³¹

Of the minor and subordinate devices which contribute to the filling-in of the general pattern we may notice the insertion of four dots at the corners of the front *Svastika* near the toes, and the repetition of four flowers similar to those in the centre of the wheel towards the heels of the feet.

There are two examples of these full size

ornamented patterns in the Amarāvati collection in the India Museum. The purely archaic *padas* seem to have been more simple in outline, and the ornamentation is confined to the central figure of a wheel.³² Whereas in after times, we find the *Vaishnavi* Brahmans expanding the number of symbolic signs into nineteen, commencing with the half-moon, but ignoring the more potent sun, except under his typical device of the *Svastika*. The *Skanda Purāṇa* even omits the wheel³³ substituting, perhaps, the discus, but the former leading symbol is invariable in the majority of examples. The multiplication of figures on the sacred foot finally reached the extreme Siamese limit of "108, or more" objects of devotion. It is important to observe how these later adaptations of the normal outline invariably recognised the central wheel as denoting the sun, inasmuch as effect is given to the external flames in the revolving manner already noticed, so that we find Captain Low observing "according to some authorities the Hindū *cakras* was a circular mass of fire, insatiable with life, darting forth flames on every side."³⁴

THE HORSE.

The courses of Apollo and equine representatives in the mythology of the Vedas, but their number is, at times, increased to seven, and, at others reduced to a single steed, who is endued with many of the attributes of Sūrya himself.

"The bright red horse" avowedly symbolizes "the Sun,"³⁵ as in the Persian system "le soleil, souverain, couronné rapide, roi d'Ahura-Mazda; Mithra, chef des provinces," &c. embodied the same idea.³⁶ Professor Wilson remarks that "the hymn addressed to Dadhikrā or Dadhikrāya, contemplate the sun under the type of a horse,"³⁷ and Dr. Muir concurs in such an interpretation where Ushas (the Dawn) is said to bring the eye of the gods, and lead on the bright "and beautiful horse, by which the

²⁷ Genl. Cunningham in Vol. III. of his *Archæological Reports* (1871-2) pl. xxvii, has given an engraving of the lower portion of this column. He does not, however, seem to have noticed the important bearing of the details of the upper portion of the pillar, p. 97. See also Kitton, *J. A. S. Bengal*, vol. XVI. (1847), p. 327.

²⁸ *Buddha Types*, p. 854.

²⁹ *Journ. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, vol. VII. pl. xxxii. fig. 6; and *Buddha Types*, pl. xxxi. fig. 10.

³⁰ Mémeat, *Notes propres Assyriens*, p. 32.

³¹ *J. R. A. S. (N. S.)* vol. I. p. 491.

³² Ferguson, P. and S. W., pl. lxxviii. fig. 2, India Museum, No. 50.

³³ *Rājendralāla Mitra, Buddha Gāthā*, p. 126.

³⁴ *Transactions R. A. S.* vol. III. p. 72. The quotation is from Wilkins's *Shaperet*. A Dallatype photograph of a

very elaborate copy of the foot-print of Buddha, near Nappahury in Siam, was published by Messrs. Trübner some time ago in their *Record*. This drawing shows the Central Sun with great distinctness. The external flames are made to curve, as in Col. Low's example, as if to indicate the rotary motion of the luminary.

³⁵ Max Müller's "The Sacred Hymns of the Brāhmanas," London, 1890, p. 9, B.F. i. 6, 1.

³⁶ *Harvard Lectures*, p. 351. The Mages "worship the sun only of all the gods, and sacrifice horses to him; and this is the reason of this custom; they think it right to offer the swiftest of all animals to the swiftest of all gods." Herodotus I. 216. Compare Wilson, *Big Peda* vol. II. pp. 132, 131, and preface pp. xii. et seq.; Wilson's *Collected Works*, vol. IV. pp. ii. 353; and Burgess' *Arch. Reports*, vol. II. (1874-5), p. 87.

³⁷ *Big Peda*, vol. III. pp. x. 119.

sun seems to be intended.¹²³ The late Prof. Goldstucker also, in commenting on the faculties of the Aświns, observed: "Their very name, it would seem, settles this point, since *āśva*, the horse, literally 'the perrader,' is always the symbol of the luminous deities, especially of the sun."¹²⁴ In the *Parāśara* "the sun in the form of a horse," is said to have appeared to Yājñavalkya, and the version of the *Viśvā Parāśara* goes on to state, "accordingly the sun imparted to him the texts of the *Yajus* called *Aydaśāśa*, and because these were revealed by the sun, in the form of a horse, the Brāhmanas who study this portion of the *Yajus* are called Vājins (horses)."¹²⁵ The sacred horse is represented in the Amarāvati sculptures in various attitudes, but always guarded or overshadowed by the conventional imperial *chhatra*, and ordinarily depicted as revered or worshipped by the hons and *soldāns* of the surrounding attendants. In his free form, as issuing from gateways, in associate processions,¹²⁶ his mission might be taken to indicate the more arrogant of an Aśvamedha sovereign. But when he is found to have special medallions or circular frames in the sculptures exclusively devoted to his representation, and these bases are made to occupy the apparent place of honour, above the fellow-circles containing the seated figure of a saint,¹²⁷ it would seem that the intention of the artist pointed at higher things than the led-horse of an Indian Rāja. It is very possible, as has been suggested by Mr. Fergusson,¹²⁸ that the reverence of the horse was derived from the same aboriginal source, as that which has led the Gonds to retain his form in their crude worship to this day.

There is, however, one peculiarity in this reappearance of the horse on southern soil, which has apparently escaped Mr. Fergusson. That is, that we find the animal so closely associated with the rites of the worship of the sun and the moon, as intuitively preserved among many sections of the aboriginal forest tribes.

Mr. Hislop¹²⁹ incidentally alludes to "Bādū

De wa (the great god), who, in other districts, is called Rudhāl Pan (the old god) * * * or Barā Pan," the chief god among the Khonds, who is identified in a note¹³⁰ with the sun-god. Some of the outside aboriginal races (the Kurs or Kuls) are described as having for the "chief objects of their adoration," the sun and the moon, "which take the outward form of wooden pillars, with horse, sun and moon set up before the houses of married people."¹³¹

This association of the two symbols may perhaps serve to explain the juxtaposition of the Wheel and the Horse's head in the Amarāvati sculptures, in plates xciii. and xciv. fig. 8, regarding which Mr. Fergusson remarks,¹³² the horse "is introduced in mid air alongside the wheel as an object of equal reverence; and on a piece of sculpture where the wheel just above him is the especial object of worship."¹³³

It is worthy of remark that the horse retained his fixed place as the symbol of the Jñāna Tirthakura, and though recognised incidentally as a power in theology, he is altogether ignored in the different Paurāṇik lists amid the amplified nineteen authorized marks on Viṣṇu's feet.¹³⁴

P. S.—Since this note on the Horse symbol was written, General Cunningham's work on the Dārāhāt Topo has been published in England.

In the new examples of old devices now contributed, it will be seen that the Horse taken an unusually prominent position, even to the addition of the Wings of the Pegasus of Western mythology. On the votive table, in front of the shrine of the Sun, in the lower compartment of the sculpture (Pl. xiii. a), may be traced the exact representation of the head of the Gōnd clay-horse, who was "offered in lieu of the living sacrifice," above adverted to.¹³⁵ And further, in the same dedicatory position may be traced, votive flowers—pure and simple—together with clay reproductions of the symbols of the Sun under the various forms of lotus-leaves, wheels, and the marked coincidence of *Saustikas* enclosed in the simple orb circle of the aboriginal Sol.

¹²³ *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. V. p. 137. See also *J. R. A. S. (N.S.)* vol. II. p. 5.

¹²⁴ *Journal R. A. S. (N.S.)* vol. II. p. 15, and vol. IX. p. 228.

¹²⁵ *Viśvā Parāśara*, Hall's edition, vol. III. p. 57.

¹²⁶ *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Pl. xxxv. p. 131; xcvi. fig. 3; xcvi. and p. 223.

¹²⁷ Pls. lxxvi., lxxvii.

¹²⁸ Page 103.

¹²⁹ *Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, Edited by Sir R. Temple.

¹³⁰ P. 14 note 4; *Collected Stories*, vol. V. p. 55; and *Chaurā Mission Intelligence*.

¹³¹ P. 26, quoting Mr. Bullock.

¹³² *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 215.

¹³³ Mr. Hislop observes, in a Note at p. 26:—"The Scythian origin of Kūra and Gōnda might perhaps be inferred from Kōda Pōo and varthen horses, which are offered instead of living sacrifices."

¹³⁴ *Rājendrakā Mitra's Buddha Gayā*, p. 126.

¹³⁵ Note 45 above.

MISCELLANEA.

PROPER NAMES.

Since my note on proper names given to children whose elder brothers have died, was published in the *Indian Antiquary* for November 1879 (Vol. VIII, p. 321), I have been in communication with Dr. Rājendra Lāla Mitra, who has kindly furnished me with some interesting information on the parallel custom in Bangāl. In Bangāl a woman, who has lost several children immediately after their birth, is called *madhāks peddā*, and two common names for the children subsequently born are *Bluto* "The Ugly One," and *Gobardhan*, "Dung-made."

The corresponding generic word in Maithilī (Terhūti) for a child whose elder brothers have died is *maachhai*, which Dr. Mitra has identified with Skt. *mr̥ṣā vata*, and with the Bangālī *maachhāi*; a synonym, however, of *maachhāi* in Maithilī is *marachhāi*, which I am inclined to recognize as Skt. *Mr̥ṣā Sānta*. A Maithilī proverb runs, *सहेक मय पुत्र सीग सहे*, "The mother of a *maachhāi* has to bear the pangs of losing her sons."

There is, moreover, a noteworthy custom in Bangāl, which Dr. Mitra first brought to my notice; it is that of giving away the children subsequently born immediately after birth, and then buying them back again from the donor at a small cost. The price varies from one to nine *carrie shells*, omitting the even numbers, and the children are named according to the price paid, thus: *Ekkerooff*, one shell; *Tinkerooff*, three shells; *Pachhārooff*, five shells; *Sathrooff*, seven shells; and *Nakerooff*, nine shells. Such names are very common in Bangāl and are invariably due to this custom.

In Mithilā (Tirhut) the custom of sale, as above described, does not obtain, but the above mentioned names are all used. Moreover, in Mithilā the number of shells is not confined to odd numbers, e. g. one of the commonest of these names is *Chakkerrooff*, six cowries. I am informed, however, that in south Bihār, south of the Ganges, the custom of sale does obtain.

The Bangālī meaning of the word *Gobardhan* "Dung-made" is curious. In Mithilā it is a name of good repute amongst Vaishnavas, who use it with reference to the famous hill near Vrindāvana. Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra writes with reference to this word that, in Bangāl, when used as a proper name it is generally but not invariably explained to mean a dung-hill, but that a good Vaishnava may use it with reference to the hill near Vrindāvana. As a common word it means the hill.

Finally, may I ask any one who has any further information to give on this curious custom of

nomenclature, to kindly publish it in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*.

GEORGE A. GRIBBS, C.S.,
Madhubani, Darbhanga.

METRICAL TRANSLATIONS FROM THE
MAHABHARATA.

By JOHN MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., C.I.E.

KINGS SHOULD NOT BE TOO JOCULAR AND GOOD
NATURED.

The following is a free translation of *Mahābhārata* vii. 2033E. The picture is, possibly, drawn from the life, from something that the writer had observed at the court of an Indian prince, and the like of which may often have been witnessed since:—

When kings are weak, and love to joke,
They quickly men's contempt provoke.
Their courtiers show them no respect,
And all prophecies neglect,
With jibes to harden the prince's pride,
And even against him rage and fume.
They make importunate requests;
Delay to do the king's behests;
His secrets all contrive to steal,
And then to all the world reveal.
His master's orders none obeys;
They make a jest of all he says.
When he is wroth, they only laugh,
And hold his frowns cheap as chaff.
They play with this poor silly king,
As with a bird held by a string.
Even when their master holds a court,
They still pursue their wanton sport:
"In this thou tellest us, king," they say,
"In that thou wendeest us astray."
And these presumptuous courtiers boast
That they're the men who rule the roost.
They fain would all the world convince
They've power to influence the prince;
"In all affairs our help you'll need;
"The docile prince obeys our lead."
If charged with public trusts, like knaves,
These men, of gold the greedy slaves,
With selfish views their power abuse,
No proffered bribe will e'er refuse,
Will edicts forge to gain their ends,
And benefit themselves and friends;
Will endless webs of falsehood weave,
And so the simple prince deceive;
And thus with ruin overwhelm,
His hapless, poor, misgoverned realm.

The following is a prose translation:—"And thou shouldst not laugh too much with thy servants, O chief of kings. Hear what evil results from this. 2034. From [such familiar] contact, his dependents despise their master and do not keep their proper place, but transgress the limits of propriety (*atitavata*). 2035. When sent as messengers, they

hesitate (*vikaṅkṣuṣe*); they reveal secrets; they ask for things that should not be asked for, and eat [the king's] food. 2036. They grow angry, and increased against the king their master; and by bribery (or receiving bribes,) and deceit, they cause affairs to miscarry. 2037. By forged edicts they bring ruin on the king's realm. They attach themselves to the guardians of the women¹ and adopt the same attire. 2038. In the prince's presence they spit. Devoid of shame, they repeat the king's words. 2039. When the prince is jovial and good-natured, they mount the horse, or elephant, or car, which he likes. 2040. In the assembly his friends speak thus: 'This, king, was difficult for thee; that was a wicked act of thine.' 2041. And when he is angry they laugh; and are not at all delighted when he shows them honour, and they are jealous of each other. 2042. They betray his secrets, and reveal what (he) does wickedly, and contemptuously make sport of his orders. . . . 2044. They are not satisfied with their income and seize what should be given to the king.² 2045. They seek to play with him as with a bird held by a string,³ and tell people that the prince

can be led by them. 2046. These and other evils become manifest when the king is mild and jovial."

A MODEL MAN.

The following lines are selected from a number describing the man who "overpass all evils":—

Maṭabb. sū., 4036 ff.

That man no evil needs to fear
To whom all other men are dear.
Who ne'er abuse in kind requites,
Nor struck, again the smiter smites,
Who neither fears, nor fear inspires,
Who nurses no unblest desires,
Who can himself endure neglect,
But pays to others all respect,
Who, though himself by want oppressed,
Ne'er envies those by fortune blest,
Who even in straits, would scorn to lie,
And sooner, far, would dare to die,
And thus from every weakness freed,
Ne'er sins in thought, or word, or deed—
A model man, who nobly lives,
To all a bright example gives.

BOOK NOTICE.

Dr. RĀJENDRA PRASAD MITRA, *On the Epigraphy of Nāgārī Sanskrit*. By Rājendra-prasād Mitra, LL.D., C.I.E., &c., &c. *Publishers: under orders of the Government of Bengal.* Calcutta, 1878.

Second Notice.

We have in the previous notice dealt with the portions on mythology, and briefly with the architectural and artistic features of this book, and have found them far from satisfactory; we now proceed to the *inscriptions*. Dr. Rājendraprasād Mitra has a reputation for reading inscriptions, and it may seem a bold step to question his authority in such a field. His first inscription in this volume, however, must attract attention. It is in the Maurya character, and is found repeated on six different pillars of the old rail—four in the monastery, and two in the enclosure of the great temple, and is read by the author (p. 182)—

dyāyo Karuṅgiye dānam.

After a long analysis, the Calcutta savant renders this,—“gift to [the person named] Karuṅgi,” or “gift to the eater of boiled rice.”—A very odd inscription indeed! But let us examine it. In the sharpest example, the *ya* of the second word is expressed by a wavy line as at Girnar, and beside it is a distinct *maṇḍala*, whence we read—*dyāyo Karuṅgiye dānam.*

Now as *dyā* is the Prakrit for *dāya* (donation) and *dāya* is, in Sanskrit, the sixth case, *dāyaka*, while *Karuṅgi* is a feminine name meaning a Dace (Doros), the inscription can only be read as—“The gift of the noble (lady) Karuṅgi.”

If we may trust to the text given in General Cunningham's *Reports* (vol. III. pl. xxvi) the second inscription is surely of later date than the first, which ought to have been pointed out. The third is correctly read by General Cunningham, but not so by Dr. Rājendraprasād. It is in the Museum at Calcutta. The word *Tāṇḍapana* with which he has so much difficulty is no great variation from *Tāṇḍapana* (with the *an* inserted) = Sans. *Tāṇḍapana*—a native of Ceylon.

No. 4 (p. 191) is given by Cunningham (vol. III. pl. xxviii.) in letters of the fourth or fifth century A.D. at earliest—not of the second as the author would lead the reader to suppose.

Of his transcript of No. 5 (p. 192) we can make no sense: it is evidently misread or misprinted. The first line of the original reads,—*Kṛitā pāra mṛg-vāsanabhiḥ/hadgandhahatāstathā*,—"made (where) . . . in the Vajrasambhūti-hadgandhahatā temple," i.e. in the great temple; *gandhahatā* is a temple in which is

¹ With the view of gaining an entrance into their apartments.—Commentator.

² *Rājendraprasād, vikaṅkṣuṣe*.—Commentator.

³ The commentator explains this thus: *Kṛitūṃ vāṇīṣaṁ saka kriyāpālī-vāṇīṣaṁ kṛitūṃ sādṛṣṭvā baddhena paśyād āpṛeṇa vāṇīṣaṁ pāṇībhāṇī*, i.e. "They wish to engage in sport, hunting, &c., with the king. As with a

bird fastened by a string, with a hawk, controlling the king." I have taken the same to be, not that they accompany the king in his sports (if this is how the Commentator understands it), but that they make him the object of their sport, as if he were a bird held by the leg with a string. The words of the original are *Kṛitūṃ kṛitūṃ cheṣṭānti sādṛṣṭvā paśyād*.

THE SŪTRA CALLED NGAN-SHIH-NIU, i.e. "SILVER-WHITE WOMAN."¹

[Translated from the Chinese, the second part of the Volume indicated by 卷
(Buddhist Tripitaka), 1st Sutra.]

BY REV. S. REAL, B.A.

THUS have I heard. On a certain occasion Bhagara was residing in the country of She-wei (Śrāvastī) in the garden of Jeta, the friend of the orphan, with 1250 great Bhikshus.

At this time the world-honoured one addressed the Bhikshus in these words:—"Oh Bhikshus! if men only knew the merit (*religious merit*) of giving their goods or property in charity, and the reward (*phala*) of so doing as I know the matter—so that at the time of eating, whether it be the first or the last mouthful taken, this feeling of charity were always uppermost, and if not present so as to make men ready to give all away, then no food were to be taken at all, [*—then there would be great profit*]. At which time the world-honoured one uttered the following verses:—

"If only men of every kind
Acted in accord with Buddha's words,
And kept back somewhat from their food for
charity,

Then the result would be a great reward.

But whether at the first mouthful

Or at the last mouthful

If charity be not uppermost in the mind,

Then a man should not eat at all!"

At this time the world-honoured one having uttered these stanzas, addressed the Bhikshus, and said:—"Oh Bhikshus! at a certain time innumerable ages (*kālpas*) ago there was a certain Royal capital: the king of which was called Padma: there was a woman of that city called "Silver-colour," who having all she required at home, went forth to visit other houses to see how the occupants thereof were faring. Now this woman was exceedingly beautiful, with all the distinguishing marks of loveliness, and her body of a most dazzling whiteness [*and hence her name*]. At this time, approaching a certain residence, she entered it, and having done so, she found within it a woman just delivered of her first-born child; this child was very fair to look upon, and of a colour surpassingly beautiful. And now she saw this newly-delivered woman seize the child in her hand with a view to

devour it. At this time the woman called "Silver-colour" in haste addressed the mother, and said: "Sister! what are you going to do?" She replied "I am famished! I have no life left in me! I have not what to eat! I must devour my child!" Then Silver-colour asked her, saying, "Sister! stop a while, this thing is impossible! Sister! is there not in all the house a morsel of any food fit for you to eat?" She replied at once: "Sister! I had at one time stores of food which I kept hoarded up with niggard care! and therefore am I now left without a morsel to eat." Then Silver-colour said: "Sister! stop a while, I will run to my house and bring you some food." She replied: "Sister! my ribs are breaking, my back is bending in twain, my heart is palpitating without a moment's rest, the world seems all dark about me, before my sister reaches her house I shall be dead!" Then Silver-colour thought thus with herself: "If I take the child and go, then this poor woman will perish; if I do not take it when I leave, she will devour it—what expedient is there then by which I can save these two lives?" She asked therefore: "Sister! is there a knife in the house I can use?" She answered "There is," and taking a knife she gave it to Silver-colour: whilst she on her part, holding the knife with her own hand, cut off her two breasts for the woman to eat; then addressing her, she said: "Here—eat these two breasts of mine!" and when she had eaten them, Silver-colour again enquired—"Sister! are you now satisfied?" She replied "I am." Then Silver-colour continued: "Sister! now this child redeemed with my own flesh is mine! I will take it, and keep it as my own; and in my own house feed it and nourish it as it requires." Saying these words, the blood flowing down over her person, and leaving its traces along the ground, she departed and came to her house. Then her relations and friends beholding her thus, flocked around, and asked her saying, "Who has done this?" Silver-colour replied "I with my own hand have done it." Then they asked

¹ Silver-White, or Silver-colour, is probably a corruption or supposed derivation from *Siva*, and this Sūtra is therefore, the Northern form of the *Siva Jātaka*. The derivation

would be from the last root [√*śhine*, from which comes श्वेत "white."

again, "And why have you acted thus?" Then Silver-colour replied, and said: "I have resolved to cultivate a heart full of compassion, and never to give it up, for thus I seek to arrive at perfection (*asvittara samyakt sambodhi*).¹" Then all her relatives answered, and said: "Though you give your body thus in charity, and afterwards repent of what you have done, all this will not tend to the completion of the *Paramita* you desire to accomplish (*vis., of dāna*).²" And they asked her again: "When you thus mutilated yourself, had you inward satisfaction, or did you do it with regret?" Then Silver-colour said: "When I had resolved and vowed to cut off my breasts, there was no feeling of regret in my mind, my mind wavered not for a moment"—and thus in proof she said: "and now in virtue of my vow let my breasts be restored as they were at first." Having made this vow, let her breasts were restored again as at first.³ At this time all the Yakshas and so on, in the city of Padma raised a great cry, and said: "The lady Silver-colour has now with her own hands cut off her breasts!" Then the earth-Devas (*gods*) hearing this cry took it up, and repeated it in the air. The Devas hearing the cry repented it in the higher worlds, till the news spread even to the Brahma lokas. At this time the Divine Śakra rāja reflected thus: "This indeed is an unprecedented event, that this woman Silver-colour from her pity to all flesh should thus with her own hands cut off her breasts. I will go now, and enquire of herself respecting it." So he immediately changed himself into the form of a Brāhman, holding in his left hand a golden pitcher, and bearing a golden begging dish in his right hand, and provided with a golden staff, he went thus to the Royal City of Padma. Having arrived, he gradually approached the house in which Silver-colour dwelt, and taking his stand without the door he sang the wanted words of those who begged for food. Then Silver-colour having heard the chant of one who begged for food outside the gate, immediately took a dish, and filling it up with food she went forth. At this time the Brāhman addressed her, and said: "Sister (lady): stop a while, I need no food;" on which she replied—"Why not?" The Brāhman then said, "I am the Divine Śakra,

¹ Vide *Saccha Kariya, Eastern Monachism*, p. 273.

and I have some doubt in my mind about your conduct. I have come therefore to enquire further of you, answer me then, I pray you." Silver-colour replied in these words: "Great Brāhman! you need but ask as you think best, and I will answer you truly." Then the Brāhman asked her and said, "Lady! is it true that you cut off your breasts to give as an act of charity to another?" She replied—"It is true, great Brāhman!" The Brāhman then said: "And what led you to do it?" Silver-colour answered—"My great compassion, and my aim to accomplish the condition of perfect wisdom." The Brāhman replied, "This is a very difficult matter, this so-called perfection—for if there be the least vestige of regret mixed up with the deed, then it can never lead to the (completion of the) *Paramita* (of charity). Tell me, then, when you performed the act, did your heart feel happy or not, and when you felt the anguish consequent on the infliction of the wounds, had you no desire to change your purpose?" Silver-colour replied: "Kausika! I swear that I have never faltered a moment in my purpose to obtain the condition I have named, in order that I may save the world, nor did I falter either when I cut off my breasts, and in proof that I felt no particle of regret, let me now, if what I say be true, be changed from a woman to a man." Then Silver-colour having made this oath, was changed forthwith into a man, and her heart was filled with joy unutterable and delight without measure.⁴

And now as in this changed form he wandered forth from place to place—he came to a certain tree, and sitting under it he fell asleep. Now at this time the king of Padma died, and as he was childless, there was great distress in the country. Then the great ministers went from tree to tree, from village to village, from town to town, from capital to capital, everywhere seeking one possessed of royal marks whom they might choose as their king. And whilst thus in search they said: "How shall we ever obtain a proper king to reign over us?" At this time there was a certain powerful minister, who, being worn out with the excessive heat, entered a tank covered with flowers to bathe, and whilst thus occupied he saw there beneath a tree a man asleep of surpassing beauty, and distinguished by all the necessary signs of Royalty.

² Vide as before, an explanation of the *Saccha Kariya*, Hardy, *East. Mon.* p. 273.

and he observed that although the sun was declining fast, that the shadow of the tree still remained protecting him. Then the great minister in a moment caused him to wake, and when he woke he took him to the "Royal City" (Rājagṛīha, i.e. the capital), and performing the accustomed tonsure, he clothed him in the kingly vesture, and put on his head the jewelled crown, and accosted him thus:—"Now you are king, act and govern us accordingly!" To whom he answered:—"I am indeed unable to act as your king." The minister answered:—"But indeed you must," to which he replied:—"If indeed you take me to reign over you, then on your parts you must take on yourselves the ten religious (virtuous) vows (acts)—to which when they agreed, he undertook to govern them as a king in righteousness (religion), and he was called again "Silver-colour." Now at this time the age of the people reached to 70,000 *śakāvas* of years, so that the king having reigned thus for hundreds and countless thousands of years at length came to die—and when about to die he repeated these words:—

"All things that exist are transitory,
They must of necessity perish and disappear,
Though joined together, there must be separation,
Where there is life, there must be death,
All depends on conduct,
Whether good, or whether bad,
All things burn,
Are unstable and inconstant."

Now, after that king's death he returned again to be born in the same kingdom, the Royal capital of which was Padma. He was born as a nobleman's child, very beautiful and fair. At eight years of age with 500 other youths he entered school; whilst there he enquired of those elder ones who had already finished their school course, why they had gone to school, and on their replying they had gone to learn their letters, he said "What profit is there in learning letters, only one thing is necessary, and that is to aim at the unequalled and unsurpassed condition of heart known as *Avatara-samīkṣa-sambhāṣa*." And what is the meaning of that condition, they said. To which he replied, "you must above all things aim at the accomplishment of the six *Paramitas*." And what are the six:—"the *paramita* of charity (*dāna*), of moral conduct (*śīla*), of patience (*kṣanti*), of perse-

verance (*tīraṇa*), of contemplation (*jñāna*), and of wisdom (*prajñā*)." Then having heard this they said, we will aim at this. Thus that child having led his companions into this condition he reflected thus, "Now I desire to do some small act of charity, whether it be for man (*hipa*) or beast (*śvadeva*)." Having so thought he repaired to a public place of burial (*śītavana*), and forthwith taking a pocket knife (*śulka*, "a knife for use") he began to cut his body till the blood gushed out, and then smeared himself all over with the blood and dust, and lying down in the midst of the cemetery, he sang out the following words:—"Come now from far and near, ye two-footed and four-footed creatures all, come here and eat, all come and eat my flesh from my body." Now among the birds that frequented that place there was one whose name was *yasa-chen* ("having a hand"), this one coming to the hermit perched above his forehead and pecked at his right eye, and having pecked at it, he let it go again. Then the hermit said:—"Why do you peck at my right eye, and then let it go?" The bird replied "of all parts of a man's body I think the eye most beautiful (*to the taste*)." Then the hermit addressed the bird, and said:—"Though a thousand times over you pecked at my right eye and still let it go, yet should I feel no anger or resentment in my heart." Then that bird pecked out both his eyes, and the rest of the birds, all assembling in the cemetery, came and devoured bit by bit the hermit's flesh, till naught but the bleached bones were left.

Having quitted this body he immediately came back, and was reborn in that Royal city of Padma as the child of a Brāhman, very beautiful to behold, and incomparable for grace. Having completed 20 years of age, his parents addressed him, and said:—"My son (*Mānava*), you must now get a home of your own." Then the young man answered his father and mother, and said:—"What reason is there for me to have a house of my own, I have no desire for a family residence, my only wish is to be allowed to enter the deep mountains as a recluse." His parents having given their consent, he left his home, and found a home amidst the mountains and the forests; whilst wandering thus he saw amid the mountain woods two aged Brāhmanas, who were Rishis; coming to them, he asked what they did dwelling there; to which they

answered—"Mānava! we dwell here in order to benefit living creatures, practising all kinds of austerities." He then enquired further: "I also with the same desire to benefit all living creatures am come here to reside and to suffer all kinds of painful austerities." Then that youth passed on to different places amid the forest glades, making the earth his dwelling place (*dhīva la kuleś*) and whilst thus practising himself in religious austerities, he obtained, in virtue of his meritorious conduct, the eyes of a Deva (*divinely sight*). Then looking round about on the place and its neighbourhood, not far off he saw a tigress who dwelt there, and just about to bring forth her young. Then the youth having observed this, began to think thus with himself: "this tigress not long hence will bring forth her young, and having done so, then, perhaps she will die of hunger, or in her famished state desire to eat her young." Having thought thus he then returned and asked the two Brāhmanas, and said, "Which of you will divide his body, and give it in food to this tigress?" They answered him: "Neither of us is ready to divide his body for food to give the tigress." Having received this reply, after seven days the tigress was delivered, and having brought forth her young she carried them in her mouth to the den, and again came out. The youth having observed this proceeding forthwith went to the place where the two Rishis dwell, and addressed them thus: "Great Rishis, the tigress has brought forth her young; if now ye indeed seek to benefit all that lives, and for this purpose are suffering austerities—now is your opportunity—ye may now cut up your

body, and give your flesh to the tiger-mother to eat." On this those two Brāhman Rishis immediately went to the place where the tigress was, and having come they began to think thus—"who can patiently endure such pain as this in practising charity? Who can cut off the flesh from his body that he loves to give to a starving tiger?" Having reflected thus, that newly delivered tiger-mother began to follow them at a distance, seeing which they were filled with fear, and mounting into the air, flew away.

At this time the Mānava youth looking around him spoke to those Brāhmanas, and said: "Is this your vow and your oath?" Having said this he forthwith vowed, and said: "I now give my body to feed this tiger—oh would that in consequence of this sacrifice I may obtain the unsurpassed and perfect condition of being." Having made this vow, he took a knife, and himself cut flesh from his body, and gave it in charity to the tiger mother! "And now, Oh Bhikshus, entertain no doubt in your minds, it is from compassion to you that I declare this—look no further, but accept my words—it was I who was born in Padma as that silver-colour who cut off her breasts to nurse and save that child who was no other than Rahula. It was I who gave my body in that *Sāvana* to feed the birds. It was I who cut off my flesh to feed that hungry tiger, whilst you were the Brāhmanas, and because of my self-denying charity in bearing sorrow for others, I have now attained Perfection of Being."

The Bhikshus hearing these words were filled with great joy and exulted mightily.*

SUCCESSION OF BUDDHIST PATRIARCHS.

BY REV. S. DEAL, B.A.

It is well known that there is an assumed succession of Teachers who presided over the Buddhist Church from the death of the Founder, down to Bodhiśattharāma, the last and twenty-eighth in the succession, who flourished in South India about 525 A.D. The list of these Patriarchs is preserved with some degree of accuracy on Chinese and Tibetan works, and it is possible that a complete examination of the subject might result in establishing some useful

chronological data. The following account is compiled chiefly from Thānātha's *History of Buddha*, and some Chinese fragments scattered through various books:—

1. Sākya Buddha.
2. Kāśapa, presided over the Church for ten years, Wassilief, *Bouddhisme*, § 42.
3. Ananda, presided for sixty years.
4. Sāvakavasa, or Saravāsika; he lived at Srāvastī and at Varānasi; at this time the

* The *Śvet Jāmbaka* is pictured in Cave XVI. at Ajatāt, and perhaps another version also in Cave IX.; they are much injured in both cases, but appear to agree more

closely with the Sinhalese form of the *Jāmbaka*, than the Chinese. The latter however may throw light on those and perhaps other wall-paintings at Ajatāt.—Ed.

number of mendicants became so numerous that there was a dispersion of the community, and Madyantika, with 10,000 Rahats, proceeded to the north and finally settled in Kashmir. There was a great conversion of the followers of King Sudana, the grandson of Ajātasatru, under this patriarch.

5. Upagupta; contemporary with Kāśāoka, 100 A.D. Under him the first great division of the Church took place, and the second council was held.

6. Daitika, or Dhītika.

7. Kala; according to Tārānātha, this patriarch was principally concerned in the conversion of Ceylon and Orissa.

8. Sudarsana, engaged principally in the conversion of Sindh, and South India.

9. Kalyāṇa.

10. Mahāma.

11. Pārāvika, or Pārāva, principally instrumental in the conversion of Aśvagoṣa. (Tārānātha speaks of this patriarch under the name of Nandi.)

12. Mahatyaga (sometimes spoken of as Pannya-shi, *Wing Pub*, 107).

13. Aśvagoṣa, a very celebrated patriarch (*vide his Life*, translated by Waddell, *Jed. Inst.* vol. IV. p. 141).

14. Kāśimara (Kia-ss-mo-lo).

15. Nāgārjuna, supposed to have been contemporary with Vikramāditya.

16. Āryadeva, or sometimes simply Deva. He was a disciple of Nāgārjuna, and an interest-

ing anecdote of his zeal is recorded by *Wing Pōh*, § 188.

17. Ragurata.

18. Sanganandi.

19. Goyasheta (placed 74 A.D. by *Julien*, vol. II. p. 346).

20. Komarā.

21. Jayata.

22. Vasubandhu, generally placed as contemporary with Vikramāditya.

23. Manura.

24. Haklena.

25. Siāi, driven out of Kashmir and north India by the cruel persecution of Mahirakula. This king is the *Mahrial* of the *Agis Akbari*, vol. II. p. 145. He is placed by Cunningham about 500 A.D., and made contemporary with Balāditya (*Arch. Rep.* vol. I. p. 12). But Fergusson places him in the second century (*Tr. and Scip. War*, p. 105), which is more probable.

26. Hachinsita.

27. Putnamitta.

28. Bodhidharma, who arrived in China A.D. 526.

The succession in China was kept up until A.D. 713, when it was finally lost. The names of the Chinese Patriarchs were these—

1. Bodhidharma.

2. Hōi-kho-ta-szu ... died 592 A.D.

3. Seng-lin-ta-szu ... " 606 "

4. Tso-tin-ta-szu ... " 651 "

5. Hōung-jō-ta-szu ... " 675 "

6. Hōi-seng-ta-szu ... " 713 "

THE ŚAIVA PARIKRAMĀ.

BY BHAGVĀNLĀL INDRAJI PANDIT.

Round the old Śivālaya or great temples of Śiva we often find a number of smaller shrines. Thus round the Vimāna of the great temple of Kailāsa at Elurā, there are five such shrines on the same platform. They are now empty, and the visitor may be at a loss to know their designations. At the back of the great hall there is a door near each corner leading out upon the platform on which these temples stand, and which forms a *pradakṣhiṇā* or ambulatory passage round the great shrine of the *līṅga*. Passing out by the door at the right or south end of the back wall, the first shrine was dedicated to the Mātṛī, whose seven seats are arranged along

the back, with Kārtikawāmī or Śiva at the left side, and Gaṇapati with Bhṛīgi at the right. The next, on the south-east corner, was dedicated to Chanda, whose image is one of the most disgusting in the Hindu Pantheon; he is represented nude, in lustful excitement, either with two or four hands, holding the *trīṇḍa* and a jug or a damru, with Śiva's third eye in his forehead, and his hair in the *jōḍ* or Yogi's style. The refuse of the offerings in a Śaiva temple were thrown to him. Behind the great shrine, or on the east side, the small shrine is for Pārvatī, whose place is just behind her lord's. The fourth on the north-east is for Bhairava

¹ From *The Oriental*, Sept. 25, 1879.

or Rudra; and the fifth, on the north side, properly belongs to Gapeśa. Through the north wall of the great shrine comes the channel for the water which has been used in washing the great *liṅga*, and falls into a trough; this outlet is called the *Somasūtra*, which it is unlawful for the worshipper to pass in performing his ritual. For the *parikramā* or *pradakṣiṇā* of Śiva is not properly performed by going round and round the temple, as in the case of the other gods, but in accordance with the *śāstra* :—

*Yiśam Chandraṁ yīśam chaita
somasūtrāṁ pūjāyīśam
Chandraṁ cha Somasūtrāṁ cha
pūjāchandraṁ pūjāyīśam.*

That is—the worshipper must first go to the Nandi, which is always in front of the *liṅga* shrine, and standing behind it perform his

namaskāra to Śiva; thence he goes along the *pradakṣiṇā* passage to the right, to the shrine of Chanda, and pays his worship there; returns to Nandi and again worships the *liṅga*; then round as before, but past the shrine of Chanda to the *Somasūtra*, where he touches his eyes with the water used for washing the god, and worships. Next he returns to Nandi and a third time worships the *liṅga*; he returns a second time to Chanda, and having performed his *namaskāra* to him he advances as far as the *Somasūtra*, and looking up he worships the flag on the spire; then returning to Chanda he again does *pūjā* to him, and comes back to Nandi to make another *namaskāra* to Śiva.

This is the full *parikramā*; but the custom has almost fallen out of use all over the peninsula of India, and no figure of Chanda is to be found in any temple of modern times.¹

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALBOURN, LATE M.C.B.

(Continued from p. 75.)

No. XXV.—*Rag-bushes in the East.*

One of the most universal of asperititious customs is that of tying bits of rag to bushes or trees at spots held to be sacred or haunted by any supernatural presence. In vol. VIII. of the *Indian Antiquary*, at page 219, the wandering trader or pedlar caste, called Banjaris or Lambádies, in travelling from Bastar to the Godāvari Tālaṅka are said "to fasten small rags torn from some old garment to a bush in honour of Kampalamma, (*kaṣṭha* = a thicket,)" On three or four occasions, when going up from the Koimbatūr plain to the Malsar frontier by the Gazzalhatṭi or Kāvēripuram passes, once famous in the wars with Haider and Tipu, but now for three quarters of a century hardly traceable tracks through wild stony jungle, I have seen a thorn-bush rising out of a heap of stones piled round it, and bearing bits of rag tied to its branches; these deserted passes are frequented by Lambádies carrying salt-fish, grain, &c. by means of large drives of pack-bullocks and asses; whether of the same race as the Bastar people I do not know. I have more than once encountered their encampments in the Kāvēri jungle, and am now led to con-

sult the rag-bushes I saw there, and of which I could not at the time get any account or explanation, with them. In the southern districts of Madras there is also a prickly shrub, the botanical name of which I do not know, but the prickles have a stinging quality, which induces fever, and its branches are sometimes soon stuck all over with bits of rag by way of propitiation¹. In Wales the prickly furze is held to fence off evilly-disposed fairies, being there in such matters held protective rather than injurious. Once near Dindigul in the Madras district I saw a solitary mimosa tree by a pool in the middle of a wide barren *indiana* with a great many bits of rag and cloth tied to its branches, and was told that a traveller unknown had some years before been found dead by the pool, that his spirit had become a malignant demon, which haunted the spot, and that the rags were tied to the tree as offerings to prevent it injuring the herd-boys and cattle pasturing on the plain. Closely analogous must be the custom amongst the Gārs of the deep jungles on the Āsām border of raising a bamboo arch decorated with tufts of cotton over each path leading into a village to propitiate the deities;

¹ At the temple of Siva-Gangā Kundā, in Tinniveli, there is a small shrine of "Shenḍevārā," which is perhaps the same as Chanda. See p. 119.

² Sir Walter Elliot informs me he has repeatedly seen rags tied to bushes in the Dakhn, most frequently on the Bēr tree (*Zizyphus*).

all who enter or quit the village must pass under these arches; they are also placed over the doors of houses in cases of sickness.

All over India the tombs of Musalman Saints and holy men are surrounded with upright rods and canes to which are attached streamers of many-coloured rags. Mrs. R. Burton, in her entertaining book *Arabia, Egypt, India*, notices that near Bombay "the burial-grounds were full of little flags or pendants like those on a lance" (p. 128)*. Cosack graves around Moscow are distinguished in the same way, and so are the Turcoman tombs between the Caspian and Merv. In Persia the prevalence of the custom has long attracted the notice of travellers. Mr. James Morier, in his *Second Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor*, in 1810-20, writes (page 230):—"Close to the burial place of a Persian saint grew a small bush, upon the branches of which were tied a variety of rags and remnants of garments. The Persians conceive that those rags from their vicinity to the saint acquire popular preservative virtues against sickness, and substituting others, they take bits away, and, tying them about their persons, use them as talismans." This recalls the "handkerchiefs and aprons," brought from the body of St. Paul, which banished diseases and evil spirits (*Acts* xix. 12). Brand in his *Popular Antiquities* refers to a prayer of the Roman Church used for "the blessing of cloths in the way of curing diseases."

Is further illustration of Morier's account, Mr. Eugene Schuyler, in his recent work *Turkistan*, observes of the tomb of Zang-ata, the patron saint of Tashkend, that "it looks shabby from the ramshorns and long bits of dirty rags which every pilgrim has felt it necessary to tie there on some stick or tree. These are symbols of sacrifice" (vol. I. 138). Mr. J. Romilly Allen has also informed me that in 1874, he observed by the Khorasan Pass on the Elburz Mountains, at a height of 7000 feet, a great number of thorn-bushes covered with rags of every colour, which had been left by the muleteers. In Afghanistan our troops have noticed that it is the custom to tie rags to bushes by the graves of those who had died violent deaths

—no unfrequent objects there. The Missionaries Huc and Gabet describe the *Obolos*, or immense cairns, they encountered in Tartary and Tibet as surmounted with branches hung over with bits of cloth on which verses are inscribed; these are propitiatory offerings to the mountain-spirits. In China Governor Davis speaks of the whole population of towns trooping out to the cemeteries at periodical times of mourning, "leaving behind them long streamers of red and white paper to mark the fulfilment of the rites. Whole ranges of hills sprinkled with tombs may at that season be seen covered with these testimonials of attention to the departed fluttering in the wind and sunshine" (Davis's *China*, vol. I, chap. 8)†. The foregoing instances demonstrate the wide prevalence of the custom in Asia, alike amongst Muhammadan, Hindu, and Buddhist populations. Antiquaries know it was equally prevalent over Europe, where it is indeed now far from extinct. It is there chiefly associated with holy wells celebrated for healing qualities. Bushes by such wells are covered with bits of clothing tied there by persons who had derived benefit from bathing or drinking, just as in Persia devotees tie rags to bushes near holy tombs. The custom still exists in Wales and Ireland, and I have seen instances of it near Roslogne in France and in the Black Forest. Widely spread as are the rag-bushes, rag-beds and their variants are more universal still. Over both the Americas from the far north to the extreme south the custom may be traced. In the remote regions of British Columbia fragments of the blankets and clothing of departed Indians wave over their graves by the Fraser River. Sir John Franklin describes the sacred tree of the Cree Indians hung all over with strips of buffalo skin and pieces of cloth. Mr. Taylor gives an account of the great cypress tree in Mexico, its branches covered with hundreds of locks of coarse hair, bits of coloured cloth, rags, and morsels of ribbon, "probably so decorated long before the discovery of America," and Mr. Darwin notices the remarkable single-standing sacred tree in Patagonia, revered by all the Indians with numberless offerings "such as cigars, meat, pieces of cloth," &c. suspended

* "On the top of the Ghaz's Mountain near Constantinople is the tomb of a dervish called Joshua's Tomb. It is held very sacred, and the railings round it are covered with tiny bits of rag, hung there by the superstitious as a sure preventive against fever and ill of every kind."—See

Asia and Storm in the East, by Mrs. Brassey, p. 78.

† The Rev. A. Williams in his *Journey in Northern China*, describes near Taiyuan an *osacca*, dating from the Tang dynasty (7th to 10th century) covered with olive tablets.

to its branches. In Africa Mungo Park encountered a great tree called *Neema Taba*, "decorated with innumerable rags or scraps of cloth, which none presumed to pass without offering something," and the same custom has lately been reported from Madagascar*. Similar observances prevailed amongst the Ethonians in Livonia, and are reported by Sir John Lubbock to be not yet extinct. Confining ourselves, however, to Asia, perhaps the earliest notice of the sort is the story of Herodotus, that Xerxes, when marching on Greece, encountered in Lydia a plane tree so beautiful that he caused golden robes and ornaments to be hung over it, and placed a guard to watch it. The historian says this was "on account of its beauty," but it was probably also a sacred tree, such as was familiar to the Persians in their own land. Tabari, the Arabian annalist of the 9th century, relates that the people of Najran in Yemen every year, on a certain day, assembled round a large date tree outside the city, hung it with rich garments, and offered prayers. In our own times Captain Conder (*Tent Work in Palestine*, vol. II. p. 238) says of the sacred oaks and terebinths named after the Sheikhs their owners, that "they are covered all over with rags tied to the branches, which are considered acceptable offerings". Sir John Chardin, the traveller in Persia of the 17th century, often mentions the sacred trees met with everywhere in Persia, called *dirakht-fazel* = excellent trees,—stock all over with nails for fastening on bits of garments. One very ancient plane he saw in the king's garden at Shiraz, to which the people used to come to pray under its shade, and hang amulets and shreds of garments on its branches. Mr. Scheyler, at the passage above referred to, also observes:—"Old trees, especially old mulberry trees, seem greatly venerated throughout Central Asia, and the older and deader they are the more bits of rag they have stuck on them." In remoter northern Asia Strahlenberg describes the idols of the Ostiaks on the rivers Irtysh and Obi as "roughly hewn pieces of wood hung over with rags," and the Jakhti of Eastern Siberia as "hanging all manner of nick-

nacks on their sacred trees," and Zaleski, in his *Life on the Kirghiz Steppes*, gives an account of a tree that strikingly recalls the solitary Patagonian rag-tree. He says that on the steppes between the Sea of Aral and the confluence of the Tchoni and Yatch rivers, a distance of 310 miles, there is only one tree, a species of poplar, highly venerated by the Kirghizes, who go several miles out of their way to hang an article of their clothing on its branches, hence it is called *Sinderick-agatek*, i.e. rag-tree. In the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III. p. 35, I have mentioned what seems to me a variant of the custom where the Champaka and other trees round the ancient shrine of the Trimurti at the foot of the Anaimalai Mountains in Koinbatur, Madras Presidency, are thickly hung with sandals and shoes, many of huge size, evidently made for the purpose, suspended by pilgrims as thank-offerings, or in token of vows accomplished. Another more ghastly variant seems to be the practice of the Nāgās of Eastern India of hanging the skulls of enemies on the great trees in their villages. In China, pieces of gilt paper are hung upon trees in sacred places, and silken streamers are reported to be tied to trees in Lamaseries in Tibet.

This almost universal custom of tying rags to trees and bushes may be due to the desire of making some offering or recognition to an apprehended supernatural power or presence, and in its homeliest form is probably a survival of the gold robes and such costlier offerings as were made by Xerxes and the ancient Arabians. In many primitive nations it was customary to offer splendid gifts at funerals, and bury them with the dead, but such observances have always a tendency to change and lessen in value, and at last to be continued in imitations and temporary substitutes. Thus inferior pottery, evidently made for the purpose, is frequently found buried in barrows of a period when much better earthenware was made, and the Chinese, who once offered gold ornaments at ancestral tombs, are now content to make them in gilt paper. So rags and shreds may have taken the place of

* On the East Coast of Africa recent settlements have near them large ancient trees much venerated by the natives, who drive silver nails in them and suspend rags. European residents call them *devil-trees*. It is held highly dangerous to injure them. Capt. R. Barten tells a story of an English merchant who cut down one, and died soon after as well as four others of his family.

* I have not met with any form of the custom in Aus-

tralia or the South Sea Islands, unless there be something analogous in the consecration by *tāls*, "which is generally marked by small white flags stuck about taboos properly."

—*Jarvis's Sandwich Islands*, p. 58.
* "Abraham's Oak," which figures much in middle age romance, was similarly consecrated; it grew near Hebron, and was affirmed to be green since the days of Abraham.—*Vide Luce's Phœnixia*, vol. I. p. 156.

worthier gifts. Moreover, spots of reputed sanctity or haunted by supernatural beings, whether wells, tombs, shrines, or trees, often occur in waste and deserted places, and travellers or pilgrims passing by, or journeying from long distances to the spot, might have little that could easily be spared to offer, and yet be unwilling to pass without some recognition, however trifling, and a shred torn from a garment would afford the readiest means of satisfying the impulse. Supernatural beings and ghosts, especially of persons who have died by violence, are amongst many peoples believed to expect food and clothing, and to be malignant if neglected, so once a year the Chinese observe a ceremony called "appeasing the burning mouth," and lay out stale cakes and worn-out clothes with invitations on placards above to the "Honourable Homeless Ghosts," that is, those who have left no relatives, or whose kindred are too poor to provide the usual offerings, but who are apt to cause epidemics and work mischief if quite passed over. So in many instances it is conceivable that the rags tied to a bush may be survivals and substitutes for the garments once left for the shivering angry spirit. On this point the chapter headed 'Presents,' in Herbert Spencer's recent work *Ceremonial Institutions*, may be referred to.

The traces of a form of this custom may perhaps be discovered even in prehistoric times, and still existing. Explorers have often been surprised at the immense amount of broken pottery found mixed with the mould in caves and barrows. Canon Greenwell, in his exhaustive work *British Barrows*, often refers to this, remarking on the very large quantities of potsherds met with, which certainly could not have found their way into the barrows accidentally, but seem as if they had been scattered about when the mound was being built. Such pottery is always broken, apparently made for the purpose, and, he thinks, must have symbolised some

religious ideas. Perhaps some light may be thrown on this by a passage in Mr. Stanley's march *Across the Dark Continent*, where when nearing the western coast, at a spot never before visited by Europeans, he writes (vol. II. p. 453): "Close to our camp was a cemetery of a village of Mbinda. The grave mounds were neat, and by their appearance I should judge them to be not only the repositories of the dead, but the depositories of all the articles that had belonged to the dead. Each grave was dressed out with the various mugs, pitchers, wash-basins, tea-pots, glasses, spirit and beer-bottles. The various articles thus exhibited, especially the useful articles, had all been rendered useless,"—like the broken pottery of the barrows and the shreds of the rag-bushes; some analogy between the customs does not seem too far-fetched. Curiously, too, this possible European and modern African variant of the custom exists in Central and Northern Asia. Mr. Suetschou, speaking of the remote regions of Central Siberia, says that there, after a funeral feast, the drinking vessels are broken and thrown upon the grave; and the correspondent of the *Daily News*, describing the customs of the Turcoman population on the Caspian borders, says that in the cemetery at Hassan Kouli and Tchikislar the graves are marked by poles to which linen bands and morsels of cloth are attached, and water-jars and earthen incense, tributes to the departed, are accumulated at the head of the grave. He does not remark whether they too were always broken, but adds that whilst a man who dies in battle is buried in his clothes, say one who dies of old age or sickness has his clothes hung on the pole surmounting the grave, and his friends or relations come occasionally to brush and clean the garments, and sometimes replace them with new. This institution is named *Laytanvashlar*. These grave-poles may also be regarded as variants of the rag-bushes.

ACCOUNT OF EXCAVATIONS MADE NEAR MANIKYALA, IN THE PANJAB.

BY W. SANDFORD, SECUNDERABAD.

The excavations, of which a description follows, were made in the vicinity of Manikyala, a spot well known from the published accounts of the explorations of Generals Court and Ventura of the Sikh service, and those of General Cunningham, R.E., Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India.

The work was done under the personal

direction and at the expense of Mr. Alexander Grant, M.I.C.E., Director of State Railways, Western System, and by the consent of the head of the Archaeological Survey.

A general description and map of the vicinity will be found in the second volume of the *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*.

The village of Mamkyala stands about a

mile north of the Trunk Road, near a point, on that road, fifteen miles south-east of Rawalpindi. The village is therefore about midway between the rivers Jhilam and Sohan (the latter an affluent of the Indus). The entire neighbourhood is studded for miles with tope and mounds, several of which have, as is well known, been explored. The only structure, however, which has survived in its original appearance is the huge masonry tope known as Vostara's tope, which General Cunningham considers was originally built during the reign of Havishka (one of the Scythian princes whose sovereignty succeeded that of the Bactrian Greeks), about the commencement of the Christian era, but to have been repaired, and made as it now stands, about A.D. 720, by a king of Kanauj (*Arch. Reports*, Vol. V, page 78). Not far off are the remains of another large tope, known as Court's, which was built by Kanishka of Kashmir in A.D. 18. Another tope, which was opened by General Cunningham, (that at Sonala Pind), he dates *circa* 70 A.D. (*Arch. Reports*, Vol. II, p. 168).

The remains generally about Masikyala are therefore of considerable antiquity, ranging, at least, from the first to the eighth centuries, and prove that the neighbourhood was the seat of a large and important religious community of Buddhists.

The Khangah Mound.

The first excavation undertaken by Mr. Grant was at the site known as the Khangah Mound. This mound is General Cunningham's Np. 19 (*vide* map in the *Arch. Reports*, Vol. II, p. 153), and is described by that officer as "a large, low, mound, 1,500 feet N.N.E. of the village of Sâgari, and just half a mile to the south-east of General Court's tope." Its present name is derived from the grave of a Muhammadan Pir, named Jasmi, who is stated, by the fakir in charge of the place, to have met a violent death, by means not explained, during the reign of Sikandar Lodi of Delhi (A.D. 1488—1517).

A plan of the mound is given in the accompanying plate. It is roughly square, with sides of 120 feet; it does not rise much above the prevailing level, and is nearly covered with trees and shrubs. There is an artificial pond of water, measuring 43 feet by 38 feet, forty-eight feet south of the mound, and another pond,

about the same size, (not shown in the plan,) stands about 150 yards to the north-east of the fakir's hut. A rough track, leading from the village of Sâgari to the katcha road running from Rawat Sarai to Kalar, runs along the south and west sides of the mound.

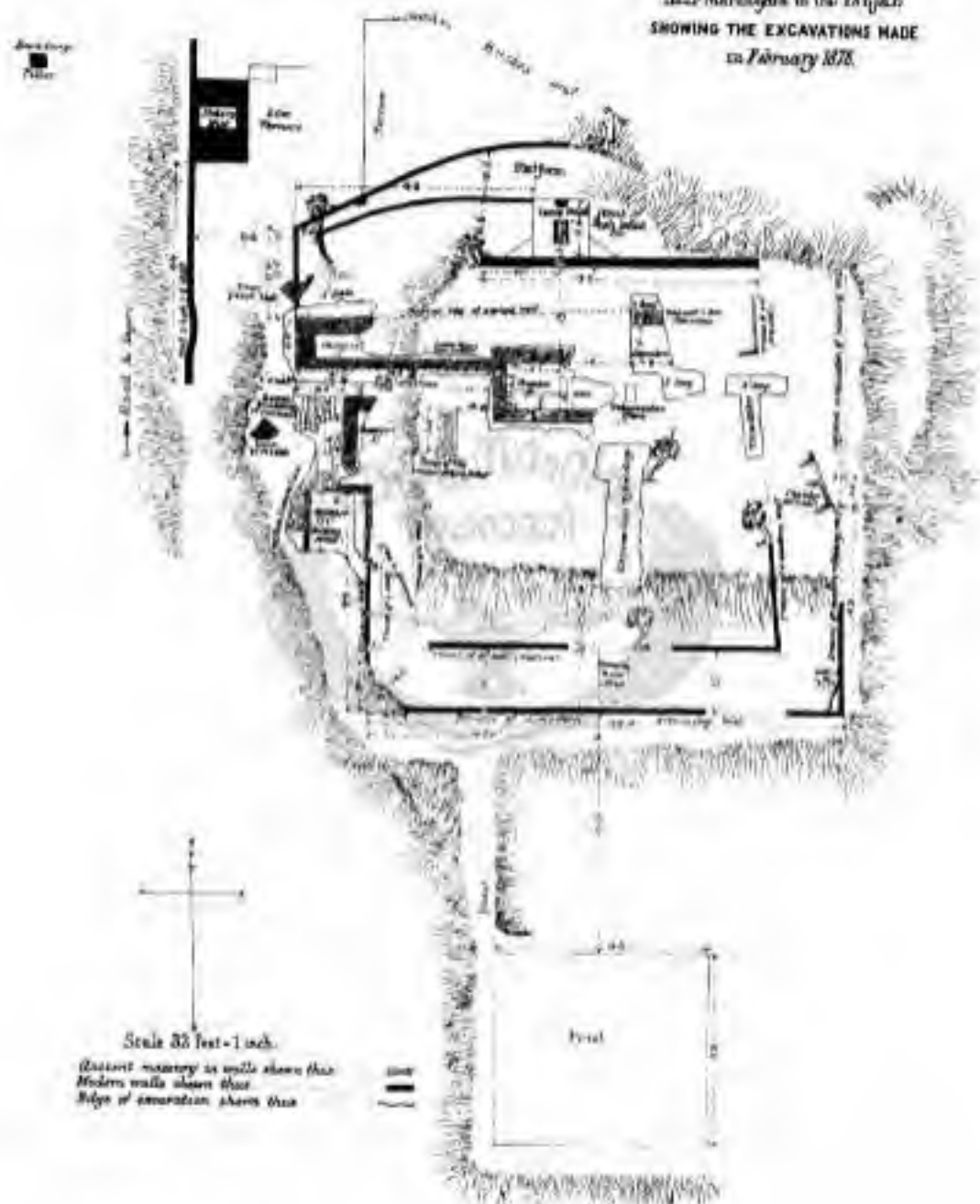
The plan renders unnecessary any very detailed description of the mound, but as an elevation drawing of it, and sections, cannot be given for want of space, it may be mentioned that the steepest side of it is the north, where the ground rises, by two platforms, from the fakir's hut to the pir's tomb. This tomb stands on a small square platform of its own, resting against a low stone wall. On the east and west sides the ground falls, with varying graduation, to the prevailing level of the fields; on the south side the descent is stepped (as will be seen from the remains of retaining walls shown on the plan), as is also the case at the south-east and south-west corners.

The surface of the mound is covered with the remains and traces of walls, and with blocks and fragments of stone. There are two Muhammadan graves, besides that of the pir. The highest part of the mound lies east of, and close to, the pir's tomb, and is about 12 feet above the level of the pond to the south, but the whole of the mound south of the wall against which that tomb rests, being an area of about 80 feet from north to south and 90 feet from east to west, is not much lower.

The excavations did not disclose anything of interest, but they confirmed General Cunningham's previous supposition that the site is the ruins of a Buddhist monastery. The walls disclosed are not arranged, so far as can be seen, as those of monasteries frequently are, that is, a series of cells around a rectangular open court (*vide* those of Takht-i-Bahi, Sarnath near Banaras, and the rock-cut examples at Ajatâ and elsewhere), and therefore do not serve to explain the squareness of the mound. As the pir's grave is on one side, the mound cannot have been raised, dressed, and provided with retaining walls for it, nor are there walls everywhere below which could, in the course of ages, have assisted to raise a mound of such regular form. It is only evident that the mound is of much later date than the walls disclosed by the excavations.

There is no direct evidence of the age of the

PLAN OF THE
KHANGAH MOUND
near Mirdasib in the Diyala
 SHOWING THE EXCAVATIONS MADE
 in February 1878.



MANIKYALA EXCAVATIONS.

Ind. Antiquary



5



Sketch Plan
of the
Chamber House
at Manikyala
Scale about 1/2 inch to foot



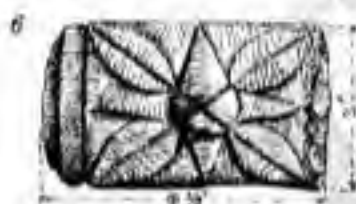
Plan - 6 3/4 in

Section

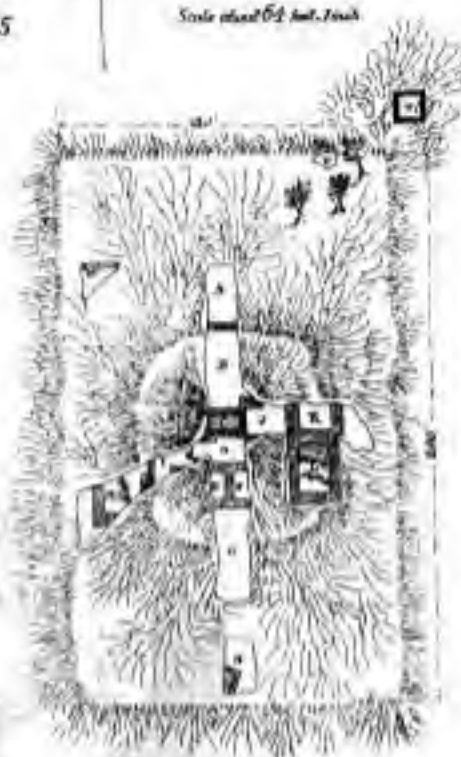


Plan - 6 3/4 in

10



Section walls shown this way
Ground floor shown this way
Edges of Excavations
Walls and floors shown this way
Masonry walls shown this way



W. Jarred Jar



11



Plan of the Jar



Section

12



deep masonry remains opened out. There is an entire absence of ornament, even of the simplest kind. Two of the three copper coins found were partly legible, and are described further on, but they do not show that the masonry was of that age, though of course it may be so without any stretch of probability.

The excavations consisted of five cuts. One of them is a large and a regular one, commencing in the west side of the mound and running completely into the centre of it. Of the other four, two were merely pits in the body of the north-east quarter of the mound; the remaining two being cuts, in continuation of each other, from the south side of the mound towards the centre.

The first mentioned of these cuts was the only one which repaid the trouble and expense, as it will be seen, from the plan, that it everywhere opened out walls and floors, and disclosed, more or less completely, four chambers (which are marked A, B, C and D on the plan). This cut was commenced 9 or 10 yards from the fakir's hut, and over the four-inch drain near the south corner of chamber A, and was suggested by an older excavation (made by the present fakir in search for stones), which had discovered several large blocks of stone (among them being one of two supposed door-pivot alais shown in the plan). Carrying the excavation along the long south wall of chamber (A), another rectangular chamber (B), $10' 5'' \times 9' 3''$, was found in the centre of the mound, with steps leading out of it, on one side, eastward.

The following are the details of each of these chambers, and the pavements near them—premisses that the sandstone masonry is mostly a coarsed rubble, which in solidity and regularity is almost like block-in-course, and is laid dry, without mortar.

Chamber A.—The west, or outside end of this chamber, was about four feet below the surface of the mound; the rest about three feet. It is 5 feet wide and (possibly) 35 feet long. [This qualification as to its length is given, because only one end of the interior was cleared out, though the exterior of the southern side wall was disclosed for a length of 40 feet.] The north and west walls are $3' 10''$ thick; the south $2' 6''$ thick. All are stopped at one level, about 2 feet above the base. Outside the north wall,

and close to it, is a drain 4 inches deep. This drain was lined with large blocks of stone, and was more than 18 inches deep; (it was not cleared to its full depth). Beyond (north of) this drain a rough stone floor was partly exposed.

On the south side of chamber A another 4 inch drain was found, but this, instead of being close under the wall (as in the foregoing case), runs diagonally up the middle of a paved passage (5 feet wide) leading to chamber B (though chamber B has no door where that passage meets it). This drain was also more than 18 inches deep.

It is impossible to say what chamber A was, but it resembles that opened up by General Cunningham at Sarnath, near Banaras, in 1835 (*Arch. Reports*, Vol. I, p. 129), being similarly without doors. It also resembles the long chamber in the Ionic monastery at Shah-kidheri figured by Fergusson (*Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 176), though the latter is too large to afford so good a parallel as the Sarnath example.

The absence of doors to chamber A points to the remains found being merely the foundation of a superstructure of wood. The walls are cut off, quite smoothly, at an uniform level, and are not of an irregular height and rough top surface, as they would have been had a masonry superstructure been rudely thrown down.

Chamber B.—This is in the centre of the mound, 40 feet from the west outside edge of chamber A, its centre being 64 feet from the southern edge of the mound. It has a door on one side, with two steps leading eastward, and its dimensions are $10' 5'' \times 9' 3''$. The walls are of an uniform thickness of $2' 6''$, cut off level $2' 6''$ from the floor. The second of the two 4 inch drains runs diagonally through it.

Chamber C.—This was probably $12' \times 11'$ and is roughly paved inside and outside.

Chamber D.—The walls of this chamber ($2' 6''$ thick) are much ruined and are 3 feet high on the north side and 8 inches on the west side. One of the stones in its west wall is 8' long by $2' 6''$ broad. Outside the chamber is a flagged floor (of which one of the stones is $4' 3'' \times 3' 4''$) which was cleared out for 40 feet westwards.

The floors of all the chambers are nearly at one level, which may be, say, 4 or 5 feet above

the level of the water of the pond on the south side of the mound.

With the exception of the wall (3 feet thick) found in the pit nearest the pit's grave, the above were all the remains of ancient masonry found. In the other excavations there were merely loose rough stones.

The articles found in the mound were as follows:—

Three copper coins.

A small earthen pot (plate, fig. 2).

Some fragments of earthen saucers (fig. 3).

A fragment of pottery ware (fig. 4).

The coins are $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and all much oxidized. One resembles figures 19 and 20 Plate xi. of Wilson's *Arrian Antiqua*, and possesses on the obverse an indistinct seated figure facing to the left, with two illegible characters, and on the reverse a mutilated erect figure with the monogram Ψ . It may therefore possibly be of the Indo-Scythian Prince Kanerki of Kabul, of whom other coins have been found at Manikyala. The second coin has on the obverse a seated figure, and on the reverse Siva and the bull Nandi, but both sides are very indistinct, and it would be rash to attempt to identify it. The third coin is indistinguishable.

These articles were found from four to five feet below the surface. The saucers (fig. 3) and fragment of pottery (fig. 4) were found in chamber A. The former resemble the saucers found in the Sarnath tope near Banāras, many of which were still lying about there in December 1877.

The Chaundra Mound.

This is 1500 feet north of the Khangah mound, and about the same distance from the important stupas known as Court's tope. It has been briefly described by General Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, Vol. II. pp. 169–70), being figured in the map (p. 153 *ibid.*) as mound No. 20.

The mound is quite bare except for three small trees, and a number of Muhammadan graves. Gold coins are said to have been found in it. A plan of the mound is given in fig. 5.

The mound, which is roughly rectangular, measures 200 feet from north to south, and 120 east to west, while it rises from 12 to 14 feet, if not more, above the prevailing level of the surrounding fields.² At first it falls rather

suddenly from this height, but towards the edges the descent is gradual.

The more important excavations made were in the form of a St. Andrew's cross, or two lines intersecting each other diagonally in the highest part of the mound. Walls were opened out everywhere, two cells or chambers being excavated completely.

The masonry was much of the same kind as that in the Khangah mound, that is, of kalkar and sandstone, in courses, often of square blocks, and laid dry. There was not a fragment of ornament of any kind on the walls, and the work altogether was disappointingly uninteresting in its results.

If the walls discovered are of the same age as the neighbouring tope, General Cunningham's inference (before the excavations were made) that they are the remains of a Buddhist monastery is almost inevitable, as their arrangement is not roomy enough for any known lay purpose, and it is difficult otherwise to explain the existence of these massive isolated groups of cells over so many square miles of country, near well known tope. General Cunningham has shown that there was no lake in this neighbourhood (Manikyala itself, two miles off, having apparently never been much more than a large village affording accommodation to devotees); of which this and other isolated ruins might have formed part.

The various chambers and other parts of the excavations are lettered on the sketch-plan fig. 5, A to P, and the following notes follow the order of these letters:—

(A)—A shallow excavation from one to three feet deep, with a wall at one end.

(B)—This excavation averaged 7 feet deep. It was full of small rough stones and human bones (probably Muhammadan) down to the bottom; some of the skeletons were complete, being protected at the sides and top by slabs of stone. Some fragments of a metal vessel (like a lota); a corroded piece of bar iron; an ornamental brick (shown in fig. 6); and several shallow saucers (like those found in the Khangah mound), were found.

(C)—This was a brick-paved cell, without door, the floor of which was 7 feet from the original surface of the mound, and, being high above all the other masonry work, may have been

² These dimensions differ from General Cunningham's.

much more recent in date. The style of work was however identical with that deeper down. The sketch section given as fig. 7, shows the position of this cell. The dimensions of the cell were $10' 8" \times 11' 6"$, the floor being of red bricks, each $9" \times 9" \times 2\frac{1}{2}"$. The floor was opened, but nothing was found below it to a depth of two feet. About the floor were found several pieces of corroded rod iron, some fragments of red and black pottery (none sufficiently perfect to enable a sketch to be made), and many human bones (certainly Muhammadan, the centre of the mound being thickly occupied by graves). The floor of the chamber is six feet above the bottom of the excavation J and chamber L.

(D)—This cut was carried down 5 feet through stiff clay, stones, (some large ones,) and human bones (probably Muhammadan).

(E and F)—These are the ends of two chambers, abutting on each other, 9 feet wide from north to south; the base of the massive walls was not reached at 9 feet from the surface; excavated mostly in stiff clay.

(G)—An excavation from 3 to 9 feet deep. Very few stones, and those rough and small.

(H)—This excavation, a shallow one, from 1 to 2 feet deep, disclosed the corner of a chamber. In it were found the articles figured in plate as Nos. 8 and 9. No. 8 is like a potter's moulding tool, and is solid, of red brick. No. 9 is a small earthenware vessel. The wall bounding this chamber on the east side was at a level 2 feet higher than that at the south west corner, the ground rising suddenly from H to D.

(I)—This cut was carried from 7 to 10 feet from the surface, through stiff clay mixed with human bones and large stones. It was a continuation, at a lower level, of excavation D, and with D seems to have been a passage between chambers F, E, and H.

(J)—This excavation, 8 $3\frac{1}{2}'$ wide between the walls east and west, was carried down 9 feet, nearly to the foot of the west wall of chamber K. A copper coin (figured in the plate as No. 10) was found at a depth of 7 or 8 feet. It resembles some of the coins of the Scythian princes of the Panjâb, circa A.D. 400.

(K)—At this spot a shallow excavation disclosed a chamber, in which the human bones, found elsewhere, were deposited, and then covered over.

(L)—This chamber, excepting part of the floor, was completely opened out, and was $9' 6" \times 18' 4"$. The walls were 2 feet thick and 5 feet high, with a projecting plinth 2 feet high above the floor. The walls were stepped off at an uniform level. The floor, where got at, was 8' 6" from the surface, and was hidden beneath two or three feet of hard clay, mixed with human bones. These bones, from their position, can scarcely have been Muhammadan. An illegible copper coin was found at a depth of 7 feet.

(M)—A shallow excavation, which disclosed part of a wall.

(N)—Another shallow excavation, which turned up a rude stone platform with a raised edge.

(O and P)—Shallow excavations not carried on. The gold coins are said to have been found in O.

In this mound were also found two copper coins and the circular stone shown as fig. 11. The coins were apparently Hindu, but have not been identified. They have a lion on one side, and an elephant on the other. The coins are probably Rajput, similar to those figured in plate xi, figs. 11 and 12, of Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*. The circular stone was 16 inches in diameter, and looked like the lid of a box. A square stone box, in which General Court found a galle-rasket, is still lying in the village of Gera not far off. The writer was not present when these coins and the circular stone were found, and was unable to discover where they were met with.

Part-Maharajwara mounds.

These two mounds have been fully described by General Cunningham (*Arch. Rep.* Vol. II, pp. 168-9), and are marked No. 18 on that officer's map. The mound on which the fakir's tomb stands was only partly uncovered. The other, close at hand, said to be a monastery, was completely opened out, but the writer was not present and cannot furnish details. The only article found was a small copper coin, which turned up at a depth of 4 feet. On one side can be traced a long equestrian figure, in boots, like those on the Indo-Scythian coins so numerous found in the Panjâb, but the other side is illegible, and the coin cannot be identified.

These were all the excavations undertaken.

The following notes are added regarding two

localities which are known, but have not, apparently, been described.

The first of these is *Kotera-ki-dheri*, about a quarter of a mile south-east of mound No. 3, and about a mile from the village of Sydon-ka-mora, the intervening space being a series of rugged basins and denuded ridges of sandstone. The spot is General Cunningham's No. 11, and was examined by General Court, who found some coins in it. The remains consist of a tope and monastery, the latter being a large rectangular walled enclosure, in good preservation, which the people about call a fort. A plan appears in the plate, fig. 12.

The tope is now roughly conical, not allowing for the partial removal of the upper core by General Court, but apparently had a square basement. The mound of the tope rises 15 to 20 feet above the level of the pathway, which runs between the tope and monastery.

The facing of part of the tope still remains, and looks, at a distance, nearly perfect.

The walls of the monastery are nearly perfect except at one corner, and they are about 100 feet above the ravine on the north. The work is constructed of large blocks of sandstone, without mortar and, so far as it goes, is more perfect than anything about Maunikyāla,

Ventura's tope only excepted. The masonry is in courses, with the interstices filled in regularly with smaller stones. Some of the blocks of stone are rather large—some being 4' 10" long × 1' 7" high.

Khanda-ka-dheri, the other place, is about a mile in a south-eastern direction from Kotera-ki-dheri, a mile being crossed between them. It is a plateau 200 feet long by 80 or 90 feet broad, and is the highest point in the entire neighbourhood, being conspicuous, with its survey cairn, from the village of Sydon-ka-mora. It is surrounded, from 150 to 200 feet below, by harsh ridges and ravines, and is covered with fragments of pottery more thickly than the vicinity of Ventura's tope. Numbers of coins are said to have been found without excavation. In a few minutes the writer found a small illegible copper coin, a fragment of another, some beads of coral and lapis lazuli, and several pieces of black and red pottery. The only remains of masonry are those of two rude but towers. The site is apparently however not ancient, as General Cunningham, who afterwards examined it, considered there had been a modern habitation there; it is therefore probably not worth examination. There is a fine view of the Panch hills from the plateau.

ON MAHĀVĪRA AND HIS PREDECESSORS.

BY PROF. HERMANN JACOBI, Ph. D., MÜNSTER.

In the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VIII, p. 311, a paper on the *Śākyas* by James d'Alwis was reproduced with notes by the editor. One of those heretical teachers, Nigāṇṭha Nātaputta, has lately become of great interest, as he has been identified with Mahāvīra, the supposed founder of the Jaina sect. The proof of this identity is conclusive. For the Buddhists and Jains agree not only in the name of the sect, viz., Pāli.—Nigāṇṭha, Nigāṇṭha, Nigāṇṭha; Sanskrit.—Nīgrantha, and Prākṛit.—Niyāṇṭha, Nigāṇṭha; Sanskrit.—Nīgrantha, respectively; and in the name of the founder Pāli.—Nātaputta, Nātaputta, Sanskrit.—Jñātaputra, and Prākṛit.—Nātaputta, Nāyaputta; Sanskrit.—Jñātaputra, Jñātiputra respectively; but also on the place of Jñātaputra's death, the town Pāvā; see my edition of the *Kaṭhaśāstra*, pp. 4 sqq. Yet there remain some anomalies in the forms of these names and some obscure points in the

doctrines of the Nigāṇṭhas as defined by the Buddhists. To account for, and clear up, these is my purpose in the first part of this paper.

The word Nigāṇṭha in Pāli books, and Niyāṇṭha in Jaina *Sūtras* (e.g. the *Sūtra-lalitāgga* and *Bhagavat*) are neither Pāli nor Jaina Prākṛit. For its Sanskrit prototype, Nīgrantha, current with the Jains and Northern Buddhists, would in both dialects have regularly become Nigāṇṭha, which form, indeed, is the common one in Jaina Prākṛit, but not so in Pāli. The form Nigāṇṭha was almost certainly adapted by both sects from the Māgadhī dialect; for it occurs in the Aśoka inscription at Delhi, separate edict I. 5 (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 150 note). This hypothesis becomes a certainty for the word Nātaputta. As translated in Sanskrit it is Jñāta or Jñātiputra, the regular Pāli derivative would be Nātaputta with a palatal ṣ. The dental in its stead is a Māga-

dhism. For, in the Māgadhi inscriptions of Aśoka, we read *āḍṭi*, *āṇṇa*, etc. = Sanskrit *jāḍī*, *ṇya*, etc., which words become *āḍṭi*, *āṇṇa*, etc. in Pāli and in the dialects of the Aśoka inscriptions at Gīrīnār and Kapurāḍigiri. The palatal *ḍ* appears in Pāli in the first part of the name when used as the name of the Kshatriya clan to which Mahāvīra belonged. For I identify the *ḍāṭika* living near Koṭṭigāma mentioned in the *Mahāvagga Sutta* (Oldenberg's edition p. 232), with the Jñātaka Kshatriyas in Kuṇḍagrāma of the Jaina books. As regards the vowel of the second syllable, the different sources are at variance with each other. The Northern Buddhists spell the word with an *i*,—Jñātīputra in Sanskrit, and *Jo-thi-tesa* in Chinese (*tsen-moan* 'son'), the Southern ones with an *a*,—Nāṭaputa in, as do the Jains, though Jñātīputra is not unfrequent in MSS. The form Nāṭaputta proves nothing, for the syllables *ṭ* and *ṇ* are interchangeable in Jaina Prakṛit. M. Eug. Burnouf, commenting on the name in question, says: "J'ignore pourquoi le Pāli supprime l'*i* de *Jñāḍṭi*,¹ serait ce que le primitif véritable serait *Jñāḍṭi* et que le *Jñāḍṭi* en serait un prakṛitien correspondant à celui du *Sud. āḍṭa*, comme *ḍṭi* correspond à *ḍṭri*?" That M. Burnouf was perfectly right in his conjecture, can now be proved beyond a doubt. For the occasional spelling of the word with a lingual *ṭ* Nāṭaputta shows an unmistakable trace of the original *ṭ*. The Sanskrit for Nigāṭha Nāṭaputta was therefore in all probability Nigraṇtha Jñātīputra, that of the Kshatriya clan Jñātīka (Pāli—*Nāṭika*, Prakṛit—*Nāyaga*). It is perhaps not unworthy of remark that Nigāṭha Nāṭaputta must have made part of the most ancient tradition of the Buddhists, and cannot have been added to it in later times as both words conform, not to the phonetic laws of the Pāli language, but to those of the early Māgadhi.

We shall now treat of the opinions which the Buddhists ascribe to Nāṭaputta and to the Nigāṭhas in general, in order to show that they are in accordance with Jainism. One of its most characteristic features is the unduly extended idea of the animate world; not only are plants and trees endowed with life, and accordingly are not to be wantonly destroyed, but also particles of earth, water, fire and wind. The same doctrine was,

according to James d'Alwis, held by Nigāṭha Nāṭaputta: "He held that it was sinful to drink cold water: 'cold water,' he said, was imbued with a soul. Little drops of water were small souls, and large drops were large souls." In Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Dhammapadam* (Pausböll's edition p. 398), the 'better Nigāṭhas' who go about naked, say that they cover their almsbowls lest particles of dust or spray, imbued with life, should fall into them. Compare *Kalpanitra*, Sāmāchāri § 29, where a similar rule is given. These naked Nigāṭhas need not have been of the Digambara sect, for according to the *Aśārādharma Sūtra* it was considered a meritorious, not a necessary, penance for an ascetic to wear no clothes.

In the *Mahāvagga Sutta*, vi. 31, 1, Nigāṭha Nāṭaputta is said to hold the *keṇidāḍḍa* opposed to the *akkeṇidāḍḍa* of Gotama Buddha. The *keṇidāḍḍa*, or the belief in the activity of the soul, is one of the cardinal dogmas of the Jains, and is found in their creed in the first chapter of the *Aśārādharma*.

James d'Alwis proceeds after the above quoted passage: "He [Nāṭaputta] also declared that there were three *daṇḍas* or agents for the commission of sin, and that the acts of the body (*dāya*), of the speech (*vācā*), and of the mind (*manas*) were three separate causes, each acting independently of the other." Compare the subjoined passage from the third *vibhāṅga* of the *Sthānāṅga*, in which the term *daṇḍa* in its relation to mind, speech and body occurs: *tesaṃ daṇḍaṃ pūnatta, taṃ jāhā: manas-daṇḍo, vācā-daṇḍo kāya-daṇḍo*. "There are declared three *daṇḍas*, namely, the *daṇḍa* of the mind, the *daṇḍa* of the speech, the *daṇḍa* of the body." Thus far all agrees with Jainism. James d'Alwis's account of Nāṭaputta's doctrine concludes: "This heretic asserted that crimes and virtues, happiness and misery, were fixed by fate, that as subject to these we cannot avoid them, and that the practice of the doctrine can in no wise assist us. In this notion his heresy consisted." As the Jaina opinions on these points do not materially differ from those of the Hindus in general, and as the doctrines defined above are inconsistent with the *keṇidāḍḍa* and with ascetic practices I do not doubt that the Buddhists committed an error, perhaps in order to

¹ Preserved, however, in *Sūtra*, is my conjecture about the identity of that word with the first part of Nāṭaputta be right.

stigmatise the Niganthas as heretics, who in their turn have misstated the Buddha doctrine of the *nirvāṇa*, saying that according to the Saugata's opinion the liberated souls return to the *Samsāra* (*pranahāra'vahanā'*). This misstatement occurs in Śālikā's commentary on the *Āchārāṅga Sūtra* (867 A.D.), and can have no reference therefore to the Jains and Chintakos of the Northern Buddhist church, as I formerly opined, for they were not yet in existence in Śālikā's time.

We pass now to the outline of Nātaputta's system in the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*, (Grimblot *Sept Suttas Palis*, p. 129). It may be remarked that, according to Mr. Rhys Davids (*Academy*, September 13th, 1879, p. 197) the passage in question is not commented upon in the Commentary *Samaññaga Vāṇasa*. Mr. Gogerly translated it thus: "In this world, great king, the Nigantha (has) are well defended in four directions, that is, great king, the Niganthas in the present world by general abstinence (*from evil*) restrain sinful propensities, weaken evil by controlling it, and are ever under self-government. They are thus well defended on all sides, and this is called—being arrived at perfection, being with subjected passions, being established in virtue" (*ibidem*, p. 173). All this might as easily have been translated from a Jain *Sūtra*, and it would be difficult to tell the difference, but unfortunately this translation cannot be reconciled with our text. M. Burnouf's translation is more literal, but less intelligible; it runs thus: "En ce monde, grand roi, le mendiant Nigantha est retenu par le frein de quatre abstentions éternelles. Et comment, grand roi, le mendiant Nigantha est-il retenu par le frein de quatre abstentions éternelles? En ce monde, grand roi, le mendiant Nigantha est entièrement retenu par le lien qui enlaine; il est enveloppé par tous les liens, enlaine par tous les liens, resserré par tous les liens; voilà de quelle manière, grand roi, le mendiant Nigantha est retenu par le frein de quatre abstentions éternelles. Et parce qu'il est, ainsi retenu, grand roi, il est nommé Nigantha, c'est-à-dire libre de toute chaîne, pour qui toute chaîne est détruite, qui a secoué toutes les chaînes," (*ibidem*, p. 204). And in a note he adds: "Mais quand la définition dit qu'il est enlaine dans tous les liens, cela signifie qu'il obéit si complètement aux règles d'une rigoureuse abstention, qu'il semble que tous ses mouve-

ments soient enchaînés dans les liens qui le retiennent captif, &c." The general drift of this definition, especially the stress laid on control, avowses of Jainism; but luckily we are not confined to such generalities for our deduction. For the phrase *chāturyāṇa sāmāra-samāro*, translated by Gogerly "well defended in four directions," and by Burnouf "retenu par le frein de quatre abstentions éternelles" contains the distinct Jain term *chāturyāṇa*. It is applied to the doctrine of Mahāvīra's predecessor Pārśva, to distinguish it from the reformed creed of Mahāvīra, which is called *pañcayāṇa dharmā*. The five *yāṇas* are the five great vows, *mahāvratā*, as they are usually named, viz. *ahiṃsā* not killing, *satya* truthful speech, *asteya* not stealing, *brahmacharya* chastity, *aparigraha* renouncing of all illusory objects. In the *chāturyāṇa dharmā* of Mahāvīra *brahmacharya* was included in *aparigraha*. The most important passage is one of the *Dhagaparā* (Weber, *Fragments des Dhagaparā*, p. 186) where a dispute between Kālāṇa Vasiṣṭha, a follower of Pārśva (*Pārśvacharya*, i. e. Pārśvapatya) and some disciples of Mahāvīra is described. It ends with Kālāṇa's begging permission: *siṅghā nātte chāturyāṇa dharmāṇi pañcayāṇa dharmāṇi* (*siṅghā nātte chāturyāṇa dharmāṇi pañcayāṇa dharmāṇi*), "to stay with you after having changed the Law of the four vows for the Law of the five vows enjoining compulsory confession." In Śālikā's Commentary on the *Āchārāṅga* the same distinction is made between the *chāturyāṇa dharmā* of Pārśva's followers and the *pañcayāṇa dharmā* of Mahāvīra's *Arhats* (54. Col. p. 331). These particulars about the religion of the Jains previous to the reforms of Mahāvīra are so matter-of-fact like, that it is impossible to deny that they may have been handed down by trustworthy tradition. Hence we must infer that Nirgrantha already existed previous to Mahāvīra,—a result which we shall render more evident in the sequel by collateral proofs. On this supposition we can understand how the Buddhists ascribed to Nātaputta the *chāturyāṇa dharmā*, though he altered just this tenet; for it is probable that the Buddhists ascribed the old Nirgrantha creed to Nātaputta, who then took the lead of the community, and of whose reforms, being indeed only trifling, his opponents were not aware. And though it looks like a logical trick, the testimony of the Bud-

dhists on this point might be brought forward as an argument for the existence of Nirgranthas previous to, and differing in details from, the *Ārtha* of Mahāvīra. But we have not to rely on so dubious arguments as this for our proposition. The arguments that may be adduced from the *Jaina Sūtras* in favour of the theory that Mahāvīra reformed an already existing religion, and did not found a new one, are briefly these. Mahāvīra plays a part wholly different from that of Buddha in the histories of their churches. His attainment to the highest knowledge cannot be compared to that of Buddha. The latter had to reject wrong beliefs and wrong practices before he found out the right belief and the right conduct. He seems to have carved out his own way,—a fact which required much strength of character, and which is easily recognised in all Buddhist writings. But Mahāvīra went through the usual career of an ascetic; he seems never to have changed his opinions nor to have rejected religious practices, formerly adhered to. Only his knowledge increased, as in the progress of his penance the hindrances to the higher degrees of knowledge were destroyed until it became absolute (*kevala*). His doctrines are not spoken of in the *Sūtras* as his discoveries, but as decrees or old established truths, *paramitas*. All this would be next to impossible if he had been like Buddha the original founder of his religion; but it is just what one would expect to be the record of a reformer's life and preaching. The record of the fourteen *pūrvas* points the same way; for these books, which were lost some generations after Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa*, are said to have existed since the time of the first Tīrthakara Rishabha or Ādinātha; they must therefore be considered as the sacred books of the original Nirgranthas previous to Mahāvīra's reforms. But all these arguments are open to one fatal objection, viz., that they are taken from the *Jaina* literature which was reduced to writing so late as the fifth century A.D. During the preceding ten centuries, an opponent will say, the *Jainas* modelled everything in their sacred books on the preconceived theory of the uninterrupted existence of their faith since the beginning of the world. On this supposition the whole of the *sūtras* would be a most wonderful fabric of fraud; for everything is in keeping with the theory in question, and no trace of the contrary

left. I place much confidence therefore in the *Jaina Sūtras*, being of opinion that they are materially the same as they were in the early centuries after Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa*, as may be proved to be the case with the *Āchārādāya*, the present disposition of which is already followed in Bhadrabāhu's *Niryukti*. Yet we must confirm the above suggested opinions by evidence from another quarter, open to no objection. If the sects of the Bauddhas and *Jainas* were of equal antiquity, as must be assumed on the supposition that Buddha and Mahāvīra were contemporaries and the founder of their sects, we should expect either sect mentioned in the books of their opponents. But this is not the case. The Nirgranthas are frequently mentioned by the Buddhists, even in the oldest parts of the *Piṭakas*. But I have not yet met with a distinct mention of the Bauddhas in any of the old *Jaina Sūtras*, though they contain lengthy legends about Jāmālī, Gosāla and other heterodox teachers. It follows that the Nirgranthas were considered by the Bauddhas an important sect, whilst the Nirgranthas could ignore their adversaries. As this is just the reverse position to that which both sects mutually occupy in all after-times, and as it is inconsistent with our assumption of a contemporaneous origin of both creeds, we are driven to the conclusion that the Nirgranthas were not a newly-founded sect in Buddha's time. This seems to have been the opinion of the authors of the *Piṭakas* too; for we find no indication of the contrary in them. In James d'Alwis' paper on the *Six Tīrthakaras*, the "Digambaras" appear to have been regarded as an old order of ascetics, and all of those heretical teachers betray the influence of Jainism in their doctrines or religious practices, as we shall now point out.

GOSĀLA Makkhaliputta was the slave of a nobleman. His master from whom he ran away, "pursued him and seized him by his garments; but they loosening Gosāla effected his escape naked. In this state he entered a city, and passed for Digambara *Jaina* or Bauddha, and founded the sect which was named after him." According to the *Jainas* he was originally a disciple of Mahāvīra, but afterwards set himself up for a Tīrthakara. In the *Mahāvīra-chaṇḍīya* of Hemachandra, he defends the precept of nakedness against the pupils of Pārśva, and "gets beaten, and almost killed by the women

of a village in Magadha, because he is a naked Sramana, or mendicant."—Wilson, *Works*, vol. I. p. 234, note 2.

Parāna Kāśyapa declined accepting clothes "thinking that as a Digambara he would be better respected."

Ajita Keśakamhala believed trees and shrubs to have a *jee*, and that "one who cut down a tree, or destroyed a creeper, was guilty as a murderer."

Kakudha Kātyāyana also "declared that cold water was infused with a soul."

The preceding four Tirthankars appear all to have adopted some or other doctrines or practices which make part of the Jaina system, probably from the Jains themselves. More difficult is the case with Saṅjaya-Belāṭṭhaputta. For the account of his doctrines in the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* has been so differently translated by M. Burnouf and by M. Gogerly as to suspend decision. According to the former Saṅjaya's doctrine, which is called *anubhavanā*, would coincide with the *syātisāda* of the Jains; but according to the latter it denotes no more than perfect indifference to all transcendental problems, not the compatibility of one solution with its contrary. All depends on the interpretation of the two words as in the text, about which it is impossible to form a correct opinion without the help of a commentary.

It appears from the preceding remarks that Jaina ideas and practices must have been current at the time of Mahāvira and independently of him. This, combined with the other arguments which we have adduced, leads us to the opinion that the Nirgranthas were really in existence long before Mahāvira, who was the reformer of the already existing sect. This granted, it is not difficult to form a tolerably correct idea of the relation between Buddhism and Jainism. The former is not an offshoot of the latter; for Buddha rejected the principal dogmas and practices of the Nirgranthas; it is rather a protest against it. All that has been said to maintain that Buddhism stands in a closer connection with Jainism, is to no effect from lack of proof. The proposed identification of Mahāvira's disciple, the Gautama Indrabhūti with the Gautama Śākyamuni, because both belonged to the *gotra* of Gotama, has been refuted by Prof. Wilson, Weber and others. It can only be maintained on the principles of

Flaellen's logic: "There is a river in Macedonia; and there is also, moreover, a river in Monmouth. It is called Wye at Monmouth, but it is out of my grains what is the name of the other river. But 'tis all one: it is so like as my fingers to my fingers; and there is salmon in both."

Little better is the second argument, that there were twenty-four Buddhas who immediately preceded Gautama Buddha. These twenty-four Buddhas have been compared with the twenty-four Tirthankars of the Jains, though their names have little in common. As Buddha rejected the last Tirthankars at least as an heretic, he could only have recognised twenty-three. The only inference which can be made from the twenty-four Tirthankars and twenty-five Buddhas in texts of recognised authority is that the fiction in question is an old one. Whether there be any foundation for this Buddhistical theory, it is not for me to decide; all authorities on Buddhism have given their verdict to the contrary. But it is different with the Jains. For, since we know that Jainism was not founded by Mahāvira, it follows that somebody else was the real founder of the sect, and it is possible that many reformers preceded Mahāvira.

It is the opinion of nearly all scholars who have written on this question that Pārśva was the real founder of Jainism. The Rev. Dr. Stevenson says in his Preface to the *Translation of the Kalpasūtra*, p. xii: "From Mahāvira upwards, indeed, to the preceding Tirthankars Pārśvanāth, we have no list of head teachers, but we have only an interval of 250 years, while the term of Pārśva's subsidiary existence is still bounded by the possible number of a hundred years. . . . The moderation of the Jains, up to the time of Pārśvanāth, is the more remarkable as after that they far outstrip all their competitors in the race of absurdity, making the lives of their Tirthankars extend to thousands of years, and interposing between them countless ages, thus enabling us to trace with some confidence the boundary between the historical and the fabulous." Whatever may be thought of this argument, it is at least favourable to the opinion that Pārśva is an historical person. This is rendered still more credible by the distinct mention of his followers and his doctrines in the Jaina *Sūtras*. That self-same doctrine, the *chakravartya dharma*, is mentioned by the Buddhists, though ascribed to Nātaputta.

But there is nothing to prove that Parśva was the founder of Jainism. Jain tradition is unanimous in making Rishabha the first Tīrthakara. Though he is stated to have lived 840,000 great years, and have died something less than 100,000,000 oceans of years before Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa, yet there may be something historical in the tradition which makes him the first Tīrthakara. For the Brāhmins too have myths in their *Purāṇas* about a Rishabha, son of king Nābhi and Meru, who had a hundred sons, Bharata and the rest, and entrusting Bharata with the government of his kingdom, adopted the life of an anchorite—Wilson, *Vishnu Purāṇa*, vol. II., p. 193 sqq. All these particulars are also related by the Jains of their Rishabha; and from the more detailed account in the *Mahāvastu Purāṇa* it is evident that the fabulous founder of the Jain sect must indeed be meant (*ibid.*, p. 194, note 1). But what value belongs

to these myths of the *Purāṇas* about Rishabha, whether they are founded on facts, or were merely suggested by the legendary history of the Jāinas, it is wholly impossible to decide.

Of the remaining Tīrthakaras I have little to add. Śramaṇa, the fifth Tīrthakara, is apparently identical with Bharata's son Śramā, of whom it is said in the *Bhāgavata* that he "will be irreligiously worshipped, by some infidels, as a divinity" (Wilson, *ibid.*).

A rishabha nemi, the 22nd Tīrthakara, is connected with the Kṛṣṇa-myths through his wife Rāglanṭī, daughter of Ugrasena.

But we must close our researches here, content to have obtained a few glimpses into the prehistorical development of Jainism. The last point which we can perceive is Parśva; beyond him all is lost in the mist of fable and fiction.

Münster, Westphalia, 18th March 1880.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM NEPÁL.

BY PANDIT BHAGVĀNLĀL ANDRÉ, AND DR. G. HÜLLER, C.L.E.

No. 1.—An Inscription of Māgadesa, dated
Samvat 386.

This inscription is incised on the lower part of a broken pillar placed to the left of the door of the temple of Chāṅga-Nārāyaṇa,* about three miles to the north-east of Kāṭmāṇḍu. The pillar is about twenty feet high without the capital. Its lower half is square, half of the upper part is octagonal, higher up it becomes sixteen-cornered, and finally round. Originally it was crowned by a lotus-capital surmounted by a Garuḍa, about four feet high, shaped like a winged man kneeling on one knee. The workmanship is very good, and the figure shows the flowing locks, which occur frequently on the sculptures of the Gupta period. The weight of the Garuḍa seems to have been the cause of the pillar's fall from its old base, which is still to be seen just opposite the door of the temple, where numerous fragments of its capital and of the Garuḍa also are lying about. After its

fall, a royal physician, called Chakrapāṇi, about twenty years ago, had a new capital made for it, consisting of a gilt lotus and a Chakra, and put it up in its present position. In doing so the Yati neglected to add a new base. He simply planted the pillar in the ground. Hence a portion of the inscription, which is incised on three sides of the square lower part of the pillar, has been buried in the earth. In spite of my entreaties the priest at Chāṅga-Nārāyaṇa would not allow me to lay the buried lines bare. I have, therefore, been obliged to present the inscription in a mutilated form.

The form of the letters agrees exactly with that of the Gupta inscriptions. They are clearly and sharply incised. With the exception of the first part the preservation is good. The language is Sanskrit, and excepting the two first lines, the whole is in verse. The numbers of the verses are marked by the ancient figures.

Transcript. Part I.

[¹] संवत् ३८६ ज्येष्ठमासे शुक्लपक्षे प्रतिपदि १

[^२] [रि]हिणीनक्षत्रयुगे चन्द्रमसि मुहूर्ते प्रशस्तेभिजिनि

* This temple stands in the centre of a small village on a spur of the hills, at the base of which flows the river Manmā. Chāṅga, literally 'he with a bill,' is in the Nepāl language a name of Garuḍa, and the 'compound' means therefore Garuḍa and Viṣṇu. The temple contains an

old composite image of Viṣṇu riding on Garuḍa. The present building is new, having been erected in Nepāl Samvat 834, or 1024 a.d., by Queen Siddhi-Lakṣmī, as is shown by an inscription; see also below.

- [²] श्रीकृष्णद्विपदीतचारुविपुलपौष्टवर्धनस्थलः
 [³] — वक्ष — नपद्यद्वाहु[रुचिरः] स्मर्त्तु[पवृद्धोत्सवः] [1]
 [⁴] [त्रि]लोकपद्ममयन्त्रव — — — — — दयासङ्गनित्योद्ययः
 [⁵] [दो]लाटौ निवसञ्जयानि[मि]वेरभ्यर्च्यमानो हरिः [1] १ [1]
 [⁶] — — — — — यप्रतापविभ[वे]र्षा[यामसंक्षेपकृत्]
 [⁷] [राजा]मु[द्वे]द इत्य[नुपमः] स[त्यप्रतिज्ञोदयः] [1]
 [⁸] — — — सखितव दीप्तकिर[णैः] सम्यग्भू[ते] रैः सुतैः
 [⁹] [विद्व]द्विर्वहृगार्धवेरच[पलैः] रूप्यतै[र्विनीलात्मभिः] [1] २ [1]
 [¹⁰] [त]स्याभूतनयः समृद्ध[विध]यः सङ्गुणैर्येयोरेभिः
 [¹¹] [राजा] शङ्करदेव इत्यप — — — तिप्रदः सख्यधीः [1]
 [¹²] — — विक्रमदानमानवि[भवे]र्लब्ध्वा पक्षः पुष्कलम्
 [¹³] — — — — — ररक्ष मामभि[मैतर्भु]मै[र्भुगे]न्द्रोपमः [1] ३ [1]
 [¹⁴] [तस्या]प्युत्तमधर्मैकमेव — — — — — विद्याभिकः
 [¹⁵] [ध]र्मा[त्मा] विनयेप्युत्तम[मगुणः] श्रीध[र्मदेवो] नृपः [1]
 [¹⁶] [ध]र्मेणैव कुलकमागत — — — — — राख्य महत्⁹

Part II.

- [¹] देवी राज्यवती तु तस्य नृपतेर्मायाभिधाना सती⁹
 [²] श्रीरेवानुगाया भविष्यति तदा लोकान्तरासङ्गिनी [1]
 [³] यस्याज्जात इहानवदाचरितः श्रीमानदेवो नृपः
 [⁴] कानया शारदचन्द्रमा इव जगत्प्रज्ञादपन्तर्ज्वा [1] ७ [1]
 [⁵] प्रत्यागत्य सगङ्गादातरमिदन्दीर्घं विनिश्चय्य च
 [⁶] प्रेम्णा पुत्रमुवाच साधुवदना यातः पिता ते दिवं [1]
 [⁷] हा पुत्रास्तमिते तवाद्य पितरि प्राणैर्वृषा किम्मम
 [⁸] राज्यपुत्रक कारणादमनुयाम्यद्वैव भर्तुर्मतिम् [1] ८ [1]
 [⁹] किम्मे भोगविधानविस्तरकृतेराशामयैर्वन्धनैः
 [¹⁰] मायास्वप्ननिभे समागतविधौ भर्त्ता विना जीवितुम् [1]
 [¹¹] यामीत्येवमवाक्षता खलु तदा दीनात्मना सुनुना
 [¹²] पादौ भक्तिवशात्पिपीडय शिरसा विवापिता यजतः [1] ९ [1]
 [¹³] किम्भोगैर्मम किं हि जीवितसुखैस्त्वद्विप्रयोगे सति
 [¹⁴] प्राणान्पूर्वमहज्जहामि परतस्त्वं यास्पसीतो दिवम् [1]
 [¹⁵] इत्येवमुत्पपदु नान्तरगतैर्भवाभुमिभैर्दुर्दम्
 [¹⁶] वाक्पादौर्निहर्गव पाशवक्षगा बद्धा ततस्तस्थुषी [1] १० [1]
 [¹⁷] सत्युवेषण सरोर्द्धुदेहिकविधिं भर्तुः प्रकृत्यात्मनः

Part III.

- [¹] भक्षापात्रविधानकौशलगुणैः प्रतातसन्नोरु[भिः]⁹
 [²] श्रीमन्चारुभुजः प्रमुष्टकनकश्लक्ष्णावदातच्छविः [1]

⁹ Nine lines following line 17 are buried in the ground.⁹ L. 1, read अभिधानात्. L. 8, the enclitic कारण is improperly used for the simple verb. L. 14, readमाया⁹. L. 15, read दृढम्. L. 17, the अ of भर्तुः looks like क. After line 17, seven lines have been lost.⁹ L. 1, read सत्योरिधिः.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

- [²] पीनांशो विकचासितोत्पलदलप्रसर्दमानेक्षणः
 [³] साक्षात्काम इवाङ्गवानरपतिः कान्ताविलासोत्सवः [1]१३[11]
 [⁴] सूपैश्चाहमिरुच्छितैर्वर्षेणुमती पित्रा ममालङ्कृता
 [⁵] क्षात्तेणानिमखाश्रयेण विधिना दीक्षाप्रितोर्ह स्थितः [1]
 [⁶] यात्राम्प्रसरितक्षुपाय तरसा गच्छामि पूर्वांदिशम्
 [⁷] ये चात्रावश्वसितनो मम नृपाः संस्थापयिष्यामि तान् [1]१४[11]
 [⁸] इत्येवञ्जननीमपेतकलुषा राजा प्रणम्योचिवान्
 [⁹] नामानुष्यमहन्तपोभिरमलैः शक्तोमि यातुम्वितुः [1]
 [¹⁰] किन्वाप्तेन यथावदस्त्रविधिना तत्पादसंसेवया
 [¹¹] यास्यामीति ततोम्बयातिमुदया दत्ताभ्यनुलो नृपः [1]१५[11]
 [¹²] प्रायापूर्वपयेन तत्र च शठा ये पूर्वदेवाभवाः
 [¹³] सामन्ताः प्रणिपातवाधुरशिरःप्रधृष्टमोलिखतः [1]
 [¹⁴] तानात्रावश्वसितनो नरपतिः संस्थाप्य तस्मान्पुनः
 [¹⁵] निर्भीः सिंह इवाकुलोत्कटसदः पश्चादुवञ्जमिवान् [1]१६[11]
 [¹⁶] सामन्तस्य च तत्र दुष्टचरितं श्रुत्वा शिरः कम्पयन्
 [¹⁷] बाहुं हस्तिकरोपमं स शनैः स्रष्टाव्रीताजितम् [1]
 [¹⁸] आहतो यदि नैति विक्रमवशादेदयत्यती मे वशं
 [¹⁹] किं वाक्पैर्वर्द्धुमिर्निधातुगदिनैः संक्षेपतः कथ्यते [1]१७[11]

Translation.

On the first day of the bright half of the month Jyeshtha of Saka 880, while the moon stood in the constellation Rohini, in the excellent Muhūrta called Abhijit.²

1. Hari conquers, whose resplendent, beautiful, broad and high chest is marked by the Śrīvatsa, . . . whose lotus-arms shed radiance, who increases the happiness of his worshippers, who is constantly busy with . . . the machine for moving the three worlds, who is eternal, who dwells on Dolādri,³ and who is worshipped by the immortals.

2. There was a king called Vṛishadēva, who . . . by his valour and wealth lessened trouble,⁴ who was incomparable and prosperous because he kept his word. As . . . the sun is encircled by brilliant rays, so he was surrounded by his learned, proud, constant, famous and obedient sons.

3. His son was truthful king Śankarādēva, whose country prospered, who was

inconquerable in battle by his enemies, and who gave Through valour, presents, honours bestowed (on his servants), and riches, he gained great fame; comparable to a lion he protected the earth through approved ministers

4. His son also, illustrious king Dharmadēva, who knew the most excellent doctrine, works, who was righteous, virtuous, fond of modesty, possessed of excellent qualities according to the hereditary law a great kingdom.

5—6

7. But that king's faithful wife, Queen Rājyavati by name, was doubtless heavenly Śrī, who had followed (her husband into this world).⁵ From her was born illustrious king Mānadēva, whose course of life in this world is unblamable, and who always gladdens the world by his beauty, like the natural moon.

8. Approaching and sighing deeply, her eyes filled with tears, she (Rājyavati) affec-

² L. 19. read "द्विपत्यसौ".

³ The day is divided into fifteen Muhūrtas, the eighth of which is Abhijit.

⁴ Dolādri or Dolaparevata is the name of the hill on which the temple of Chāngunārkāya is situated.

⁵ The meaning of this epithet probably is that his wealth and valour made his enemies keep quiet, and thus his own and his subjects' troubles were small.

⁶ Probably the preceding verse 8 contained an identification of the king with Vishnu.

tionately spoke to her son, with faltering accents: "Alas, my child, thy father is gone to heaven. As thy father is now dead, why preserve my useless life! Reign thou, dear son; to-day, even, I follow my husband on his road."

9. "Of what use are the fetters of hope that are lengthened for enjoyment¹², and that bind me to a widowed life in a world similar to a lying dream? I will depart." While thus, forsooth, she was resolved, her sad son reverentially pressed her feet with his head, and anxiously spoke thus to her:

10. "What are joys to me, what the pleasures of life when I am parted from thee! First I will give up my life; thereafter thou mayst go hence to heaven." Thus she stood like a scared bird, firmly bound by the word-bonds, that, mixed with tears, lay in (his) mouth.

11. Then together with her virtuous son she performed the last rites for her own husband

13. The prince (*Mānadvā*), whose strength is known to (his) enemies, though they are clever in the use of weapons of offence and defence,—whose arm is beautiful and lovely,¹³ whose complexion is pure and bright like burnished gold,—whose shoulder is strong,—whose eyes rival (in beauty) full-blown blue lotuses,—who is visibly an incarnation of Cupid, a festival of dalliance for the fair ones, (*speak thus to his mother*):

14. "My father adorned the earth with beautiful, high rising (pillars of victory, resembling) sacrificial pillars. Here I stand initiated in the rites of the battles which offered by Kshatriyas. Quickly I shall depart on an expedition to the East, to crush my foes. (There) I shall instal those princes who will remain obedient to me."

15. Thus the king (*spoke and*) bowing to

his mother, whose sorrow fled, he continued (*in this wise*): "Mother, I cannot pay the debt due to my father by pure austerities; but I shall attain this end, worshipping his feet by true and rightly performed feats of arms."

Then the king received the consent of his overjoyed mother:

16. And he set out on the road to the East. Having reduced to obedience those roguish feudal chiefs of the East, from whose heads bent in prostration the diadems fell, the prince, like a fearless lion with thick and bristling mane, (*returned*) thence, and marched to the Western districts.

17. Hearing these of the evil doings of a chieftain, shaking his head and slowly touching his arm that (in strength) resembled an elephant's trunk, he proudly spoke (*thus*): "If he does not come at my command, then he will be conquered by my valour. What is the use of saying much? Shortly I tell (*him*) in the words of the Creator"

No. 2.—An inscription of Jayavarman, incised during the reign of *Mānadvā* Sañvat 413.

This inscription is incised on a square stone, which originally formed the base of a *Linga*, and is placed opposite the northern door of the temple of *Paśupati*.¹⁴ At present the stone supports a composite trident, about twenty feet high, which according to the *Vaśīṣṭha* was dedicated by *Śaṅkara* *deva*, the grandfather of *Mānadvā*.¹⁵ It would seem that Jayavarman's *Linga* somehow or other was destroyed, and that at one of the restorations of the temple, *Śaṅkara* *deva*'s *Trīśūla* was transferred to its place.

The letters of the inscription belong to the Gupta period. Owing to the daily ablutions of the *Trīśūla* they have suffered very considerably. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit.

¹² Rather 'that are lengthened by enjoyments.'—G. B.
¹³ Rather 'whose beautiful arm holds the goddess of Fortune.'—G. B.

¹⁴ The famous temple of *Paśupati* is situated in *Dimpāna*, an old town, mostly in ruins, on the river *Yamunā*, three miles north-west from *Kāṭakṛdā*. The present temple has three stories fifty feet high, and is built in the modern Nepalese style. It is of brick and wood. According to tradition Queen *Gaṅgā* erected it in *Nepālā* *Saṅvat* 785 or 1535 A.D. The temple consists of an *adytum*, surrounded by cloisters, and has four doors. In the centre of the *garbhagṛha* stands a *linga* of hard sandstone, about three feet and a half high, from which four faces and four pairs of hands jut forth. Each right hand holds a

Śaṅkṛāṣṭa *Mālā*, and each left a *Kamandala*. Similarly ornamented *lingas*, dating from the Gupta period, are found in *Mathurā* and in *Udayagiri* near *Bhīṣa*. The base of the *linga* is about a foot and a half high, and four feet in diameter, and covered with thick silver plates. Ordinarily the *linga* is concealed under a mass of gold and silver ornaments, which are taken off at the time of worship. In the court of the temple stand many statues of other deities, as well as of kings and private persons, who gave endowments to the temple. The name for these figures is *Śilā*. There are also many modern inscriptions, which, I regret, I neglected to copy.

¹⁵ Wright, *Nepāl*, p. 125, and below.

Transcript.

- [¹] संवत् ४१३ श्रीमानदेवनृपतेश्वरप्रसादात् भक्त्या विमुदमतिना जयवर्मनाम्ना लिङ्गञ्जयेश्वर-
मिति प्रथितं नृलोके
[²] संस्थापितं सनृपतेर्जगतो दिवाय १ भगवतोस्य लिङ्गस्य कारणपूजा[यै] --- तापस्व
--- यनार्थेन्दतमक्षय[नीवी-]

Translation.

Sahvat 413. By the favour of the feet of the illustrious king Mānūdhava, a pure-minded (man) called Jayavarman has erected a Liṅga, known in the world of men, as Jayāvara for the welfare of the people and of the king. A permanent endowment¹² has been assigned for (defraying the expenses) of the occasional worship¹³ of this worshipful Liṅga.

No. 3.—An inscription of king Vasantasena, dated Sahvat 435.

This inscription is incised on a narrow oblong slab of sandstone about six feet high with a semi-circular top, adorned by a relieve showing a Chakra and two Śaṅkhas. The stone lies near the sanctuary of Lagal Dêr, not far from the temple of Jalal, Lagantol Kātmādê.

The inscription originally contained twenty-three lines, the greater part of which has however been destroyed by the influence of rain and weather. The remaining letters are very distinct and well out, and show the forms of the Gupta period. The language is Sanskrit.

Transcript.

- [¹] उँ स्वस्ति मानगृहाप[रमदै]वतवपम-
[²] शरकमहाराजश्रीपादानुध्यातः श्रुतन-
[³] [यदया]दानदाक्षिण्यपुण्यप्रतापविकसित-
[⁴] तकीर्तिर्भेशरकमहाराजश्रीवसन्त-
[⁵] सेनः [कुञ्जली] --- व्यधिकरणेषु धर्म-
[⁶] स्या[न] --- नेकाभकुश-
[⁷] --- विदितमस्तु वो मया
[⁸] --- लिङ्ग
[⁹] --- कूपर

¹² The expression *ekāyāntikā*, a permanent endowment, is very common in the Buddhist inscriptions of the Western Caucas, see Hillebrandt, *Nepâl Inscriptions*, Transact. Or. Congress 1871, p. 350.

¹³ *Kāśyapa* is translated by 'occasional worship,' is probably an equivalent for *anvartikā* point, and refers to the worship on the days of the new and full moon and other festive seasons.

¹⁴ The first five and the last four lines only admit of a translation. The few words readable in the middle

- [¹⁰] --- रणाप
[¹¹] --- शरक-
[¹²] --- शय्येतेषां
[¹³] --- दिकार्येषु सदि-
[¹⁴] --- मयापितेषां
[¹⁵] --- (मो) पित ---
[¹⁶] ---
[¹⁷] --- पादोपजीविभिरि ---
[¹⁸] --- यश्चेमामातामुत् [य] ---
[¹⁹] --- दा तस्यादे दृढं मर्या --- इ
[²⁰] इति समाजापना संवत् ४३५ [आभ]
[²¹] युजि शुभ दिवा १ दूतकः सर्वेदण्डना-
[²²] यकमहाप्रतिहारविगुप्त इति
[²³] ब्राह्मणं च महीशालि व्यवहरतीति.

Translation.

Om. Hail! From Mānūgriha,¹⁴ the lord and great king, the illustrious Vasantasena, who meditates on the feet of the illustrious lord and great king Bappa (an incarnation of) the supreme deity,¹⁵—whose brilliant fame has expanded as a flower through his learning, policy, compassion, liberality, affability, holiness and valour,—being in good health.

This is the order; Sahvat 435, on the first day of the bright half of the month Āvayajña. The executive officer (*dattaka*) is the chief prefect of police and great chamberlain Ravigupta. He is transacting business in Brāhmaṇa Mahiśala.

permit the inference that the inscription recorded a grant to somebody. Mānūgriha, from which all the inscriptions of the kings of this dynasty are dated, appears to have been the capital or the royal residence.

¹⁷ I am unable to say who this Bappa Bhadrakāya was. But I think that it is a general title used by chief priests; for the Valabhi kings and those of Vengi (*Jour. As. Soc. B. E. A. S.* XI, 385) also declare their devotion to the feet of this Bappa Bhadrakāya. Ācāryas or chief priests frequently bear the same titles as crowned kings.

No. 4.—An inscription dated Śaśvat 535.

On a broken slate-slab, lying in a street of Lagantol, Kātmāñḍa, near to some stones smeared with red paint.

Characters,—Gupta, but the curved stroke

of the medial *i* is drawn deeper down between the lines, and the left hand stroke of the *va* becomes round. Preservation fair. Greater part defaced, and seven or eight lines at the top are lost.

Transcript.

[1] ----- देव -----
 [2] ----- पुण्यो -----
 [3] ----- रायावः प्रसादीकृतः -----
 [4] ----- वः पृथुक्षेत्रम् पूर्व -----
 [5] ----- लक्ष्य क्षेत्रम् ततो भरतश्च -----
 [6] ----- तुलाक्षेत्रम् ततस्तेष्वल्पा -----
 [7] ----- आदिखगुप्तस्य क्षेत्रम् । पूर्वद -----
 [8] ----- [क्षेत्रम् ततस्तेष्वल्पा -----
 [9] ----- स्तेष्वल्पा प्रदीपगौष्टिकानाम् तस्या भूमेर्दक्षिण -----
 [10] ----- [दक्षिण] राजकुलस्य दक्षिणपश्चिमेन -----
 [11] ----- पञ्चालिकानाम् पश्चिमेन पूर्वत -----
 [12] ----- [पश्चि] मेनरेण पूर्वतभूमि -----
 [13] ----- [परि] तितेयं भूमिरित्यवगम्य न कैश्चिदप्य -----
 [14] ----- स्मत्प्रादोपजीविभिरप्य प्रसादोऽप्यप्य करणीयो यः -----
 [15] ----- माजामनाद्व्यान्यथाकुर्यात्कारयेद्वा समहमुपध[गा]
 [16] [मि]त्रं निपतवन्नुशातिनास्मि भविष्यद्विरपि भूषति[मि]
 [17] ----- कृतप्रसादानुवर्तिभिरेव भवितव्यमिति दूत[को]
 [18] व राजपुत्रविक्रमसेन संवत् ५३५ आ[व]
 [19] [ण] शुक्र दिवा सप्तम्याम् ॥ × ॥

A translation of the main part of this inscription is impossible. It appears, however, that it refers to the grant of a piece of land, the boundaries of which were accurately described. In the last lines, which are tolerably well preserved, the king declares his determination to punish persons interfering with the donors. We also learn from lines 17 and 18 that the Dātaka or executive officer was Prince Vikra-

ma Sena, and the date the seventh day of the bright half of Śrāvāsa Śaśvat 535.

No. 5.—An inscription of Śaśvat.

On a broken slab of hard sandstone fixed in a wall near a well at Būdā Nīlkanth,¹⁴ near the Sivapuri hill, ten miles north of Kātmāñḍa. The characters closely resemble those of the preceding inscription. The language is Sanskrit.

Transcript.

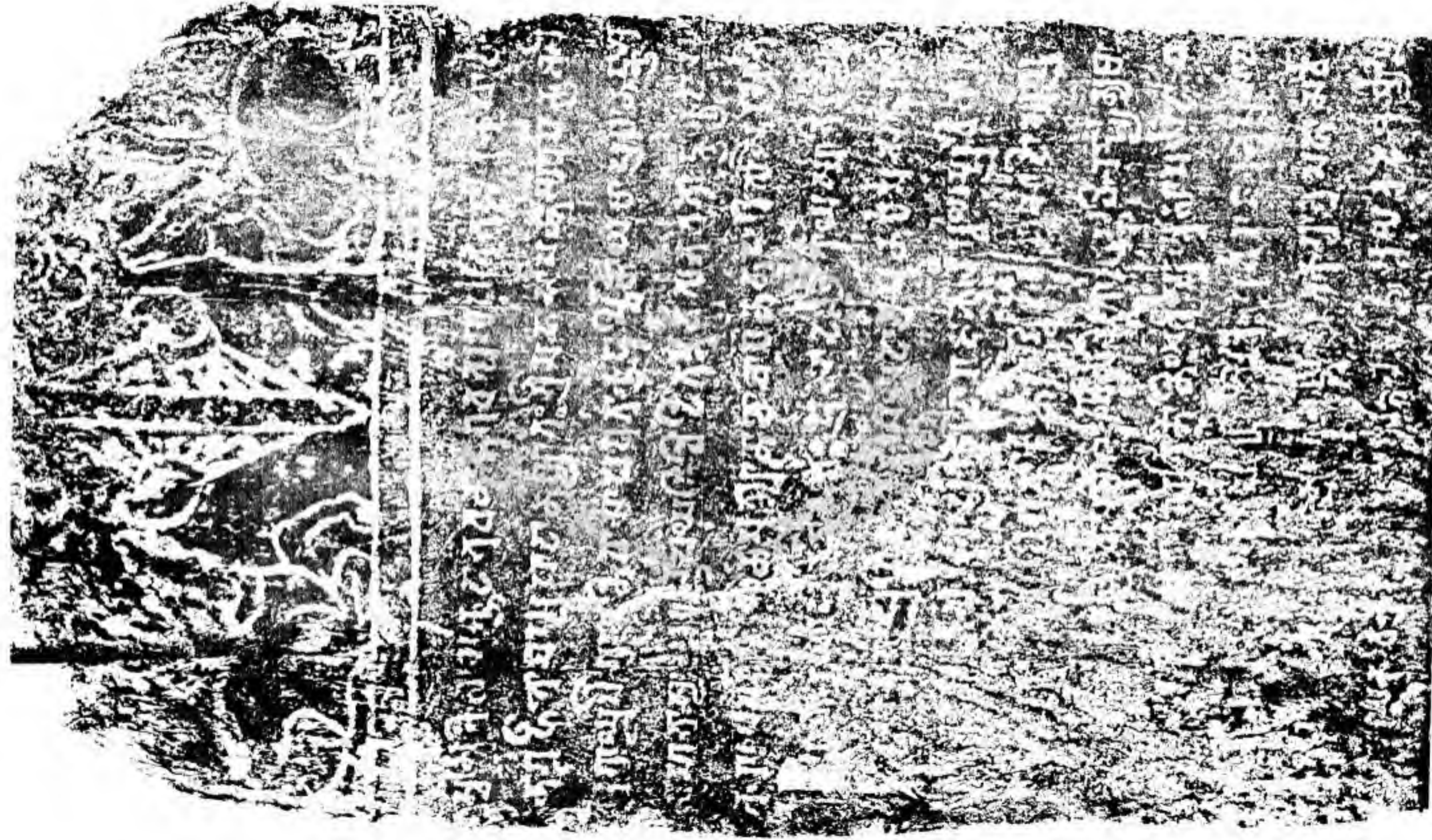
[1] स्वस्ति । मानगृहाच्छ्रुतनयविनयशीर्षपैर्ष्वीर्ष्यादाक्षेप-
 [2] स्रुणमणाधारो लिच्छविकुलकेतुर्भट्टारकमहाराजश्रीक्षि-
 [3] बदेवः कुशली ----- पिता नरसिंहो भय -----

¹⁴ Būdā Nīlkanth is a small tank about forty feet square, fed by a spring which passes through three stone walls, held by three images, which are placed in its north-eastern corner. In the middle of the tank lies an image of Vishnu, reclining on the waters, made of black stone. According to the chronicle of Nepāl this image was dedicated by king Harisena of the Solar race. But from its appearance and workmanship I conclude that it is not so old. An

other name of the place is Būdā Nīlkanth, i. e. 'concealed Śiva,' and as the name of the brook which flows from the tank is Rōhmāñḍa, it seems probable that the tank originally contained a Linga, and that one of the later Vaishnava kings placed the image of Vishnu in it. In support of this conjecture I may also adduce the fact that the neighbouring village is called Sivapuri.



[illegible]



[¹] निवासिनो	यथाप्रधानद्वामकुटुम्बिनः	कुशलमाभाष्य
[²] समानापपति	विदितम्भवतु भवतां	यथानेकपशुस-
[³] मरसम्प्रातविजयाधिगतशौर्व्यप्रतापपहतसक-		
[⁴] लक्षत्रुपक्षप्रभावेन	सम्पद्यजापालनपरिभ्रमोपाजि-	
[⁵] तद्युधवशोभिष्याप्तदिग्मण्डलेन	श्रीमहासामन्ताशुवर्मा ²²	
[⁶] या युष्मद्वितविधानाथ	विज्ञापितेन मया तद्वीरवा	
[¹⁰] -----	न्यधिकृताना समुचित-	

Translation.

Hail! From Mānagrīha. The illustrious lord and great king Śivadeva—who is the abode of all good qualities such as learning, policy, modesty, bravery, constancy and heroism, who in the banner of the Lichhavi race, being in good health, addresses greeting to all the cultivators residing in . . . according to their rank, and gives (these) orders: Be it known to you that I, being advised for your welfare by the illustrious great feudal chief Aśśuvārman, who has destroyed the power of all (my) enemies by his heroic majesty, obtained by victories in numerous hand-to-hand fights,—whose brilliant fame gained by the trouble of properly protecting (my) subjects, pervades the universe . . .²²

No. 6.—Inscription of Aśśuvārman, dated Śrīharsha Śaishat 34.

This inscription is incised on a slab of sand-

stone in the neighbourhood of a large village, called Bungmati, four miles to the south of Kātmāndu between the rivers Nyekha and Vāgmati. Its sculptured top shows Buddhist symbols, viz., 'the wheel of the law' between two deer. The stone lies ordinarily buried in a field to the east of the village, and is taken out every twelve years on the occasion of a great festival (*rahyāśā*) of A valōki-tōśvara²³ at Bungmati. The reason of this custom is not known. I found considerable difficulty in obtaining a sight of the stone, though I had an order from the Nepalese Government.

The characters are the same as those of the preceding two inscriptions. Regarding the era in which it is dated, an explanation will be given below.

Transcript.

[¹] स्वस्ति	केलासकुटुम्बनाद्वामपशुपतिमशूरकपादा-
[²] नुगृहीतो वप्पपादानुष्यतः श्रीमहासामन्ताशुवर्मा कुशली	
[³] बुगापूमीया[म]निवासीपगता[न] कुटुम्बिनो यथाप्रधानद्वाम-	
[⁴] लमाभाष्य [समा]तापपति विदितम्भवतु भवताङ्कुटुम्ब-	
[⁵] कराणा ----- नो मरसम्प्रातविजयाधिगतशौर्व्यप्रतापपहतसक-	
[⁶] भे ----- प्रसादः [क]तो युष्माभिरप्ये-	
[⁷] ----- यदा च पुनर्धर्मसङ्कराणि	
[⁸] ----- [त]दा राजकुलं स्वयम्प्रविचार-	
[⁹] ----- प्रसादोऽस्मत्त-	
[¹⁰] ----- विलङ्घयान्मया	
[¹¹] ----- नो नियतमुष्कला मयादा व-	
[¹²] ----- भिः पूर्वराजकृतप्रसादा-	

²² I. & read सामन्ता.—

²³ From the epithet given to Aśśuvārman it appears that he occupied the position of a rajor domat, who wielded the real power, while the king was ruler only in name.

²⁴ The temple of Avalokiteśvara, called Matayendinātha by the common people, is situated in the centre of the village. The image which it contains is made of mud and covered with silver plates. It remains half the year only in this temple; during the other six months it is kept at Lalitapattan.

[¹⁵] ----- दूतकश्चाच्च महासर्वा-
 [¹⁶] --यकविक्र-- --संवत् ३४ ज्येष्ठ शुक्ल दशम्याम्²²

Translation.

Om. Hail! From the palace, (called) Kailāśakūṭa,²¹ The illustrious great feudal chief Aśśuvarman, who is favoured by the feet of the lord, the divine Paśupati, and meditates on the feet of Bappa, being in good health, addresses greeting to the inhabitants of the village of Bugāyāmi according to their rank and issues (these orders): Be it known to you that We rejoice at the preservation of the cocks, pigs

and fishes.

The executive officer is here.

Vikra (naseus). . . . On the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Jyeshtha, Samvat 34.

No. 7.—An inscription of Aśśuvarman, dated Śrīharsha Samvat 39.

On a slab of slate, standing near a small temple of Gaṇeśa, in the high street of Devapāṇana, not far from the temple of Paśupati. It bears at the top the representation of a reclining bull, facing the proper right.

The characters are like those of the preceding inscriptions.

Execution and preservation good.

Transcript.

- [¹] उं स्वस्ति कैलासकूटभवनानिधि निधि चानेकशा-
 [²] स्त्रार्यविमर्शावसादितसदृशनवपा धर्माधिका-
 [³] रस्थितिकारणमेवोत्तमनाविशयमन्यसा-
 [⁴] नो भगवत्पशुपतिभट्टारकपादानुगृहीतो जय-
 [⁵] पादानुध्यातः श्वश्रुर्मा कुशली पश्चिमाधिक-
 [⁶] रणवृत्तिभुजो वर्तमानान्भविष्यतश्च यथार्ह-
 [⁷] कुशलमाभाष्य समाज्ञापयति विदितम्भव-
 [⁸] तु भवताम्पशुपती भगवाञ्छूरमेगिभरोस्मद्-
 [⁹] गिन्या श्रीभोगवर्त्मजनन्या भोगदेव्या स्वभर्तु राज-
 [¹⁰] पुषशूरसेनस्य पुण्योपचयाय प्रतिष्ठापितो
 [¹¹] यश्च तदुत्तिवारमद्वाग्निदेव्या भाग्यदेव्या प्रतिष्ठा-
 [¹²] पितो लक्षितमहेश्वरो यश्चैतःपूजितैः प्रतिष्ठापि-
 [¹³] तो दक्षिणेश्वरस्तेषामधःशालापाञ्चालिकेभ्यः प्रतिष्ठा-
 [¹⁴] लनायातिमुष्टानामस्याभिः पश्चिमाधिकरणस्याप्र-
 [¹⁵] वेशेन प्रसादः कृतो यदा च पाञ्चालिकानां यत्किञ्चन
 [¹⁶] कार्यमेतद्वत्तमुत्पास्यते यथाकालं वा नियमितं व-
 [¹⁷] स्तु परिहायविष्यन्ति तदा स्वयमेव राजभिरन्तरा-
 [¹⁸] सनेन विचारः करणीयो यस्वेतामाज्ञामतिरूपान्यथा
 [¹⁹] प्रवर्तिष्यते तं वयस्य मर्षयिष्यामो भाविभिरपि भूय-
 [²⁰] तिभिर्भिर्मगुरुतया पूर्व्वरानकृतप्रसादानुवर्तिभि-
 [²¹] रेव भवितव्यमिति स्वयमाज्ञा दूतकश्चाच्च युवरा-
 [²²] जोदयदेवः संवत् ३९ वैशाख शुक्ल दिवा दशम्या

²¹ b, 14 read उमेष्ट.

²² Kailāśakūṭa is at present the name of a large mound about forty feet high situated to the north of Paśupati's

temple. It is covered with ruins, and no doubt is the site of the palace mentioned in this inscription and the following ones.



[illegible]

No. 8, INSCRIPTION OF ANSOVARMAN, DATED SAMVAT 45.

अवत प्रहृष्टे मन्त्र
शुभ्रवत्प्रकाशकपिः पञ्चविंशत्ये
कविन सप्रलयीयं वक्त्रं कवि सुवत्प्रलय -

Translation.

Om. Hail! From the palace, (called) Kailāsa-kūṭa.

The illustrious Añśuvarman, who has been favoured by the feet of the divine lord Paśupaṭi, and meditates on the feet of Bappa, who, having destroyed his (former) false opinions by pondering day and night over the meaning of various *Sāstras*, considers the proper establishment of courts of justice²⁴ his greatest pleasure, being in good health, addresses greeting to the present and future officials of the Western (provinces) according to their rank, and issues (these) orders: "Be it known to you that the (three *Lāgas*), viz., the divine Śāraḥhogēvara dedicated at (the sanctuary of) Paśupati by our sister Bhogadēvi, the mother of the illustrious Bhogavarman for the increase of the spiritual merit of her husband prince Śārasena, Laḍitamahāśvara²⁵ dedicated by her daughter Bhāgyadēvi, our niece, and Dakṣiṇōśvara dedicated by her ancestors, have been made over for protection to the Adhahāllā-Pāncālikas,²⁶ and that we have favoured them by forbidding the interference of the officials of the Western (province); and when any business referring to these (*Lāgas*) arises for the Pāncālikas, or when they neglect to do in time anything appointed (for them to do), the king himself shall privately investigate (the case). But we shall not suffer it that any one violates this order and acts otherwise. Future kings also, as they are teachers of justice, should continue the favour shown by their predecessors (to the Pāncālikas). (This is our) own order, and

the executive officer here is the Yavarāja Udayadēva. On the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha Sāvat 39.

No. 8.—Vibhavarman's inscription, dated Śrīharsha Sāvat 45 (F).

On the side of the mouth of the spout of a watercourse, on the road from Kātmāṇḍu to the Residency near the Bāṣipokhrī tank. The place is called Sātḍhārā, (i. e. *saptadhārā*) because the water issues from the spring in seven streams.

Characters as those of preceding inscriptions. Preservation good.

Transcript.

- [¹] संवत् ४५. (!) अष्टेष्ट शुक्र ---
 [²] क्यञ्चुसम्मपसादेन पितुः पुण्यविपुले
 [³] कारिता सत्पणालीये वार्तेन विभुवर्मणा

Translation.

On . . . of the bright half of the month *Jyeshtha*, Sāvat 45,²⁷ by the favour of the illustrious Añśuvarman, this conduit has been built by Vārita Vibhavarman²⁸ for the increase of his father's spiritual merit.

No. 9.—Jishnugupta's inscription, dated Śrīharsha Sāvat 46.

On a slab of black slate placed upright in the ground near the temple of Mumura or Chhindamastikā Devī in the Tarjhā Mahalla (ward) of Lalitapattana²⁹. The letters are well cut and the inscription well preserved. The characters if compared with those of Añśuvarman's inscriptions, show slight changes. The medial *i* goes down a little deeper, the *ya* shows an ornamental notch in the lower line.

Transcript.

- [¹] उँ स्वस्ति --- महारकमहाराज-
 [²] श्रीभुवदेव[स्व] --- पञ्चाहितेपी निरवशस्तः
 [³] पुण्यान्वयादागतराज्यसम्पत्सम्पत्पौ[रात्रि]तशासनो यस्त कैलासकुटभ-
 [⁴] वनाद्रगवत्यशुपतिमहारकपादानुगृहीतो क्यपादानुध्यातः श्रीजिष्णुगुप्तः
 [⁵] [कु]शली यवूगाकुलमूलवाटिकायामेषु निवासमुपगतान्कुटुम्बिनः कुशल-

²⁴ The translation hardly covers the entire meaning of *adhyakṣāḥāra*, which includes both the civil and criminal courts, and the authorities dealing with religious and charitable institutions.

²⁵ *Laḍitamahāśvara* is the northern form for *Lalitamahāśvara*. Neither the Nepalese nor the Kāshmirans pronounce or even pronounce the southern *La* ल; they always substitute *ḍa* for it.

²⁶ The word *Pāncālikas* seems to be a technical expression corresponding to the southern *Pāncālikas* and the modern "Panch." At present also temples and endow-

ments of temples in Nepāl are administered by committees called *panch*.

²⁷ *Vārita* I take to be the name of a family, and a country called *Vārita* is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. It may, however, be also derived from *vāritā* "herdwood," and indicate that Vibhavarman held a *croft* from the king.

²⁸ *Lalitapattana* or *Pāna* is situated one and a half miles east of Kātmāṇḍu. Its Nepāl name is *Tinyāla*, i. e. on the road (to) to Kātmāṇḍu (Tīnari), because in ancient times the road from Bhāgīra to Kātmāṇḍu went by *Lalitapattana*.

- [⁶] माभाष्य समाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु भवताम्भहारकमहाराजाधिराज्यंशु-
 [⁷] वम्भेपादैर्युष्मदीययामाणमुपकाराय घोसी तिलमक आनीतोभूष-
 [⁸] तिसंस्काराभावदिनष्टमुदीदय सामन्तचन्द्रवर्माविजयैरामाभिस्तस्यै-
 [⁹] व प्रसादीकृतस्तेन चास्मदनुज्ञातेन युष्मद्दामाणमिषोपकाराय
 [¹⁰] प्रतिसंस्कृतोस्य घोषकारस्य पारम्पर्याविच्छेदेन चिरतरकालोद्दहना-
 [¹¹] य युष्माके वाटिका अपि प्रसादीकृतास्तदेताभ्यो यथाकालमिषण्ड-
 [¹²] कमुपसदस्य भवद्विरव तिलमकप्रतिसंस्कारः करणीय एतद्दाम-
 [¹³] षयव्यतिरेकेण चान्यसामनिवासिनाम केप्राश्विन्नेन लभ्यतेस्य च
 [¹⁴] प्रसादस्य चिरस्थितये शिलापट्टकशासनमिदन्दत्तमेवैदिभिर्न
 [¹⁵] कैश्विदयप्रसादोव्यवा करणीयो पस्वेतामाज्ञामतिक्रम्याप्यथा तिलम-
 [¹⁶] क[च]नेनस्यावश्यन्दण्डः पातपितव्यो भविष्यद्विरपि भूपतिभिः पूर्वरा-
 [¹⁷] जकृतप्रसादानुवर्तिभिरेव भवितव्यमिति अपि चात्र वाटिकानामुद्देशः
 [¹⁸] यंबुधामस्य दक्षिणदिशे पूर्वेण रामवि मा १ तिलमकस्य पश्चिमप्रदेशे मा १
 [¹⁹] — कुल पूर्वेण मा ४ मूलवाटिकायामस्योत्तरतः अश्विहोपदेशे मा ८
 [²⁰] — प्रदेशे मा १ माकुलयाम पश्चिमेन कडपिहोपदेशे मा ४ ककुलप्रदेशे
 [²¹] मा ४ स्वयमाज्ञा संवत् ४८ कार्तिक शुक्ल ९ दूतको युवराजश्रीविष्णुगुप्तः

Translation.

Our. Hall
 (of the) illustrious lord and great
 king Dhruvadeva
 The illustrious Śaikhya-
 Gupta, who desires the welfare of his subjects,
 who is of pure conduct, who, sprung from a
 virtuous family, has obtained a prosperous
 kingdom, whose orders are obeyed by all vil-
 lages, who has been favoured by the feet of the
 divine lord Paśupati, and who meditates on
 the feet of Rāma, sends greeting from the
 palace (called) Kāśīśākhā to the cultivators
 residing in the villages Thānabh, Gāngul, and
 Mālavālikā, and issues (these) orders: It
 is known to you that, seeing the water-course,²²
 which the illustrious lord and great king
 Aśvavarman had to your villages for your
 benefit, destroyed through want of repairs, we
 being addressed by the feudal chief Candra-
 varman, have presented it to him; that he,
 with our permission, has repaired it for the benefit
 of your villages; and that in order to ensure the
 constant continuance of the benefit we have
 presented the irrigable fields (mentioned below) to

you. Wherefore you shall pay an assessment²³ in
 these (fields), and repair the water-course (here-
 after). The inhabitants of other villages except
 of them three (mentioned above) shall not lead
 this water-course elsewhere; and in order to en-
 sure the long continuance of this grant, this edict,
 engraved on a stone tablet, has been promulgated.
 Nobody, who knows this, shall alter the grant.
 But he who, violating this order, leads the water-
 course elsewhere, shall certainly be punished.
 Future kings also ought to act in accordance with
 the grant made by their predecessors. Moreover,
 a brief description of the irrigable fields (is given)
 herewith: south of the village of Thānabh, east
 of the field²⁴ of Rāma two *śāḍa*,²⁵ west of the
 water-course one *śāḍa*, east of . . . four *śāḍa*
 north of Mālavālikā on the site called
 Aśīnko eight *śāḍa*, on the site . . . one
śāḍa; west of the village of Gāngul, on the site
 called Kādāmpriḍg, four *śāḍa*, on the site
 called Kankulā in four *śāḍa*. (This is) our
 own order. On the second day of the bright
 half of Kārttika, Śaivav 48. The executive
 officer is the illustrious Yuvarāja Viṣṇu-
 Gupta.

²² The word *tīlasmā* is not found in any dictionary, but it seems certain, from the context, that it must be some kind of water-course. Probably it denotes a channel which leads the water from the hillside over the fields which rise in terraces one above the other.

²³ *Piṣṭaka*, which is a synonym of the more common

śāḍa, seems to denote a share of the produce of the field, see below, No. 11, line 25.

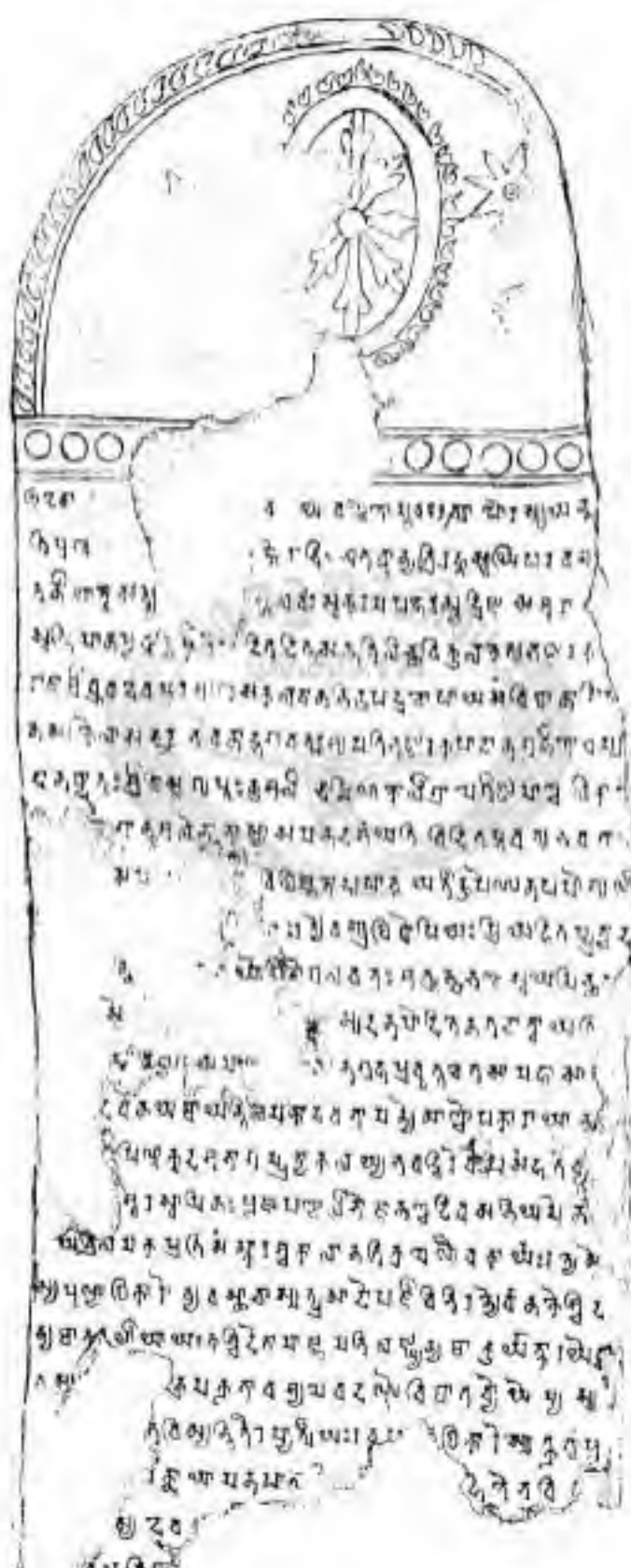
²⁴ *Śāḍa* is probably a Nepāl word, and corresponds with the modern even 'a fold.'

²⁵ *Śāḍa* is probably an abbreviation of *śāḍa*, intended for some measure. The present Nepāl measure is the *para*; see also below.





ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 श्रीगुह्येश्वर्य ॥ २ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥
 पञ्चकूटस्थं श्रीगुह्येश्वर्यं नमस्कृत्य ॥ ४ ॥
 वक्रवर्धनं श्रीगुह्येश्वर्यं नमस्कृत्य ॥ ५ ॥
 कुलं श्रीगुह्येश्वर्यं नमस्कृत्य ॥ ६ ॥
 मन्त्रं श्रीगुह्येश्वर्यं नमस्कृत्य ॥ ७ ॥
 वक्रवर्धनं श्रीगुह्येश्वर्यं नमस्कृत्य ॥ ८ ॥
 कुलं श्रीगुह्येश्वर्यं नमस्कृत्य ॥ ९ ॥
 मन्त्रं श्रीगुह्येश्वर्यं नमस्कृत्य ॥ १० ॥
 वक्रवर्धनं श्रीगुह्येश्वर्यं नमस्कृत्य ॥ ११ ॥
 कुलं श्रीगुह्येश्वर्यं नमस्कृत्य ॥ १२ ॥
 मन्त्रं श्रीगुह्येश्वर्यं नमस्कृत्य ॥ १३ ॥
 वक्रवर्धनं श्रीगुह्येश्वर्यं नमस्कृत्य ॥ १४ ॥
 कुलं श्रीगुह्येश्वर्यं नमस्कृत्य ॥ १५ ॥
 मन्त्रं श्रीगुह्येश्वर्यं नमस्कृत्य ॥ १६ ॥
 वक्रवर्धनं श्रीगुह्येश्वर्यं नमस्कृत्य ॥ १७ ॥
 कुलं श्रीगुह्येश्वर्यं नमस्कृत्य ॥ १८ ॥
 मन्त्रं श्रीगुह्येश्वर्यं नमस्कृत्य ॥ १९ ॥
 वक्रवर्धनं श्रीगुह्येश्वर्यं नमस्कृत्य ॥ २० ॥
 कुलं श्रीगुह्येश्वर्यं नमस्कृत्य ॥ २१ ॥
 मन्त्रं श्रीगुह्येश्वर्यं नमस्कृत्य ॥ २२ ॥
 वक्रवर्धनं श्रीगुह्येश्वर्यं नमस्कृत्य ॥ २३ ॥
 कुलं श्रीगुह्येश्वर्यं नमस्कृत्य ॥ २४ ॥
 मन्त्रं श्रीगुह्येश्वर्यं नमस्कृत्य ॥ २५ ॥
 वक्रवर्धनं श्रीगुह्येश्वर्यं नमस्कृत्य ॥ २६ ॥
 कुलं श्रीगुह्येश्वर्यं नमस्कृत्य ॥ २७ ॥
 मन्त्रं श्रीगुह्येश्वर्यं नमस्कृत्य ॥ २८ ॥
 वक्रवर्धनं श्रीगुह्येश्वर्यं नमस्कृत्य ॥ २९ ॥
 कुलं श्रीगुह्येश्वर्यं नमस्कृत्य ॥ ३० ॥



No. 10.—An undated inscription of
Jishnugupta.

On a slab of black slate, standing near a temple of Vishnu, called *Mina-Nārāyaṇa*,

close to the Bhairava-ghokā or southern gate of Kātmāṇḍa. Its top is decorated by a *chakra*. Parts of the inscription have peeled off. The remaining portions are in good condition.

Transcript.

- [¹] ई देवा ----- यावस्थितो ----- त्मा पौरुषयन्-
[²] तिमुख ----- देवाविम् एतच्चान्यत्तिरङ्गस्वपि परवश-
[³] न्दनीपो ----- लर्बः स्वरूपपरहन्प[दि]ता सेवरा[श्रीः]²²
[⁴] स्वस्ति मानगृ[हा] ----- दिताचित्तन्ततिलिच्छविकुलेकेतुभृशक-
[⁵] राजश्रीपुत्रेदेवपुरस्सरे सकलजननिरूपदशोपायसंविधानार्पित[मा]-
[⁶] नसः कैलासकूटभवनार्द्रगव्यभुपतिभृशकपादानुगृहीतो वप्य-
[⁷] पादानुभ्यातः श्रीतिष्णुगुप्तः कुशली दक्षिणकोलीयामे गीतापाञ्चालिका -
[⁸] ----- गान्कुशलेनाभाप्य समनुदर्शयति विदितम्भवतु भवताम् -
[⁹] ----- स ----- विधितानादुपात्तापती रूपेणानुपमो गुणी
[¹⁰] ----- इत्येवमप्यपितोपि यः प्रिपहितमन्याद -
[¹¹] ----- बलवतः शबन्धभञ्ज स्वपमिर्त्य -
[¹²] ----- छे ----- स्मदनुमोदितेन तदान्वायति -
[¹³] ----- व्याप्रियमाणो ----- नृपहप्रवृत्तयेतसा महासा[मन्त]
[¹⁴] ----- देवेन यथायन्तिलमको भवतामन्येषाञ्चोपकारायाक -
[¹⁵] ----- पिण्डकदम्बभागमन्याकलय्य भवद्विरेवोपसंहर्तव्यः -
[¹⁶] ----- लेश्वरस्वामिनः पूजा पाञ्चालीभोजनञ्च दिवसनिधमेन -
[¹⁷] - य तिलमकपतिसंस्कारश्च कालानतिक्रमेणैव कार्य इत्येषो-
[¹⁸] स्व पुण्याधिकारो व्यवस्था चास्मत्प्रासादोपजीविभिरन्यैर्वा न कैश्चिद[प्य]
[¹⁹] म्याकारणीया यः कश्चिदेतामानामतिलङ्घ्यान्यथा कुर्यात्कारयेत्ता
[²⁰] ----- क्रमकृतावश्यमेव दण्डो विधातव्यो वेप्यस्म -
[²¹] ----- संभविष्यन्ति तैरप्यामीय इव ----- धिकारेस्मकृतव-
[²²] ----- स्य रक्षायामनुपालने य ----- हितैर्भवि[तव्य]
[²³] ----- स्य देव -----
[²⁴] ----- व इति -----

Abstract.

The first three lines probably contained a verse in honour of Lakshmi and Vishnu. On this supposition it is necessary to read *abdhijā* instead of *adrijā*. The fact that a *Chakra* adorns the top of the stone makes it probable that the grantee was a Vaishṇava. Lines 4-8 contain the preamble of the grant, and show that *Jishnugupta* acknowledged *Dhruvadeva*, of the *Lichchhavi* race, who resided at *Mānagriha* as lord paramount. Unfortunately the word following *Dhruvadeva*'s name, which has been ren-

dered in the transcript by *purussara* is not certain. *Jishnugupta* dates from the *Kailāskōṭa* palace, and addresses his edict to the *Gvā-Pāncālī*, apparently a committee thus named, residing in the village of *Dakahiṇakoll*. The contents of the body of the inscription (ll. 9-24) seem to have been very similar to those of No. 9. They refer to the repairs of a watercourse (*tilamaka*) which had been first dug by some person whose name ended in . . . *deva* (line 14), and the cultivators using it are ordered to pay an assessment (*piṇḍala*) of one-tenth of the pro-

²² L. 3, read ²² नृपविजया.

duce (line 18), to feed the Pāṇchālī or Panchi worshipping a deity whose name ended in *śivaśarasvāmīn*, and to provide for the repairs of the watercourse.

No. 11.—An undated inscription of *Jishnugupta's* reign.

On a stone supporting a parasol over an image of *Chhatra-chandēvara*,²² which is placed on a quadrangular base in the south-eastern corner of the enclosure of the great temple of *Pāṇupati*. The inscription originally consisted of thirty lines, twenty-five of which have been preserved.

Characters as those of the preceding inscriptions.

Transcript.

- [¹] सम्प्रधानादियुक्तः सक-
 [²] [ल]गुणगर्णं सोमयिता प-
 [³] [ध]ानम् ब्रह्मादिस्थवरान्त-
 [⁴] अन्तादिदमलिलं योसुज-
 [⁵] दिशरूपम् आशीव्यं सभ-
 [⁶] पुंतां गिरितरुगहनं मा करो-
 [⁷] त्तेकरूपम् पाषाणोद्यं प्रस-
 [⁸] त्वाः स्मरतनुदहनच्छव-
 [⁹] ण्देशरो वः ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीजिष्णुगुप्त-
 [¹⁰] स्व प्रवर्तमानवितपराम्भे आ-
 [¹¹] चार्यभक्तप्रनर्दनप्राणकौ-
 [¹²] शिकेन भगवतश्छवच्छेशरस्य
 [¹³] कृष्णमे प्रणालिकायाश्च ख-
 [¹⁴] [ण्ड]कुटितसमाधानार्थमुदि-
 [¹⁵] [श्च] मुण्डमुल्लिकपाशुपताचा-
 [¹⁶] र्यपर्वदि वाराहस्वामिधर्म-
 [¹⁷] - - - - - सोमवद्वृत्तकानाञ्च अशी-
 [¹⁸] [त्रि] - पिण्डकमानिकानां भूः प्रतिपादि-²³
 [¹⁹] ता[ः] ता[ः] प्रदेशा लिख्यन्ते पिष्कू-
 [²⁰] यामे मा १० सामानोदूलके मा २०

- [²¹] पागुमे मा ५ पोयामे मा २ खू-
 [²²] लेप्रहमे मा ९ भूपो मा १५ वि-
 [²³] - - कयेते भयान्पाशुपतुर्विकृतिकपा
 [²⁴] - - वचके - - - - - अब विंशतिमानिका
 [²⁵] - - - - - शेषाः भूदुल्लिकपा-
 [²⁶] - - - - - [वाराहस्वामि]प्रभृतिभि-

Translation.

May *Chhatra-Chandēvara* graciously protect you, he who burned the body of *Cupid*, who is possessed of true knowledge and so forth, who, stirring the primary germ which contains all the (these) fetters, produced this whole multiform creation from *Brahmā* to inanimate objects, who uniformly (everywhere) creates the forests and the mountains on which all men live.

Hail! During the prosperous and victorious reign of the illustrious *Jishnugupta Āchārya*, the worshipful *Pranerdanapranakawāṭika*²⁴ has given to *Vārāhasvāmīn*, *Dharma* and to the *Somakhad-dakas*²⁵ in the congregation of the *Maṇḍa-śrinikhalika*²⁶ *Pāṇupati Āchārya*, fields of eighty measures for repairing (the sanctuary of) the divine *Chhatra-chandēvara* and the spot of the watercourse in *Kāgrāma*. The sites of the fields are described (as follows): In the village of *Pikhoten mās*, in *Samānoddālaka* twenty *mās*, in *Pāgu-maka* five *mās*, in the village of *Potwo mās*, in the village of *Khūlapreṣṭh* nine *mās*, further fifteen *mās*.

No. 12.—Inscription of *Śivadeva*, dated *Śrīharsha Samvat* 119.

On a slab of black slate, leaning against the wall of a small modern temple of *Vishnu*, situated in *Lagantol Kātmāyā*. The top of the stone shows a well carved relief, which represents *Nandi* reclining on *Kailāsa*.

Characters as those of preceding inscription. Execution and preservation in general good.

Transcript.

- [¹] ॐ स्वस्ति श्रीमकैलासकूटभवनात् लक्ष्मीलतालम्बनकल्पपादपो
 [²] भगवत्पशुपतिमहारूपपादानुगृहीतो नम्यपादानुध्यातः परमभट्टार-

²² It was an ancient custom to place an image of *Chhatra-chandēvara* to the south or south-east of *Śaiva* temples, and to offer to it the remainder of the materials used for the worship of *Śiva*. Two images of *Chhatra-chandēvara* resemble those of *Śiva* and hold the same attributes. In addition they show the same personality as the Greek deity *Priapus*. Hence the common people call them *Kāmadēva*. Such images are also found in the mounds at *Mothurk*.

²³ Line 18, read पुनः —

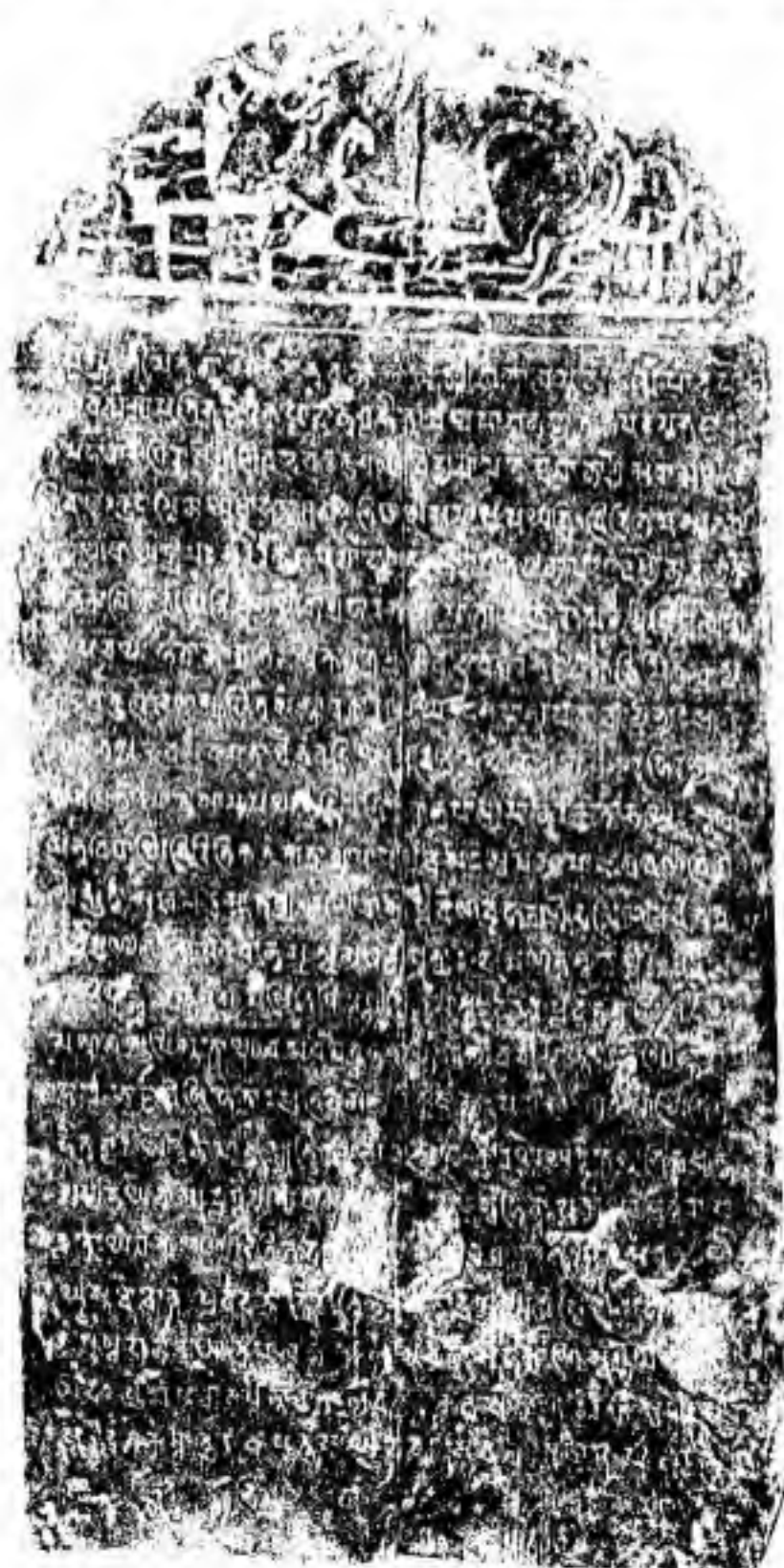
²⁴ The meaning of this name seems to be equivalent to the modern *Śivagrasāda* or *Śivāśila*, and to mean 'dense as life in the marrow (Bodhi)'.

²⁵ *Khadāśika* occurs on other inscriptions as a name of certain priests of *Śiva*.

²⁶ *Mundakpikhalika* literally "wearing a chain of skulls" is the name of a sub-division of the *Pāṇputas*.

[The text in this image is extremely faded and illegible.]

[illegible]



- [³] कमहाराजाधिराजश्रीशिवदेवः कुशली । वैद्यमके प्रधानमिसरान्सकल-
 [⁴] निवासिकुटुम्बिनो यथाईकुशलमभिधाय समातापयति विदितमस्तु भव-
 [⁵] तां यथायकामः शरीरकोट्टमर्पादो[पयुक्त]श्चाटभटानामशवेयेनाचन्द्रार्क-
 [⁶] वनिकालिको भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाप्रहारतया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च विपुलपु-
 [⁷] ण्योपचयहेतोरस्माभिः स्वकारितश्रीशिवदेवेश्वरं भट्टारकभिमित्नीकृत्य⁴⁰
 [⁸] तदेवकुलखण्डस्फुटितसंस्कारकारणाय वक्षपाश्रुपताचार्यभ्यः प्रति-
 [⁹] पादितस्त्वदेवमवगतार्थैर्मवद्विः समुचितदेवभामभोगकरहिरण्यादि-
 [¹⁰] सर्वप्रन्यायनेषामुपपञ्च]द्विरेभिरेवानुपाभ्यमानैरकुतोभयैः स्वक-
 [¹¹] र्मानुविधायिभिरितिकर्तव्यताव्यापारेषु च सर्वेजमीयामात्राभरणविधि-
 [¹²] यैर्भूजा मुखमच स्यातव्यं सीमा चास्य पूर्वेण बृहन्मार्गो दक्षिणपूर्वतश्च
 [¹³] शिबी पणाली तामेव चानुसृत्य स्वल्पः पन्था दक्षिणतश्च तेहूः पश्चिमे-
 [¹⁴] नापि तेहूः उत्तरतस्यापि विशिमण्डातिलमकः उत्तरपूर्वतश्चापि सहस्र-
 [¹⁵] मण्डलभूमिस्ततो यावत्त एव बृहन्मार्ग इत्येवं सीमान्तर्भूतेस्मिन्नय-
 [¹⁶] हारे भोहृविष्टिहेतोः प्रतिवर्षं मारिकजनाः पञ्च ५ व्यवसायिभिर्वै-
 [¹⁷] हीतव्याः ये जेतामाहाम्यतिक्रम्यान्वया कुर्युः कारयेयुर्वा तेस्माभिर्भूशश्च
 [¹⁸] क्षम्यन्ते ये चास्मदूर्ध्वभूभुजो भविष्यन्ति तेषि प]रस्वहितापेक्षया पूर्वराज-
 [¹⁹] कृतोप धर्महेतुरिति तद[वगच्छ] --- रवा --- सरक्षणी-
 [²⁰] यस्तथा चोक्तं पूर्वदत्तां दिजाविभ्यो यत्नाइव सुषिष्टि[र मदीं महीम-]
 [²¹] तां श्रेष्ठ दानाञ्चोयोनुपालनं ॥ पठि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गो भो[दति भू-]
 [²²] मिदः आशेषा चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ इति स्वयमा-
 [²³] ता दूतकश्चाव राजपुत्रनयदेवः संवत् ११९ फागुन शुद्ध दिवा दशम्याम्

Translation.

Om. Hail! From the famous palace (called) Kailāsakūṭa! The supreme lord and great king of kings, illustrious Śivadeva, who resembles a tree of Paradise to which the creeper, Fortune, clings, who has received favour from the feet of the lord, the divine Paśupati, and meditates on the feet of Dappa, being in good health, sends due greeting to the headman and cultivators residing in the village of Vaidyaka, and issues (these) orders:—
 "Be it known to you that this village, including the land, the sky above and the nether regions below, together with . . . has been given by us in order to gain much spiritual merit for our parents and ourselves, as an Agrahāra to the Vaiśiṣṭyānpatīśāhārya for the sake of the lord ŚrīŚivadevāśvāra, dedicated by ourselves, in order to repair his temple, the village being not to be entered by our police officers,⁴¹ and

the grant to last as long as the moon, the sun, and the earth endure. You, understanding this, giving to him (the *Āchārya*) all the income, viz., the proper share (of the produce) and the taxes in gold and so forth, being protected by him (the *Āchārya*) alone, fearlessly following your occupations, and obeying him in respect to all work that may have to be performed, shall live there in peace. And the boundaries of this (village are as follows): To the east the high-road, and to the south-east the Śivā water-conduit and the little footpath along it, and to the south Tenkhū, to the west also Tenkhū, further to the north the Chīśmanjā watercourse (*ghāṭa*); and further to the north-east the Sahaśramanājā field, thence as far as the (above-mentioned) high-road. From this Agrahāra, which is enclosed by the abovementioned boundaries, the authorities shall take annually five (5) load-carriers for the Thibet service.

⁴⁰ L. T. read "देवधाम"; L. R. read "वक्षपा"; L. 21. read पठि.—

⁴¹ I take *chākośāra* to stand for *chākośāra*, i.e. 'soldiers against robbers' and to be a name of the royal police; see also the *Kāndrupāśāhārya*.

But those, who violating this order not otherwise, or incite others to not otherwise, will certainly not be pardoned. And the kings who may come after us should protect this grant, understanding that it is 'a bridge to heaven' built by a former king for his own and others' welfare. And it has also been declared (in the *Mahābhārata*), 'Oh Yadhishthira, zealously protect the (grants of) land given to Brahmins by former kings; oh best of kings, protecting is better than giving. The giver of land rejoices in heaven during sixty thousand years; he who interferes (with a grant of land), and he who permits it, will dwell in hell for as long a period.' (This is my) own order, and the executive officer here is prince J a y a d e v a. On the tenth day of the bright half of Phālguna Saurvat 119."

No. 13.—*Inscription of Śivadēva, dated Śrīkarakha Saurvat 148.*

This inscription is incised on a stone (and outside the southern gate of the enclosure of the temple of Puśopādī. I have not seen it myself. A friend in Nepal, who used to go about with me, and to assist me in my work, sent me the

impression from which the photograph has been prepared.

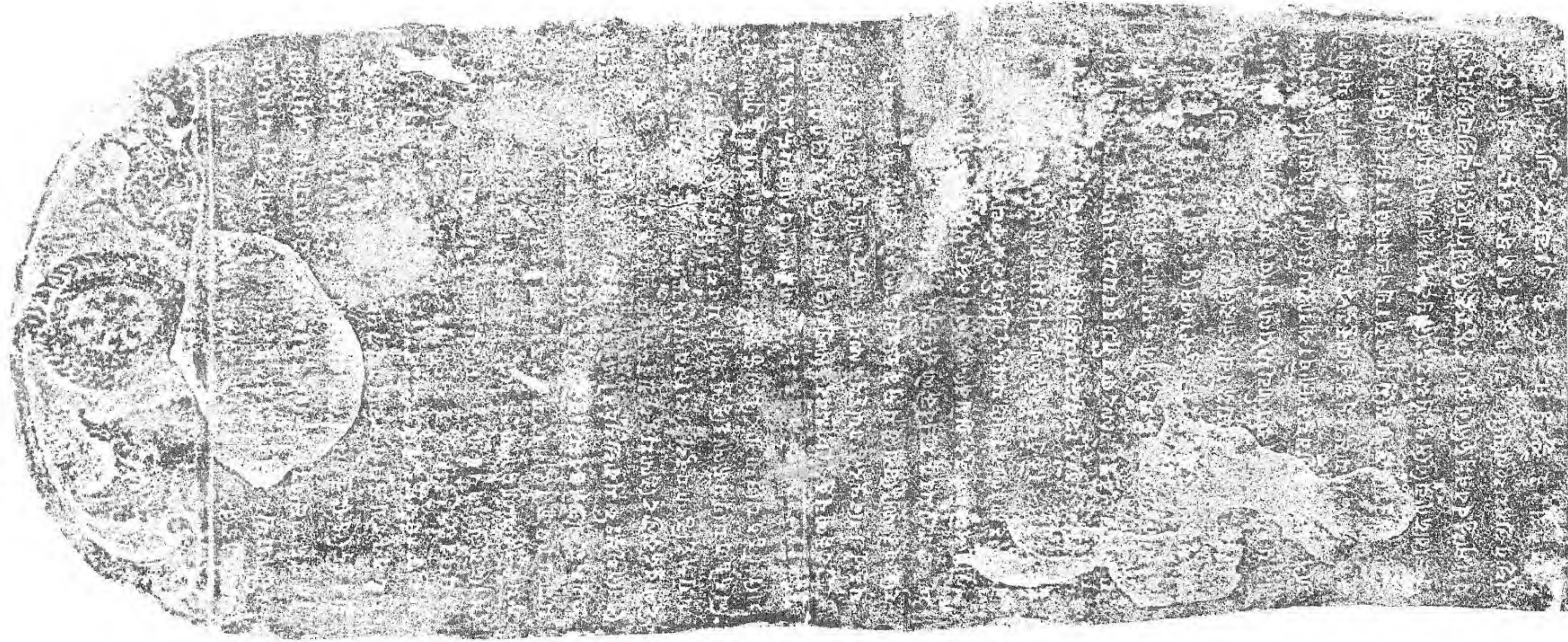
The inscription is very badly mutilated. But it is clear that it contained a grant of a village, which was given to the fraternity of Buddhist monks residing in the Śivadēva-vihāra. The name of the donor in line 3 is not distinct. It seems to me, however, that the faint traces of letters visible point to the reading given in the transcript. In favour of this reading the following additional reasons may be adduced.

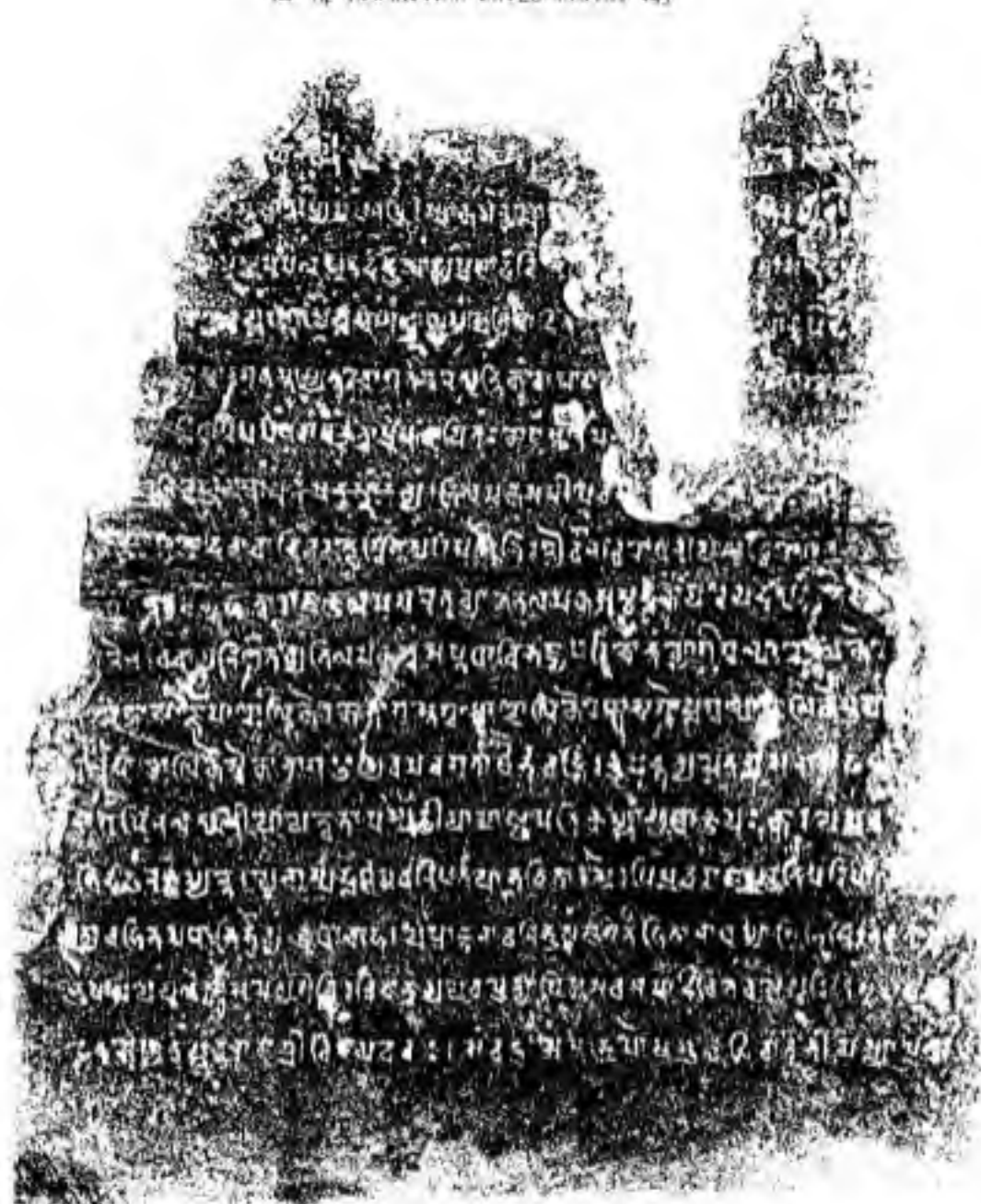
Firstly, the letters exactly agree with those of the preceding inscriptions. Secondly, the grant is in favour of a monastery founded by Śivadēva. Thirdly, that the *śāhaka* (l. 86) is called Śivadēva-śhaṭṭīśaka, the lord Śivadēva. The epithet *śhaṭṭīśaka* is only given to a king or to a high priest. It is not known that a priest ever exercised the office of *śāhaka*, while we have several instances where the king is his own *śāhaka*.

As to the date, the figures for 100 and for three are, though faint, distinctly visible. The middle figure I take to have been 40. But I will not dispute that it may not have been 20 or 30.

Transcript.

- [¹] -- मद्राधि -- -- -- -- -- [५] शुपतिमहारकपादानु-
 [²] गृहीतो गणपा[दनुष्पातः] -- -- -- -- -- परममोहेश्वरपरमभट्टा-
 [³] रकमहारामाधि[तश्री शिवदेवः कुशली] -- भवयामे यधानपुरस्सरा-
 [⁴] त्सर्वकुटुम्बिनः कुशल[माभाष्य] -- -- -- -- -- गुप्तवभु -- -- -- धधि-
 [⁵] ज्ञामो भगवत्पुत्रपौ पु रितपु -- -- -- -- -- न सर्वे विना -- -- --
 [⁶] मनुरोपाधि -- -- -- -- --
 [⁷] ह्यपर -- -- -- -- -- वि-
 [⁸] शिरदिती -- -- -- -- --
 [⁹] भयच -- -- -- -- --
 [¹⁰] पञ्चापरधकारिणः -- -- -- -- -- राजकुलानाम् -- -- -- -- -- कल्पवादि सर्व -- य-
 [¹¹] स्वार्यसङ्गस्य -- -- -- -- -- शिवदेवविहारचतुर्दिगार्थभिधुसङ्गायास्मा-
 [¹²] भिरतिसृष्टः सीमा चास्य पूर्वोत्तरेण श्रेष्ठिनुम्बू -- श्रीगुप्तमध्यमाली तस्याः किञ्चित्पू-
 [¹³] र्णेन बृहदाल्या दक्षिणमनुसृत्य [वृत्] ज्ञा -- मिष्टपूर्वदक्षिणेन [वि] श्रुतिना -- -- -- म-
 [¹⁴] मार्गोस्तदक्षिणमनुसृत्य सरलवन [याममार्ग] स्त -- -- -- -- -- सृत्य -- -- --
 [¹⁵] लिक्क्षेत्रपश्चिमकोणादक्षिण[पश्चि]ममनुसृत्य श्रीविदुरिकविहारस्य सम्भी
 [¹⁶] मरिमक्षेत्रपश्चिमाल्या दक्षिण[ज्ञा] -- -- च्छम्भूदक्षिणेश्वराम्भतीर्थक्षेत्राणां सन्धिः
 [¹⁷] -- -- -- -- -- दक्षिणकोणात्किञ्चित्पश्चिमहत्वा मितम्भूमे --
 [¹⁸] दक्षिणमनुसृत्य तत्पूर्वदक्षिणाल्या ५ पश्चिमहत्वा किञ्चिदुत्तरञ्च ततः पश्चिम-
 [¹⁹] मनुसृत्य च निम्बूदक्षिणपश्चिमकोणादक्षिणहत्वा लोपिह्णामकगौष्ठिकक्षेत्रम्





- [²⁰] दक्षिणकोणात्किञ्चिदभिमङ्गत्वा ह्युपिपाञ्चालिकक्षेत्रम् --- ल्या दक्षिणमनुसृत्य
 [²¹] --- राममेरुत्तरपूर्वकोणे ह्युपिपामी बृहत्पथस्तत्पश्चिममनुसृत्य ह्युपि ---
 [²²] --- स्त --- रोधेनुसृत्य मेकणि --- [स्ति]लमकस्तद्धाम --- मधिरुह्य ---
 [²³] --- कसारेणोत्तरपश्चिममनुसृत्य --- नी ---
 [²⁴] --- [श्च]रक्षेत्रं पूर्वदक्षिणाभ्याः पश्चिमङ्गत्वा लोपि --- तक्षेत्रन्ततः
 [²⁵] --- स्तस्योत्तरञ्च बृहदारामस्य पूर्वमुखे महापथः --- ङ्गत्वा बृह-
 [²⁶] --- कोणादधोवर्तीर्य वनपर्यन्तमुपादाय --- तस्त-
 [²⁷] --- स्तस्योत्तरेणोत्तरेण श्वधर्तीर्य --- गाव --- र्य
 [²⁸] --- दारायानुसारेण श्रेष्ठि --- लिन्या
 [²⁹] --- महारो यदि कदाचिदायं सङ्गस्य सि --- र्यत ---
 [³⁰] तदा प --- मा --- वारणीयमापणकराधिकमा --- एवा-
 [³¹] र्यमि --- ज्येष्ठमवगतार्थैरस्मत्पादोपजीविभिरन्यैर्वायमप्रा[दान्य]या न
 [³²] --- मातामूलङ्घ्यान्पथा कुर्यात्कारपेदा --- स्तुतरात्र मर्षणीया
 [³³] ये --- भूमिपालास्तेरप्युभयलोकनिरपद्यमुत्थार्थिभिः पूर्व-
 [³⁴] राजविहितो विशिष्टः प्रसाद इति प्रयत्नतस्तत्पथपरिपालनीय एव पतो
 [³⁵] धर्मशास्त्रवचनमनुभविर्गुणा दत्ता राजभिस्तगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि-
 [³⁶] तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति । सपमाजा । दूतकश्चात्र भट्टरकप्रीतिदेवः ।
 [³⁷] संवत् १ [४] १ ज्येष्ठ शुद्ध दिवा तयोदश्याम् ।

No. 14.—An inscription dated Śrīharsha
Saka 145.

Location : a stone placed near a water conduit close to the temple of Manjughosha or Mīnānātha Lalitapatana. It is very badly mutilated, and has lost a great many lines at the top. It would seem that it refers to the repairs and to the right to use a water-source (*tilamaka*).

The name of the king who issued the edict has been lost. The *deśika* is the Yuvarāja, or heir apparent, the illustrious Vijaya-deva, and the date, the third day of the bright half of Pangsā, Śaka 145. The letters closely resemble those of the preceding inscriptions, and leave no doubt that it most probably belongs to Śivadeva himself.

Transcript.

- [¹] ---
 [²] --- स्वस्वान्तरेऽप्यमुं जानद्विरस्माकमन्यथा ---
 [³] --- व्यमुपलपनं च कुमार्या प्रसादं वि --- सात ---
 [⁴] --- एवयामे यूचि --- मा प्रतिपादित ---
 [⁵] --- ज्ञास्योरगनस्तस्यान्तरे चागूतवनेऽपसिका चाघादा ---
 [⁶] --- विध --- मपराधं कृत्वा प्रपलायितः कोट्टस्यानम ---
 [⁷] --- निवेद्य यथापु[र्व]मनुष्ठातव्यं तिलमकसमीपे च ---
 [⁸] --- यौ दिवा चा --- कैश्चित्परिपन्थिभिरन्यैर्वा न निरोधनीयस्तद्विरोधक ---
 [⁹] --- [द्विरेवं] गृहीत्वा रामकुलमुपनेतव्याः तिलमक --- कार्यञ्च पदुःपशते ---
 [¹⁰] [ते] नैव विचार्य निर्णेतव्यं तिलमकश्च सत्पथा विभज्य परिभोक्तव्यो गिरवत्याञ्चालिकैरे[को भा-]
 [¹¹] [गः] ज्ञासाञ्जापाञ्चालिकैरेको भागस्तेमत्याञ्चालिकैरेको भागो यूमत्या[ञ्च]ालिकैस्त्रयो भागा
 [¹²] --- पाञ्चालिकैस्त्रेको भाग इत्येवमवगतार्थैर्भवद्विरनुमन्तव्यमेतच्छासन --- [म-]
 [¹³] नागपि न लङ्घनीयो ये स्वेतामस्मदीयामाजामतिक्रम्यान्पथा कुर्युः कारयेयु[र्व]

[¹⁴] [स्मा]भिर्ददं [न ह]म्यन्ते ये चास्मदूर्ध्वमवनिपतयो भवितारस्तैरपि पूर्वराजस्थितिपरिपाल-
 [¹⁵] [ने] व्यवहितमनोभिर्भाव्यं [य]या चाह ये प्राक्तनावनिभुजा जगतीहितानां धर्म्या स्थिति
 स्थितिकृता[म]

[¹⁶] नृपालयेयुर्लक्ष्या समेज्य सुचिरभित्तभायैव प्रेष्यापि वासवसमा दिवि ते वसेपुरिति[शुभमस्तु]

[¹⁷] दूतको युवराजश्रीविजयदेवः । संवत् १४५ पौष शुक्ल दिवा तृतीयायाम् ।

No. 15.—*Inscription of Jayaditya, dated Sakarabha
 Samvat 153.*

Location: a slab of black slate 4' 4" by 3' 4" placed behind the bell or Nandi, opposite to the western door of the temple of Paśupati. The

stone is ornamented with a lotus and buds.

The character is a modified form of the Gupta alphabet.

Execution: good. Preservation: in general excellent.

Transcript.

- [¹] अक्षरव्यवस्थायाम् विसमवसदक्षश्चिपतीतस्त्रिलोकीवाता जेतादिहेतुश्चिगुणमयतया व्यादिभिर्व्ये-
 ष्णितोलं । विष्टोतपीतमूर्द्धा विपुरजिदजितो निर्विबन्धविभर्गो य[स्यो]नुक्त[श्चि]शूल-
 [²] छिदशपतिनुतः --- तापनीभूत् ॥ [१] राजद्रावणमूर्द्धपङ्क्तिश्चिखरव्यासकचूडामणिश्रेणीसङ्गति-
 निश्चलान्मकतया लङ्कामुनानाः पुरी । --- इ[त्य]पराकम्पा ---
 [³] --- सङ्गताः श्रीवाणासुरशेखराः पशुपतेः पादाणकः पान्तु वः ॥ [२] सूर्याङ्गप्रपौवान्मनुरय
 भगवाज्जन्म लेभे ततोभूदिश्वकुश्वक[र्त्ता] नृपतिरपि ततः श्रीविकुलि[र्वभूत्] ।
 [⁴] जात --- विदितो भूमिपः सार्वभौमो भूतोस्माद्विप्रगन्धः प्रबलनिजबलव्याप्तविश्रान्त-
 रालः । [३] रामाष्टोत्तरविह्वलितितिभुजस्तस्माद्यतीत्य क्मान्तम्भूतः सतरः पतिः ---
 [⁵] --- [साम]राया क्षितेः । जातोस्मादसमजसो नरपतिस्तस्मादभूदङ्गुमान्त श्रीमन्तमजी-
 जनभरपरो भूषं दिलीपाङ्गवं [४] भजे जन्म ततो भगीरथ इति क्वातो नृपोबान्तरे भूपाला ---
 [⁶] --- [जातो] रघोरप्यजः श्रीमनुङ्गरयस्ततो दशरथः पुत्रैश्च पौत्रैस्तमं रामोऽष्टावपरानि-
 हाय परतः श्रीमानभूलिच्छतिः ॥ [५] अरुणेव क्षितिमण्डनैकतिलको लोकप्रतीतो महाना ---
 [⁷] --- प्रभावमहताम्मान्यः सुराणामपि । स्वच्छं लिच्छविनाम विधदपरो वंशः प्रवृत्तोदयः श्रीमन्-
 द्रकलाकलापधनलो गङ्गाप्रवाहोपमः ॥ [६] तस्मालिच्छवितः परेण नृपतीहिता प-
 [⁸] --- ई श्रीमान्युष्पुत्रे कृतिः क्षितिपतिर्ज्ञातः सुपुष्पस्ततः । साकं भूपतिभिस्त्रिभिः क्षितिभूतां त्य-
 ज्ज्ञान्तरे विंशतिं क्वातः श्रीतपदेवनामनृपतिः पादुवंभूवापरः ॥ [७] एकादशक्षिति-
 [⁹] --- [त्य]ज्ज्ञान्तरे विजयिनो जयदेवनाम्नः ॥ श्रीमान्वभूत् नृपदेव इति प्रतीतो रामो-
 ज्ञमः सुगतशासनपक्षपाती ॥ [८] अभूततः शङ्करदेवनामा श्रीधर्मदेवोऽप्युदपादि तस्मात् ।
 [¹⁰] श्रीमानदेवो नृपतिस्ततोभूततो महीदेव इति प्रसिद्धः ॥ [९] वसन्त इव लोकस्य कान्तः शान्तारि-
 विग्रहः । आसीद्सन्तदेवोस्मादन्तसामन्तवन्दितः ॥ [१०] अस्यान्तरेऽप्युदपदेव इति क्षितीशाज्या-
 तास्त्रयो-
 [¹¹] दश [तत]श्च नरेन्द्रदेवः । मानोज्ञतो नतसमस्तनरेन्द्रमौलिमालारजोनिकरपाङ्गुलपादपीठः ॥ [११]
 दाता सङ्गविणस्य भूरिविभवो जेता दिपासंहतेः कर्त्ता बान्धवतोषणस्य
 [¹²] यमकपाता प्रजानामलं हर्त्ता संश्रितसाधुवर्गविपदां सत्यस्य वक्ता ततो जातः श्रीशिवदेव इत्यभिमतो
 लोकस्य भर्त्ता भुवः ॥ [१२] देवी बाहुबलाढ्यमौखरिकुलश्रीवर्मचू-
 [¹³] ङामणिख्यातिहेषितैरिभूपतिगणश्रीभोगवर्मोद्भवा ॥ दौहित्री भगवापिपस्य महतः व्यादिन्यसेनस्य
 वा व्यूढा श्रीरिच तेन सा क्षितिभुजा श्रीरुतदेव्यादरात् ॥ [१३]

- [¹¹] तस्माद्भिभुजोप्यजायत जितारतिरजयः परै राजश्रीजयदेव इत्यवगतः श्रीवत्सदेव्यान्मजः ॥ अग्री
मानधनो विशालनयनः सौम्यरत्नाकरो विद्वा[त्सक]चिरात्रयो
- [¹²] गुणवतां पीनोरु[क्त]स्यलः ॥ [१४] माददन्तिसमूहदन्तमुसलक्षुण्णारिभूभृच्छिरोगौडोद्दिकलिङ्ग-
कोत्तलपतिश्रीहर्षदेवामजा ॥ देवी राज्यमती कुलोचितगुणैर्युक्ता प्रभूता
- [¹³] कुलैर्षेनोदा भगदन्तराजकुलजा लक्ष्मीरित स्थाभुजा ॥ [१५] अत्रश्रिया परिगतो जितकामरूपः
काञ्चीगुणाद्यवनिताभिरुपास्यमानः कुर्वन्पुराष्ट्रपरिपालनकार्येचिन्तां यः सार्व-
- [¹⁴] भौमचरितं प्रकटीकरोति ॥ [१६] राज्यं प्राप्पमुखोऽजितद्विजजनप्रत्यर्पिताग्याहुतिज्योतिर्जात-
शिखाविजृम्भजिताशेषप्रजापदुजं । विभक्तकण्ठकवञ्जितं निजभुजावष्टम्भविस्फूर्जितं
- [¹⁵] शूरत्वापरचक्रकाम इति यो नाम्नापरैणान्वितः ॥ [१७] स श्रीमाज्जयदेवाख्यो विशुद्धबृहदन्वयः ल-
ब्धप्रतापः सम्प्राप्तबहुपुण्यसमुच्चयः ॥ [१८] मूर्त्तिरिष्टाभिरष्टौ महवितुमूलैः
- [¹⁶] स्वैर्लैरष्टमूर्त्तैः पातालादुत्थितं किं कमलमभिननं पद्मनाभस्य नाभे । देवस्यास्यासनायोपगतमिह
चतुर्वर्त्तसदृश्यमोहादिस्त्रीणै विष्टरं किं प्रविकसितसिताम्भोजमम्भोज-
- [¹⁷] येनैः ॥ [१९] कीर्णां किम्भूतिरेषा सपदि पशुपतेर्नृत्यतोष प्रकामं मौलीन्दोः किम्पयूषाः शरद-
मभिनवां प्राप्य शोभामुपेताः । भक्त्या कैलासशैलादिमनिचयरुचः सानवः किं
- [¹⁸] समेता दुग्धाब्धेरगतः किं गलगरसहजमीतिपीपुषराशिः ॥ [२०] राजः ॥ देवं वन्दितुमुद्यतो
युतिमतो विद्योतमानश्रुतिः किं ज्योत्स्नाधवला कणावलिखितं शेषस्य सन्दृश्यते ।
- [¹⁹] अन्तर्दूरसातलाभ्रितगतैर्द्वैप्रभाभ्रियाः ॥ [२१] किं क्षीरस्नपनं विधातुमुदिता क्षीराण्णैरस्यो-
म्यैः ॥ [२२] विष्णोः पातालमूले कणपतिशयनाकान्तिलीलासुखस्थादातां प्राप्येत-
- [²⁰] तन्वास्त्रिपुरविजयिनो भक्तितोभ्यर्चनाय । लक्ष्म्याः संलक्ष्यते प्राक्करतलकलितोत्कुललीलासरोजं किं
वेतीत्यं पितृर्कास्पदमतिरुचिरं मुग्धसिद्धाङ्गनानाम् ॥ [२३] नाली नालीकमेतन्न खलु समु-
दितं राजतो
- [²¹] राजतोहं पद्मा पद्मासनाब्जे कथमनुहरतो मानवा मानवाभे एष्यां एष्यान् मादग्भवति हृतजगन्मा-
नसे मानसे वा भास्वाभास्वान्विशेषं जनयति न ति मे वासरो वा सरो वा ॥ [२४] इतीव
- [²²] चामीकरकेसराली सिन्दूररक्तश्रुतिदन्तपङ्कजा । राजीवराजीव्यति ज्वल्लोके सौन्दर्यदण्डादिव स-
प्रहासं ॥ [२५] एषा माति कुलाचलैः परिवृता प्रालेयसंसर्गिभिर्व्वेदी मेरुशिलेन काञ्चनमयी
देवस्य
- [²³] विश्रामभूः । शुभैः प्रान्तविकासिपङ्कजदलैरित्याकलय्य स्वयं रौप्यं पद्मचक्रितरन्वशुपतेः पूजार्थमायु-
ज्वलम्^{१२} ॥ [२६] राजः ॥ यं स्वीति प्रकटप्रभावमहिमा ब्रह्मा चतुर्भिर्मूलैः यच्च आ-
- [²⁴] घयति प्रणम्य चरणे पङ्क्तिर्मुखैः पण्डितैः । यन्दुष्टान् दक्षाननोपि दक्षभिर्व्वेदैः स्फुरत्कन्धरः सेवां
यस्य करोति वामुकिरलं जिह्वासहस्रैः स्तुवन् ॥ [२७] ख्याता यः परमेश्वरोपि वरते वासो
- [²⁵] दिशाम्पङ्कले व्यापी मूढमतरश्च शङ्कुरतया ख्यातोपि संहारकः । एकोप्यष्टतनुः सुरासुरगुरुर्व्वी-
तत्रतो नृत्यति स्थाणुः पूज्यतमो विराजति गुणैरेवं विरुदैरपि [२८] राजः ॥ तस्येदं प्रमथा-
- [²⁶] धिपस्य विपुलं ब्रह्माञ्जनुस्यं शुभं राजद्राजतपङ्कजं प्रवितनं प्रान्तप्रकीर्णैर्दलैः । पूजार्थं प्रविधाप्य
तत्पशुपतेर्यथापि पुण्यमया भक्त्या तत्प्रतिपाद्य मातरि पुनः संप्राप्तुयाभिर्धुतिम् ॥ [२८]
राजः ॥
- [²⁷] किं शम्भोरुपरि स्थितं सलिलं मन्दाकिनीपङ्कजं स्वर्गोद्भिन्नबानुजुलक्षणधिया सध्यातमम्भोरुम् ।
देवानां किमियं शुभा सुकृतिनां रम्या विमानावली पदं किं करुणाकरस्य करतो

- [¹¹] लोकेश्वरस्यागतम् ॥ [२९] राज्ञः ॥ लोतःसर्गापगाया किमिदमवतरलोलकलोलरम्यं किं ब्रह्मात्यन्ति-
पदं तलकमलवरपेक्षणापोपवातं । सम्प्राप्तं चन्द्रमौलेरमलनिजशिरश्चन्द्रबिम्बं किमपेक्ष्यं
- [¹²] यदीक्ष्य शङ्कां वहति भुवि जनो विस्मयोक्तनेत्रः ॥ [३०] श्रीकृतदेव्या नृपतेर्जनन्या समं समन्ताव-
रिवारपथैः सौम्यं हरस्योपरि पुण्डरीकं तदादरैः कारितमनुदारम् [३१] पुण्यं पुत्रेण दत्तं शशिकर-
विमलं
- [¹³] कारयिवाञ्जमुत्सवं प्राप्तं शुभं शुभञ्च स्वयमपि रजतेः पद्मपूजां विधाय । सर्वे श्रीकृतदेवी निज-
कुलधवलचित्रवृत्तिन्दधाना प्रादात्कल्याणहेतोश्चिरमवनिभुजे स्वामिने स्वर्गाताय [३२]
कुर्यात्कु-
- [¹⁴] लजः पुमान्निजगुणश्लाघामनिर्दृष्ट्या राजा सत्कथिनापि नो विरचितं काव्यं स्वर्शान्वयं । श्लो-
कान्यञ्च विहाय साधुरचितान्यातेन राजा स्वयं केहाद्भुभि बुद्धकीर्तिरकरैःपूर्वामपूर्वामिमाम् ॥
[३३] योगशेमविधानबन्धुरभु-
- [¹⁵] जस्तर्पद्वपनान्धवान् शिष्टानुपकलपभूयसहितो लब्धप्रतापो नृपः दीर्घायुर्भितराभिरामयत्पुत्रि-
क्षयमोदान्वितः पृथ्वीम्यालयतु प्रकामविभवस्कृतिानुरक्तप्रजाम् ॥ [३४] संवत् १५३ कार्तिक
शुद्ध नवम्याम् ॥

Translation.

1. He is the three-eyed one, the three *Vidyas* are his imperishable essence, he remains the same in the three (*divisions of*) time, he is felt in the three conditions (*of waking, sleep, and dream*), he is the protector of the three worlds, he is the primary cause of the triad (*of moral being*); he is fully praised by the three (*deities Brahman, Vishnu and Rudra*) and others, because he contains the three fetters (*greedness, passion and vice*); his head is saved by the tripartite stream, (*Gangâ*), himself unconquered he conquered (*the demon*) Tripura, through him the three objects (*of human life—merit, wealth and pleasure*) are accessible. He wields the mighty trident, he who is worshipped by the lord of the three ten gods (*Indra*) became the destroyer of

2. May the particles (*of dust*) from Padma-pati's feet protect you, which sanctify Lañkā's town, because they firmly cling to the multitude of glittering crown-jewels fastened to the top of Râvâṇa's row of hairs⁴³ and which form a garland on famed Bâṇâsura's head.

3. Now from Sûrya, the great grandson of Brahman, was born divine Manu, from him sprang Ikshvâku, from him king Vîkukshi. A king who ruled over the whole earth was born from him; his son

was Vîshvâgastva, who with his mighty host overran the universe.

4. Twenty-eight (*other*) kings passed by, then Sagara, the lord of the earth was born. His son was king Asamanjasa; from him descended Ashvamat. That best of princes begets an illustrious king, called Dilîpa.

5. From him Bhagiratha, a famous lord of men, drew his origin. Then kings (*ruled*). From Raghu, Aja was born, from him Daśaratha, who rode on a lofty chariot. After eight other kings together with their sons and grandsons had passed, illustrious Lichchhavi was born.

6. A new great race, famous in the world, the chief ornament of the earth, increasing in prosperity, brilliant like the beautiful full moon, and similar to Gangâ's flood, which is to be honoured even by the gods that are great in majesty, and which bears the pure name Lichchhavi. exists even now.

7. kings following after that Lichchhavi are passed over; then an illustrious holy prince, called Supushpa was born in Pushpapura⁴⁴. No account is taken of twenty-three kings succeeding him; then another famous king called illustrious Jayadeva arose.

8. After the victorious Jayadeva eleven

⁴³ This line refers to the Purāṇic story, according to which Râmanushok Kullîka, taking it into his hand, and

afterwards received a boon from Siva.

⁴⁴ i. e. Pāṭaliputra or Patna.

kings are passed over. Then came a famous king, a follower of Sugata's doctrine, known as the illustrious Vṛishadēva.

9. From him was born Śaṅkaradēva, from him also Dharmadēva sprang. Then his son, the illustrious Mānadēva, became king, after him he who is known as Mahīdēva.

10. From him descended Vasantadēva, dear to the people like spring (*vasanta*), who finished the wars with his enemies, and was praised by his subdued feudal chiefs.

11. Afterwards came thirteen (*rulers*), sprung from king Udayadēva, and then Narāṇdradēva, who was proud, and whose footstool was covered with the dust from the row of diadems worn by numerous prostrated kings.

12. Then illustrious Śivadēva, honoured by men, became the husband of the earth, he who gave wealth in charity, possessed great riches, conquered his numerous enemies, gladdened his relatives, like Yama protected his subjects, greatly relieved the sufferings of pious men depending on him, and spoke truth.

13. That prince respectfully took illustrious Vatsadēvi to be his queen, as if she were Fortune, her the daughter of illustrious Bhogavarman, who was the crest-jewel of the illustrious Varmana of the valorous Maṅkharī race, and who by his glory put to shame (*all*) hostile kings, and the grand-daughter of great Ādityasena, the illustrious lord of Magadha.

14. The son of that prince, the subduer of his foes, and of illustrious Vatsadēvi is known as illustrious king Jayadēva, unvanquished by foes. Liberal he is and keeps honour as his only riches, far sees his eye. He is an ocean of politeness, he loves and long protects virtuous men. His chest is strong and broad.

15. That king wedded, as if she were Fortune, queen Rajyāmatī, possessed of virtues befitting her race, the noble descendant of Bhagadatta's royal line and daughter of Śrīharahadēva, lord of Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kalinga, Kosala and other lands, who crushed the heads of hostile kings with the club-like tusks of his rutting elephants.

16. He, clothed in beauty, surpassing Cupid, worshipped by females adorned with beautiful girdles, and giving his mind to the duty of protecting his beautiful kingdom, lives the life of a universal emperor.

17. He holds a kingdom where all the subjects' misfortunes are conquered by the spreading flames rising from the offerings made by Brāhmanas who have received great happiness (*from him*), which is free from internal enemies, and which has been extended in consequence of the support of his arm, and by reason of his heroism he has received a second name Parashakrakāma (*greedy of the kingdoms of his enemies*).

18. That prince named Śrī-Jayadēva is descended from a pure and great race, has obtained greatness and acquired a large store of spiritual merit.

19. "Has a new lotus risen from the nether regions in order to worship with its eight petals the eight bodies of eight-formed (*Śiva*)? Or has the broad lotus-seat of lotus-born Brahman come from the navel of Viṣṇu to be the throne of this deity (*Paśupati*), because it mistook him for four-faced (*Brahman*)?"

20. "Have the ashes (*covering*) Paśupati's (*body*) been scattered, while he violently danced according to his heart's desire? Or has autumn returned imparting brilliancy to the rays of the moon on Śiva's crest? Or have the table-lands glittering with masses of snow, leaving Kailāsa's mountain, collected here out of devotion (*to Śiva*)? Or has a flood of Amṛita lovingly come from²² the milk-ocean out of affection for its kindred, the poison on Śiva's throat?"

(*The above verses is the king's own composition.*)

21. "Does the resplendent row of heads, brilliant like moon-light, belonging to shining Śeṣha, who dwells in the furthest recesses of the nether world, and has risen to worship divine (*Śiva*), appear here? Or do I see the waves of the milk-ocean that have come up to bathe in milk the majestic beauty of the Lord?"

22. "Or is it the full blown toy-lotus formerly held by the hand of Lakṣmī, who, with the permission of Viṣṇu, enjoying his ease in Pātāla on the couch formed by the king of serpents, is hastening up devoutly to worship the conqueror of Tripura?" Thus (*uttering various*

²¹ This and the following verses contain a description of the gilt lotus dedicated by Jayadeva in Paśupati's temple. The lotus of Paśupati has, as stated above, four faces, and eight petals, for that reason, he mistaken for Brahman.

²² The poet wishes to describe the brilliancy of the lotus dedicated by Jayadeva, and compare it with various substances, possessing or supposed to possess extraordinary 'whiteness' as the Hindu poets say.

questions) the young wives of the Siddhas (made the lotus) a pleasant object of their guesses.

23. "Forsooth this is not a lotus composed of (common) fibres; I am made of silver by the king. How, oh men, can the two lotuses of Śrī and of Brahman, which do not possess a fresh brilliancy, rival me? On the broad earth not one (flower) like to me is found, neither in the delighted hearts of men," nor in (lake) Mānasa; neither the brilliant sun, nor the day nor the lake produces any difference in me."

24. Thus the lotus spoke as if it were proud of its beauty, showing, in decision, its golden stamens, comparable to a row of teeth dyed brilliant red with minium, to all lotuses in this world.

25. "Thinking that this throne on which the deity rests, golden like Mount Meru, was surrounded by the imperishable (seven) primeval mountains covered by snow (the king) himself caused an exceedingly resplendent silver lotus with brilliant, wide-opened petals to be made for the worship of Pāśupati."⁴⁸

(The above verse is) the king's (own composition.)

26—27. "That most worshipful Sthānu, whom Brahman, possessed of manifest glorious majesty, lauds with his four mouths, whom six-faced (Kumdra) bowing at his feet, praises with his six mouths, whom ten-headed (Rācaga) even glorified by hymns from his ten mouths, whom Vānki with glittering necks worships devoutly, singing his praise with a thousand tongues, shines even through qualities that are opposed to each other. For though, according to report, a supreme lord, he wears the sky as his garment, he pervades (the universe), and (still is) exceedingly small; though praised as the giver of welfare, he is the destroyer (of the world); though he is one, he possesses eight bodies; and though he is revered by gods and demons, he dances shamelessly."

(The last of these two verses is) the king's (own composition.)

28. "May I obtain salvation, as I have caused to be made in honour of that Lord of the

Pramathas, this great, beautiful, brilliant silver lotus, which resembles the lotus forming Brahman's seat, and wide extends its expanding petals, and as out of devotion I have given to my mother that merit, which I obtained (herely) from Pāśupati."

(The above is) the king's own (composition.)

29. "Is this a lotus from Gaṅgā's stream, which was growing in the water on Sambhu's head? Or (is it) a lotus that has come desiring to see the water-rises, newly opened in heaven? Or is it a beautiful, lovely row of cars of the blessed gods? Or is it the lotus descended from the hand of compassionate Lōkēśvara (i.e. Avalokiteśvara)?"

(The above verse is) the king's (own composition.)

30. "Is this the descending stream of heavenly Gaṅgā, beautiful on account of its restless waves? Or is it the lotus from which Brahman sprang, come to see the best of earthly lotuses? Or has the pure moon placed on Śiva's forehead approached this spot?" Such doubts arose in the minds of the people, when they gazed on it with wondering wide-opened eyes.

31. This very precious silver lotus, placed over Hara's (Lōga),⁴⁹ together with the lotuses, which on all sides surround it to do it honour, has been dedicated by illustrious Vatsadevi, the mother of the king.

32. The merit (which her son gained) by dedicating the chief lotus, that is resplendent like the rays of the moon and presented to her,⁵⁰ as well as the merit which she herself obtained by worshipping the lotus with (gifts of) silver, illustrious Vatsadevi, who is pure in thought as becomes her race, has presented to her husband, the deceased king, for his welfare.

33. What man of noble race would shamelessly praise his own virtues? Though the king is a true poet, he has not composed the verses in honour of his own race. With the exception of five verses, which the clever prince himself composed right well, Būdha-kīrti, out of affection for the king, wrote the above original (eulogy).

⁴⁸ Hindus always speak of the lotus of the soul, which has five petals of various colours, symbolical of the passions.

⁴⁹ The poet tries to prove that the lotus resembled the shrine of Pāśupati. As the latter is of gold, so the centre also of the lotus is golden, and as the temple is surrounded by stony mountains, so the petals of the lotus are made of silver.

⁵⁰ At present, too, a large silver lotus in a square frame is suspended by a chain from the ceiling just above the Liṅga of Pāśupati. In shape it exactly resembles the picture at the head of the inscription. It is possible that it dates from Jayadeva's time, and is identical with the one described in this inscription.

⁵¹ See above v. 25.

34. May the king who is able to ensure security and welfare, who takes care of his relatives, who is surrounded by loving sons, wives and servants, and who has obtained greatness, long protect, in good health and joyfully the country where subjects are rich according to their desire, and loyal.

On the ninth day of the bright half of Kārtika, Sāmvat 153.

No. 16.—An inscription of Jyotimalla, dated Nepāla Sāmvat 533.

A slab of sandstone to the left of the western door of Paśupati's temple, inside the court.

Characters Nivāri. Ornaments on the slab a trident between two Nāḍis. Preservation good, but lower portion damaged. Language very incorrect Sanskrit, and towards the end Nivāri. Nivāri portion not copied.

Transcript.

श्रीश्रीनेपालखण्डे सकलमलहरे व्यापिनं पुण्यभूमौ शंभुं श्रीकृतलेशं परमपशुपतिं पञ्चवक्त्रस्वरूपं ।
श्रीवामन्यास्तदाले वरुणदिशि वरे वासुकीनागपूर्व्यं [तं चाहं] नौमि निजं मुनिजनसकलैर्बदितं
पादयुग्मं ॥ [१] ॥

श्रीसूर्यवंशप्रभवः प्रतापः श्रीपद्मन्तः स्थितिमलदेवः ।

राजलक्षणाः पतिरिन्दुमूर्तिस्तस्यात्मजः श्रीजयधर्ममलः ॥ [२]

विद्वानाम्भोजविकाशभानुर्विपक्षराजोभतचित्तहारी ।

श्रीवीरनारायणमूर्तिरेव श्रीधर्ममलो युवराजसिंहः ॥ [३]

तस्यानुजो गुणनिधिः सुकृतैकसिन्धुश्चिन्तामणिः क्षितिकुलोपमदर्शनानाम् ।

भूदेवदेवपरिपूजनसाभिलाषो भ्राता तु मध्यजवरो जयजोतिमलः ॥ [४]

तस्यानुजो मदनरूपसमानदेहः सत्सुन्दरीहृदयपद्मजभानुमूर्तिः ।

सम्मानदानगुणलक्षणभूविताञ्जो भ्राता कनिष्ठरुचिरो जयकीर्तिमलः ॥ [५]

उदण्डक्षितिपालमण्डनमणिः सत्प्रीतिरत्नाकरो धर्माधर्मविवेकचारुचतुरः श्रीशंभुभक्तः सदा ।

पुण्यानामभिलाषचिन्तसत्तवं वाञ्छाप्रदो धार्मिको देवश्रीजयजोतिमलनृपतिः संसारदेवीपतिः ॥ [६]

सस्तिश्रीश्रीपशुपतिचरणकमलभूलिपूतारिताक्षीरोरुहश्रीमन्मानेश्वरीवरलब्धप्रसादितप्रणमदवनिपति-
मुकुटकोटिपर्वकुरुरचिरचरणपल्लवानक्यप्रभृतिविद्यावदातसमस्तराजनीतिरत्नाकरनिषिक्तगान्धर्वविद्यागु-
रुपरममावेशररपुङ्गवकमलवनप्रकाशनैकभास्करदेवद्विजगुरुचरणाराधनैकस्वभावपद्मदर्शनाराधनैकचित्त-
सकलाधिजनकल्पतरुसर्वगुणैकनिधानदैत्यनारायणांस्तारश्रीपदाचलद्विषयरोपरिधर्मालयस्थानाश्रितश्रीधर्म-
धातुवागीश्वरमूर्तिसख्यंभूचैत्र्यभ्रमस्थापनमहाकीर्तिभारतविधिधिरुदावलीसमलङ्कृतश्रीश्रीरघुवंशावतंसमहा-
राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममह्यारकश्रीमत्श्रीश्रीजयजोतिमलदेवेन लज्जाहुतिमहायज्ञपूजाभिर्गणगुरुमातृगणदे-
वताः समाराधयित्वा श्रीदेवपद्ममहास्थाने श्रीश्रीपशुपतिमह्यारकस्य प्रासादोपरि सुवर्णकलशावरौप्यप्रतिष्ठा-
कृत्वा ॥ तस्य राज्ञः ॥

जामाता जयभैरवेति नृपतिर्भूपालचूडामणिर्नाशास्त्रविचारणैकनिपुणः सद्यस्तीर्णभूषितः ।

दाता धैर्यगुणेन भूषिततनुः सज्जन भीष्मोपमो लोके प्रीतिकरः परार्थरसिकः श्रीजीवरक्षापतिः ॥

श्रीजोतिमलहृदयनन्दनयक्षमलः सर्वाङ्गसुन्दरतपूरातिमञ्जुवाणिः ।

भक्तापुरीनगरवासितसौख्यकारी दुर्भिक्षदुःखभयहारणदेवमूर्तिः ॥

जयलक्ष्म्याः सुतः श्रीमान् सुनयः पुण्यवत्सलः ।

जयंतराजेति विख्यातो जयलक्ष्मीपतिः सुधीः ॥

भनेन पुण्येन च तस्य भूयान्सहस्रवर्षापुरहार्यकीर्तिः ।

नरेश्वरः श्रीजयजोतिमलः सत्पुत्रपौत्रैः सहभूत्यवैः ॥

संवत्सेपालकाख्ये विभुवनदहने कामबाणे प्रयाते

माघे शुक्ले च कामे तिथि—विदिते प्रीतिषांमे च पुण्ये

वारे पुष्पाभिधाने मकररविगते शुक्लराशौ शशाङ्के

शम्भोः प्रासादशृङ्गे कनकमयध्वजं तत्र संरोहणं स्यात्

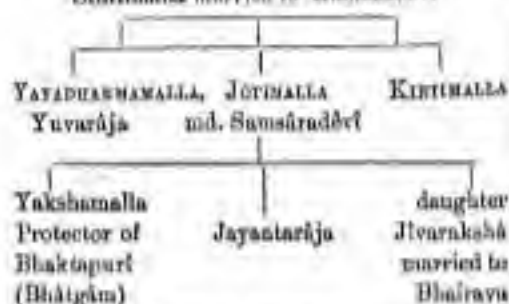
संवत् ५२३ माघ शुक्लत्रयोदशी पुनर्ननुनक्षत्रे प्रीतियोगे आदिश्वारे

Abstract.

I. Invocation addressed to Paśupati.

II. *Vaśādvālī, Śāryavāhīn*—

Sthitimalā married to Rājāladēvī



III. Description of Jyotimallā.

The ornament of the race of Raghu, supreme king of great kings, great lord and sovereign, the illustrious, famous Jyotimallā, who is adorned by the various honorific titles (*brāhmanī*), viz., 'he whose head is covered by the dust of glorious Paśupati's lotus feet', 'he who has obtained favour through a boon granted by glorious Mānāsvarī',⁵¹ 'he whose tender feet are made resplendent by the crests of the diadems of bowing princes', 'he who is an ocean of all kingcraft (*taṅkt*) by Chāṇakya and other learned men', 'he who is master of the whole science of music', 'he who is the ardent devotee of Śiva', 'he who is the only sun able to unclose (*the flowers*) of the lotus-thicket of the race of Raghu', 'he who is

intent on worshipping the feet of Brāhmanas', gods, and of his Gurus', 'he who is exclusively engaged in studying the six kinds of philosophy', 'he who is a tree of Paradise for needy men', 'he who is the only vessel of all virtue', 'he who is an incarnation of Nārāyaṇa for (the destruction of) the Demons', 'he who is bending under the load of fame gained by the restoration of the Tōpe of Svayambhū and of the image of glorious Dharmadhātū-Vāgīśvara'⁵² (Manjuśrī) placed in the sanctuary on the top of famous Padmāchala'.⁵³

IV. *Object of grant*: to record the dedication of a golden Kalāṣa on the temple of Paśupati at Devapattana, on which occasion a *Kaṭyāvali* was offered to Gaṇeśa and to the Mothers (*Mātṛiṇī*).

V. *Date*: Nepālā Sakaṭ 533 (*tribhuvana dharma, kāmabhāṣa*) on the 13th lunar day (*Kāṣatithi*) of the bright half of Māgha, on a Sunday, under the constellation Punarvasu, while the sun stood in Makara (Capricorn) and the moon in Geminī, during the conjunction called *Pṛthi*.

No. 17.—*An inscription of Siddhīrājendrasena of Lalitapattana, dated Nepālā Sakaṭ 757.*

A slab in the wall of a temple of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, standing opposite the palace in Lalitapattana. Characters Nepālese.

Language Sanskrit, and in the last portion Nivāri. Preservation good.

Transcript.

ॐ नमो गोपालाय ॥

ब्रह्मणे तुजते विश्वं स्थितौ पालयते हरे । रुद्ररूपाय कल्पान्ते नमस्तुभ्यं विमूर्त्तये ॥ १ ॥

प्राचीण्यप्रथितः प्रतापमयितप्रत्याधिहर्षीपतिप्रोदामप्रमदौपलोचनपद्मपारध्ववारानिधिः ।

जातः श्रीहरिसिंहदेवनृपतिर्दाताश्रदातान्वये सम्प्राप्तः पृथुना नृपेण समता यो वृत्तिदाता सताम् ॥ २ ॥

यस्यान्वायजलधातुदियाय राजचन्द्रो महेंद्र इव तत्र महेंद्रमलः ।

येनार्थिकल्पतरुणा गुणसागरेण राजन्वती वसुमती महती बभूव ॥ ३ ॥

यत्प्रौढप्रभवत्प्रतापपतिताः प्राकम्पिताः शत्रवो भेजुः शैलदरीं विहाय नगरीं त्यक्त्वा पुरे सुन्दरीम् ।

⁵¹ i. e. Tulāśiddhī, who seems to have been Jyotimallā's Kalādevatā.

⁵² A sanctuary of Manjuśrī is found behind the Tōpe of Svayambhū, on a small separate head of the hill.

⁵³ Padmāchala is a hill to the south-west of Kāmrakṣa, on which the Tōpe of Svayambhū is situated, see Wright, *Nepāl*, p. 23.

यस्याचारविचारपौरुषधरव्यघ्रास्तमया गिरस्तस्य क्षोणिपतेः प्रसिद्धमहत्तः केनोपमेयं पद्मः ॥ ४ ॥

अस्यामजोजनि महीतलकल्पवृक्षो राजा विराजितपद्मः शिर्वसिहदेवः ।

भूमीभुजा समरसीमि महाभुजेन क्षेमं क्षणेन रिपवो बहवो विनष्टाः ॥ ५ ॥

येन क्षोणिभुजा प्रयाणसमये पादातसैन्योच्छलद्गुलीजालसमुत्थितेन तमसा व्योमान्धकारीकृतम् ।

कुर्मो मर्मणि चूर्णितोपि नितरां धने कथंचिद्दरां शेषः शेषदशाज्जगाम सहसा सर्वसहा निःसहा ॥ ६ ॥

तनयोस्य विनयपूर्णो बभूव कर्णोपमो भूमी । हरिहरसिहनेन्दो वसुधाचन्द्रो बभूव[सौ] ॥ ७ ॥

अरीणाभिहन्ता यशःपारगन्ता सुशीलः समन्तान्जयन्ताधिकश्रीः ।

स्वतातानुरूपेति तेजःसुरूपो बभूवानीमण्डले चण्डरोचिः ॥ ८ ॥

इन्द्राणीव सुरेश्वरस्य दयिता पपेव पदापतेः वैदेहीव रघूतमस्य गृहिणी गौरीव गौरीपतेः ।

तस्य क्षोणिपतेर्बभूव महिषी भव्या भवानीसमा राणी लालमती सती गुणवती प्रायो रतिभारती ॥ ९ ॥

पौरन्दरी दिगिव नूतनभानुभिर्म सौन्दर्यकाननगजाननमग्निकेव ।

पुत्रं पवित्रमथ सिद्धिनुसिंहमलं सा राजपुत्रतनया जनयाम्बभूव ॥ १० ॥

येनाकारि विपक्षवस्मलदृशा दुम्भारिभिर्वीरिभिर्वेनाधारि जगन्मयोपरि शरच्छात्रावदातं यशः ।

बाल्योपक्रम एव विक्रमवत्स्वस्थाभुना पौरुषे श्रीमत्सिद्धिनुसिंहमलनृपतेर्गुहे समर्थो हि कः ॥ ११ ॥

यद्गुमीपालगङ्गाजलविवलयशः पूरकपूरपूरैः ब्रह्माण्डे पाण्डुरेऽस्मिन्समजनि रजनीनायको निष्कलङ्कः ।

तन्किं भूतेवकोभून्मुखकमलमिषादेव यस्यामृतांशुः सोमं दीर्घायुरास्तामधिधरणिमणिः सिद्धिपूर्वो

नृसिंहः ॥ १२ ॥

दानान्धीकृतकल्पवृक्षगारिमा सीमा च तेजस्विना श्रीमान्दुतकीर्तिपुङ्गवमहिमा भीमान्जः सारथे ।

दोर्दण्डद्वयचण्डिमन्तगलितप्रसार्थिपृथ्वीपतिः श्रीमत्सिद्धिनुसिंहमलनृपतिर्वीरिं सर्वोपरि ॥ १३ ॥

प्राविष्टं च पुषिष्ठिराधिकतरं निष्ठा वसिष्ठाधिका कीर्तिः कार्मिककृतिकापतिमतिस्तस्याधिका वन्ति ।

वाणी व्याससमा रमा स्तिवतमा रामाभिरामाकृतिः श्रीमत्सिद्धिनुसिंहमलनृपतेः किञ्चाम यन्मातुलम् ॥ १४ ॥

कदाचिदेतेन महोत्थेन मठः कृतः कोपि प्रनैरनैकैः ।

श्रीबालगोपालविरामभूमिर्विकुर्वेतामजोधरा जगज्जाम् ॥ १५ ॥

यो मेरुमन्दरमहेन्द्रहिमाद्रिविन्ध्यकेलासशीलशिखरध्रममातनोति ।

किञ्चास्य हेमकलशानवलोक्य देवैः सन्दिह्यते कमकधामनि पर्वतेन्द्रे ॥ १६ ॥

हर्षान्नेपालवर्षे स्वरश्चरतुरीयरहिते फाल्गुनीये पक्षे प्राप्ते वल्लभमरगुरुदिवसे शङ्करेऽ दशम्याम् ।

चक्रे जाम्बूनदीर्घैर्गुहतरकलशैर्भास्वरेरेकर्षिषीः नेपालक्षोणिपालः पथितभुजबलो भूषणं तन्मठस्य ॥ १७ ॥

गुहार्थः कृतोस्मिन्पि शुभदिवसे शत्रुभिर्गुहशौण्डेर्दुष्टैः कोटोवरुद्धः कुटिलनृपभटैरद्वैतैः कोटिसंख्यैः ।

लीलामात्रेण शत्रूनपनयत तदा पार्थिवः पार्थेबुल्यः कोटं निर्मोचयित्वा नमुचिरिपुरिषानन्दसन्दोहमाप ॥ १८ ॥

राजसूय इवारब्धो मध्यस्थेन महीभुजा । विशिष्य शेषनागोपि न शक्तो यस्य वर्णने ॥ १९ ॥

आचार्यो यव मर्यादाभिर्षादायदयानिधिः । विश्वनाथ उपाध्यायो विश्वनाथ इवाभवत् ॥ २० ॥

यो मेरुभूधर इवातिगुरुर्मरिण्या योसौ महार्णव इवातिमहान्माहिम्ना ।

यो व्यासवद्विधिवैदिकमन्त्रपाठे यो निष्ठया भुवि वसिष्ठमहर्षिकल्पः ॥ २१ ॥

याचायाता मञ्जुपतः कियन्तो विद्यावन्तो जञ्जपूकापितन्तः ।

नानादिभ्यः पण्डितैरभ्युपेतं सत्रे तस्मिन्महर्षं मण्डितं वैः ॥ २२ ॥

हास्यात्तारौ कल्पितौ तत्र सत्रे द्वौ द्वौ द्वारि द्वारि देवपितृनुयौ ।

भूषाभूतो विदिषां दर्पहन्ता नेता तेषां विश्वनाथो मनीषी ॥ २३ ॥

आरब्धे शिविना नृपेण विधिना सत्रे पुरा गौरादमेः खाण्डवखण्डनं समतनोद्गाण्डीवकोदण्डवान् ।

अस्मिन्सिद्धिनुसिंहमलनृपतेः सवे घृतामर्णितः किम्बूपासमितीव मुञ्चति शिखी वाष्पानि धूमच्छलात् ॥२४॥
चत्वारिंशदिनान्यासीन्महासोमो महोत्सवः ।

श्रीमत्सिद्धिनुसिंहेन कलिकर्णेन कारितः ॥ २५ ॥

सम्भारः सर्ववस्तूनां राजसूये यथा श्रुतः ।

तथैव तत्र सर्वेऽपि जातस्तदधिकोऽपि वा ॥ २६ ॥

रत्ने स्वर्णे गवादौ करितुरगधने भूषणे दिव्यवस्त्रे दासीदासे निवासे विविधरसमये भक्ष्यमात्रे पवित्रे ।

चत्वारिंशदिनानि क्षितिपकुलमणेरस्यपदे प्रसन्ने वाणी तत्रोल्लास प्रतिपलमधिका देहि देहीति भाषा ॥२७॥

पामरीवल्लयकुण्डलादिकं दृष्टपूर्वमपि येन न कश्चित् ।

तेन तत्र नृपतेः प्रसादतो भिक्षुणा निजतनौ समर्पितम् ॥ २८ ॥

दिव्यान्वय गृहाणि दिव्यवसुधारत्नानि दिव्याम्बरं दिव्यान्वेव विभूषणानि सदयो दिव्यानि रत्नानि च ।

नेपाले प्रचरन्ति यानि वसुधावस्तूनि दिव्यान्वसौ श्रीमत्सिद्धिनुसिंहमलनृपतिः सर्वाणि तान्यार्पयत् ॥ २९ ॥

यानि दृष्टानि वस्तूनि न श्रुतानि कदाचन ।

तानि दत्तानि सर्वेऽपि तत्र सवे महीभुजा ॥ ३० ॥

येनाकारि जगत्त्रयोपरि मठो होमोऽपि कोष्ठादुत्तिर्दत्ता स्वर्णज्ञातद्वयी प्रतिदिनं किञ्चिन्न दत्तं धनम् ।

दत्तस्तण्डुलपर्वतोऽपि विभिना कल्पद्रुमोऽप्यदुतः श्रीमत्सिद्धिनुसिंहमलनृपतिः कर्णोपहारो धुवम् ॥ ३१ ॥

विद्यावन्तः कियन्तौ विविधगुणभूतः केचि विद्याविहीना नानादिभ्यः समेताः श्रुतनृपतिगुणा मिश्रवो
लक्षसंख्याः ।

तथामनैः सुवर्णैः सुललितवस्त्रैर्भूषणादीर्दनेऽप्येदरिष्यं वारयित्वा नृग इव मुमुदे देवकन्योवनीन्द्रः ॥ ३२ ॥

कर्णः कन्यातनूजो मलिरपि सिद्धिः किन्तु देवपत्न्या पाषाणो देवतानां मणिरजनि महादास देवदुर्मोषि ।

धान्तो राजा नृगोऽपि पयितभुजबलो भार्गवो मानुहन्ता कोन्यो धन्यो वदान्यो जगति विजयते सिद्धिपूर्वा-
श्रुतिहात् ॥३३॥

नृत्यानि गीतानि मनोहराणि वाद्यानि हस्तानि च कौतुकानि ।

अन्नानि वस्त्राणि विभूषणानि सर्वाणि जातानि च तत्र सवे ॥ ३४ ॥

यावच्चन्द्रदिवाकरावुदयतो यावन्महीमण्डलं

यावत्पर्वतनन्दिनी पशुपतेरुत्तरमालिगति

यावज्जन्तुकलिन्दपोरपि मुते तावद्रीवर्जतां

श्रीमत्सिद्धिनुसिंहमलनृपतेरेषा यशोवल्ली ॥

॥ अथ नेपालभाषा लिख्यते ॥

समेत ७५५५ कालगुणमासे शुक्रपक्षे दशम्यां तिथौ आर्द्रापरपुनर्वसुनक्षत्रे आयुष्मान्योगे बृहस्पति
सप्तरे अथ कुन्दु कीडाहति यत्र याङ्गन देवता स्थापन याङ्गन नियच्छपु गजुरि छास्वं देवो दयकाव आय-
प्रवाय दुता । रोव ७ पोवि वू रोव न्हेस पविस्त्रं ३ खोगामार वू रोव स्त्रेपि १४ तवधर वू करस्त्र छि १
थंथ छे वाटिका अथ तेषा वरसानन नित्यपूजा निश्चाकशोम याङ्गन वृंसाधन पुर्गयातन इन्द्रयातन मत्त छोपके
स्वन्हेतो धारे कार्तिक लछि घेर ३ छि धारेण जलदेवा छोयके कृष्णाष्टमी कुन्दु चाक्रमत्त छोयके ध्वते
जुलो भूय रोव गुं ९ थंप्पाको वू रोव च्या ८ काका पलि रोव श्रनछि १२ गुस्तलको वू रोव न्हेस ७
लोमोर वू ध्वत वूया वरसानन कालगुणशुक्रपूर्वमासीप्रतिपत्तंथिस दोलयाचा ज्येष्ठ शुक्रपूर्णिमा कुन्दु स्नान-
याचा आश्वय शुक्रद्वादशी कुन्दु रापनपूजा देवशायन याचके श्रावण शुक्रद्वादशी कुन्दु पवित्रारोहण
श्रावण कृष्णाष्टमी कुन्दु जन्माष्टमीपूजा चाक्रमत्त छोयके कार्तिक शुक्रद्वादशी कुन्दु उत्थापन पूजा वारी

ब्राह्मनेयातं दंशं गुपे कं १० वाक्य विष भ छपतक जुरो । भूय रोव अखू १६ धे वूं रोव स धा वूं
 स्वतेय वरसानन कार्तिक लछि चेरुन कुड पुन ६ । अछिनिपवात १२० वाक्यमतं अछापके माल भूय
 नित्राव दछिना यात मगाडाव तंडा रोव डा ५ न्यखुवूं-

Abstract.

I. *Invocation* to Gopāla (vs. 1.)II. *Vandana* (vs. 2-14):

Harisimha

|

Mahendramalla

|

Sivasimha

|

Hariharasimha married to Lalamati

|

Siddhantimalla [N.S. 757

A.D. 1637]

III. *Object of inscription*, to record the dedication of a temple (*maṭha*) of Bāla-Gopāla (Kṛishṇa), which was ornamented by twenty-one spires and *kalasas* (vs. 15-17). On the day of the dedication the king fought certain unnamed enemies, who besieged the fortress (of Lalitapattana), and drove them off (vs. 18). These two auspicious events were celebrated by offering a *Kṛtyānti* (Tāntrika) sacrifice (vs. 31) under the superintendence of Vīśvanātha, the king's Upādhyāya (vs. 20), and by giving daily two hundred gold mohars (*varas*) (vs. 34) during forty days (vs. 25) to the priests, by presenting 'a mountain of rice' (*tapāḍulapureṇḍa*) and 'a tree of paradise' (*kalpadruma*), food and other gifts to Brāhmanas and beggars. The Nivāri portion mentions the details of the grants and allowances made to the temple, viz.:

1. A field (*vaṣṭi*) called *Pori* of seven *Ro* or $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *Bigha*,²⁶ about one-third of an acre.

2. A field (*vaṣṭi*) called *Pavikhan* of seven *Ro*.

3. A field (*vaṣṭi*) called *Khorāyār* of three *Ro*.

4. A field (*vaṣṭi*) called *Thavadhara* of 14 *Ro*.

5. An irrigable field of inferior quality (*kharabha bhūi vātikā*) called *Thanthachha* for the purpose of the daily worship of the Nīrāva homa, of illuminating the temple (*ekāḍrumatāṣi*) for three days every year on the occasion of the festivals (*gāṭas*) of Matsyendranātha and Isāndra, of burning daily one *Pala* (*pla*) of

Ghi during the month of *Kārttika*, of illuminating the temple on the Kṛishṇajannamāṣṭami (*Śrāvṇa vadi 8*).

Further:

1. A field (*vaṣṭi*) called *Yampyāko* of nine *ro*.2. A field (*vaṣṭi*) called *Kākhupali* of eight *ro*.3. A field (*vaṣṭi*) called *Gastalako* of twelve *ro*.

4. A field (*vaṣṭi*) called *Khamar* of seven *ro*, for the purpose of swinging the image of Kṛishṇa (*śaṅkayātrā*) in the interval between the 15th lunar day of the bright half and the 1st of the dark half of Phālguna (March), of bathing the image (*śaṅkayātrā*) on the full moon of Jyeshṭha, of putting the image to bed and of worshipping his bed (*śaṅkayātrā*) on the 12th of the bright half of Āshāḍha, tying the *Pavṇas* or three hundred and sixty threads round the neck of the image on the 12th of the bright half of Śrāvṇa, of worshipping and of illuminating the temple on the Kṛishṇajannamāṣṭami, and of giving to the Brāhmanas who perform the ceremony of *Vithāna* (waking the god) on the 12th of the bright half of *Kārttika* ninety *phak* (or *phāṭh*)²⁷ of rice.

Moreover:

1. A field (*vaṣṭi*) called *Ther* of 16 *ro*.

2. A field called *Thadā* of 3 *ro*, for the purpose of expending in the month of *Kārttika* daily six *khāḍis* of oil, and of providing with that quantity 20 lamps.

Finally, a field called *Nyāṭha* of 5 *ro*, for the purpose of giving fees and food to the Brāhmanas.

IV. *Date*, the tenth lunar day of the bright half of Phālguna, Nepāla Samvat 757 (A.D. 1635), a Thursday, conjunction *Agastya*, under the Ādra and Punarvasu constellations (vs. 17 and beginning of Nivāri portion).

No. 18.—An inscription of Pratāpamalla of Kāṭmāṇḍu, dated Nepāla Samvat 769.

On a slab in the wall near the southern door of a temple of Viṣṇu close to the royal

²⁶ Hembari, *Dakṣha*.

²⁷ See *Matsyendran*, vol. 2, p. 277.

²⁸ At present the Nepāleses reckon 25 *Ro* to a *Bigha*, but in older times a *Bigha* contained 14 *Ro* only.

²⁹ The Nepāleses reckon 100 *phāṭh* according to Wright (p. 298), 8 pounds according to Pandit Bhagvān 3 shers of 75 *phāṭh* each.

palace in Kātmāṇḍu. This temple is apparently the building mentioned in the inscription. It is an octagon, and has three stories.

Characteres Nepālī; language Sanskrit, and Nivāri in the concluding portion, which has not been copied.

Transcript.

आसीच्छ्रीसूर्यवंशे रघुनृपकुलज्ञो रामचन्द्रो नृपेशः तद्वंशे नान्यदेवोवनिपतिरभवत्सुतो गङ्गादेवः ।
 तस्युषोभूभृत्सिंहो नरपतिरतुलस्तन्सुतो रामसिंहस्तग्नः श्रीशक्तिसिंहो धरणिपतिरतो भूपभूपालसिंहः ॥ १ ॥
 तस्मात्कर्णाटचूडामणिरिव हरपुंसिंहदेवोस्य वंशे भूपः श्रीवक्ष्मलो नरपतिरतुलो रत्नमलोप्यमुष्मात् ।
 तस्माच्छ्रीसूर्यमलो ह्यवनिपतिरभूत्तन्मूलोमरास्यो मलोभूत्तस्य पुत्रो रिपुगणविजयी श्रीमहेन्द्राक्षमलः ॥ २ ॥
 तस्माच्छिवसिंहोभुद्ररिहरसिंहसुतस्तस्मात्
 तस्मालक्ष्मिन्सिंहो नरसिंहपराक्रमः — — — ॥ ३ ॥
 तस्मात् श्रीमत्प्रतापो नरपतिरभवद्भूपभालावलीपु न्यस्त्यादारविन्दहरसविलसद्रेणुभिर्भूषणानि ।
 योकार्णीकुतिस्त्रासक्तिरभिवि स्ववंशे भोटभूपस्य देशाज्जपहैवात्मीनं प्रतिदिनमपरे पं भजन्ते नरेशाः ॥ ४ ॥
 भक्त्यामनरेक्षमलनृपतिदं नैवेमेनं भिया भेजेतौ वसुधां जहार सुदुर्द सं [धाय] दुर्गै पुनः ।
 श्रीमद्भुम्बरशाहभूपतिपत्नं विजस्य हत्वा वलं श्रीमत्सिद्धिर्नुसिंहमलनृपतेर्ज्ञेयाह दुर्गावलीम् ॥ ५ ॥
 आस्ते काप्यमरावतीव विलसदन्तीन्द्रदिप्योगना युक्ता स्वर्णमयी विहारनगरी सा राजधानी परा ।
 श्रीमच्छ्रीकमलाधिका मधुपतेरिन्द्रेण तुल्यस्य च प्रसयितवन्निमित्तस्य नवपुष्पारावणस्यापि च ॥ ६ ॥
 लक्ष्मीनारायणस्तस्माद्दीनारायणस्ततः
 पुत्री रूपमती तस्य प्राणनारायणः सुतः ॥ ७ ॥
 तस्य रूपमती सती गुणवती स्वर्णश्रुतिः सम्प्रतिमौदन्कुञ्जरगामिनी प्रणयिनी साक्षात्परा रुक्मिणी ।
 आसीत्सर्गगुणा पितुर्वत्पतेः श्रीमत्प्रतापस्य सा पत्नी प्राणसमा यया जलनिधेः पुत्री जगन्नायिनः ॥ ८ ॥
 कर्णाटी रङ्गघाटी कुवकनक्षपटी कामलीलिकावटी सर्णालहारकोटी हरिसदृशकटी चाब्देवा नृपाटी ।
 नासा राजमती महारसवती भूपप्रतापस्य सा भूता भोगवधुटिका किल हरेर्भगिनि जीवधिका ॥ ९ ॥
 सगौर्यं कृतशान्दतापनृपतिः सद्योविहारेतयोः प्रासादं वसुपत्रपद्मसदृशं शृङ्गाष्टकैः शोभितम् ।
 नानाविधविराजितं सममिदं सदैवजयन्तेन वै होमद्यौरकरोत्कृतिस्त्वृतिमत्तैरस्य प्रतिष्ठाविधिम् ॥ १० ॥

संवत् ७६९ कात्थुन शुद्ध पष्ठमी तिथौ अनुराधानक्षत्रे हर्षणयोगे बृहस्पतिवासरे,

disturbeth

I. Vaidānti. In the Solar race, in the family of Raghu, was born RĀMA. In his family was born—

Nānyadēva
 |
 Gangadēva
 |
 Nṛsiṅha
 |
 Rāmasiṅha
 |
 Śaktisiṅha
 |
 Bhōpālasīṅha
 |
 Harasiṅha¹¹

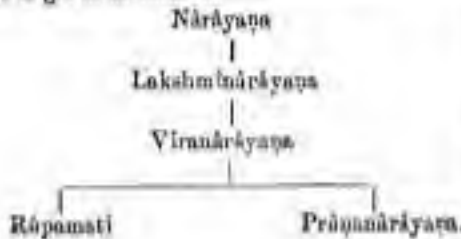
In his family was born—

Yakhamalla
 |
 Ratnamalla
 |
 Sūryamalla
 |
 Anaramalla
 |
 Mahendramalla
 |
 Śivasīṅha
 |
 Harihmrasīṅha
 |
 Lakshminisīṅha
 |
 Pratāpa

married to Rāpamati and Rājarnati.

¹¹ The name is given as Harayatsiṅha, which for metrical reasons has probably been used for Harasiṅha.

Pratāpa took (vs. 4-5) the provinces of Kút-khásákiram from the Bhottas, i.e. the Tibetans, he took Evá vādī prisoner. The king of Bhát-gám Nareśa malla (Narendramalla) presented him with an elephant. He defeated the army of Dambarasáhā, an ancestor of the present Nepálese Gorkhā line, who ruled over Gorkhā in 1633-42 A.D. He defeated the army of Síd-dhín-risim-ha (inscr. XVII.) of Lalitapattana, and took his fortresses. Rāpamati was descended from the Rājas of Vihāra (Behār), whose line is given as follows:



Pratāpa's second wife Rājamatī came from a Karyāta family.

II. *Object of the inscription*, to record the consecration (*pratishthā*) of an octagonal (*asupatrapādamasādhya*) temple with eight Śikhara (*śringa*) built for the sake of the two queens, on which occasion the usual *Homas* were offered.

III. Date, the sixth lunar day, of the bright half of Phālguna (Nepāla) Sāmvat 769, a Thursday, under the constellation *Anurādhā*, conjunction *Harsāpa*.

No. 19.—An inscription of Pratāpamalla, dated Nepāla 773.

On a slab of black stone, 4' 0" by 2' 0", standing in the court of the temple of Paśupati, decorated by a *trirat* between two Nandis. Letters Nivāḥ, language Sanskrit. Preservation good.

Transcript.

श्री ३ भवानीश्वरार्या नमः

मन्वा गिरिन्दतनया पल्लवानलम्भा भालोलसल्ललितचन्द्रकलाभिरामान् ।
 मलप्रतापनुपतिः स्वकुलप्रकाशा वंशावली सुतनुते विमला कवीन्द्रः ॥ १ ॥
 श्रीविष्णोर्भयनाम्बुजाश्रितगततीपापान्तकर्ता रविः प्रोदूतस्त्रिभुवैद्यारण्यघटाविहायणः केसरी ।
 कालाकाशदिशा प्रकाशनिपुणः कन्दर्पदण्डोपहस्तानन्दः सरसीरूपेण तनुते मेघी विचित्राकृतिः ॥ २ ॥
 गाम्भीर्यादिगुणेन सागरसमो धैर्येण विष्णुपात्रलः सौन्दर्यप्रकरणे देवदलमेव रूपेण कामोपमः ।
 जातो भूमितले ततोतिविमले वैवस्वतास्यो मनुर्मयादा रचिता सता समुविता कीर्तिप्रदा येन वै ॥ ३ ॥
 तद्वत्ते विमले चभूव धरणीचन्द्रो दिलीपो हि यो देवेन प्रमयाधिपेन तुलना प्राप प्रचण्डे रणे ।
 यस्य प्रौढतरपतापदहने निर्यं द्विषः शेरते दुष्टा तस्य कलेवरं सुविमले कामेन दग्धं वपुः ॥ ४ ॥
 जातस्त्वभूपसन्नमो रघुरिति स्यातस्ततो वीर्यवान् बाणधोः परिमथ्य शकहृदयं कीर्तिः स्थिरा स्यापिता ।
 यस्य प्रौढतरपतापतपनवासेन सद्यः कृता वृष्टिस्तेन धनेश्वरेण ललिता कार्त्तस्वरी भूतले ॥ ५ ॥
 जातो भूपवरस्ततः कलिहरः श्रीमानजो वीर्यवान् दुष्टानां किल दूर्ध्वजहारणनिधौ प्रोदूतकण्ठीरवः ।
 सिष्ठानां प्रतिपालकः प्रतिपलं दानैः — — — ममः पश्चादिन्द्रमतीविषोक्तजनितकेशाब्धिमण्येषतत् ॥ ६ ॥
 जातो देवतनुस्ततो दशरथः कन्दर्पदण्डोपहः सेनापत्यमुपेय पङ्कपतितः शत्रुः कृतो निर्भरः ।
 कूरुः कोपरतः प्रसारितभयो भेनुं गतः क्रुत्तिकां पापे संसक्तचित्तः शनिरपि सहसा स्तम्भितो येन मार्गे ॥ ७ ॥
 जातस्त्वसन्नयो महानयपुतो रामोभिरामाकृतिः दानेन प्रचुरेण बौद्धितगुणः स्यात्स्त्रिलोकीतले ।
 नन्वा यो जलधि निश्वाचरभटान्त्रिजित्य लङ्कापुरीं गत्वा रावणराक्षसं कलिकरं हत्वा वशे लब्धवान् ॥ ८ ॥
 तत्पुत्रः सूर्यतुल्यो लब्ध इति विदितो प्रोलसदानपुण्यैर्जातो भूचक्रशक्रः प्रथितगुणचयः सम्मतस्त्वज्जनानाम् ।
 शत्रूणां शासकोसौ प्रबलरणधराभारणादत्तभारो धर्मात्मा देवतुल्यो दशरथतनया निर्जिता येन संख्ये ॥ ९ ॥
 जातः श्रीहरिसिंहदेवनपतिः प्रौढप्रतापोदयः तद्वत्ते विमले महारिपुर्हरे गाम्भीर्यरत्नाकरः ।
 कर्त्ता यः सरणमुपेय भिविला संलक्ष्य लक्षप्रियो नेपाले पुनराव्यवैभवपूते स्वैर्यं विधत्ते चिरं ॥ १० ॥

मानिक्यप्रतिप्रतापपटलेरादीप्रलोककत्रयो मुकापंकिसहस्रशोभनयशोवन्देन संशोभितः ।
 पञ्चशकृतिकर्णवारणगिरिद्यामानव्याकुलः पारावारमिवैव यः परिहसत्याभाय चित्तेच्युतं ॥ ११ ॥
 तपुवो यक्षमलः प्रचलरिपुहः कर्णतुल्योवनीशः सर्वोसां नागरीणां नयनसुखकरस्सर्वदस्सज्जनानाम् ।
 प्रोद्यद्दोर्ण्डचण्डाहतनिशितमहाखड्गपातैर्विधान् शिन्वा सद्यः क्षितीशान्क्षितितलविषये प्रोक्षसन्की-
 तिचन्द्रः ॥ १२ ॥

तस्मान्च्छरीरनमलः समननि विबुधाराधने दत्तबुद्धिर्दन्तीनां दानकर्त्ता प्रचलरिपुकुलोत्सादने पार्यतुल्यः ।
 यदानाम्बुप्रवाहप्रकरविकसितां ताहिनीं वीक्ष्य नूनं गंगासंगात्प्रवृद्धं प्रचलजलनिधिः प्रेमगर्वमुमोच ॥ १३ ॥
 योनु प्रौढतराभिह्वय धरणीपालान्महासङ्गरे गात्रा कान्तिपुरं चकार विमलं रात्र्यन्तु स्वर्गोपमम् ।
 श्रीसिद्धिहरपूर्विका हरकभूराधनेस्तद्वक्षे जाता भावहता मुदा सुविदिता चाद्यापि या तिष्ठति ॥ १४ ॥
 प्रोद्यद्दोर्ण्डप्रतापप्रचुरपरिलसत्कुङ्कुमशोदपूर्णः कीर्णः पाटीरपकैः सितकरकिरणाकारकीर्तिप्रसारः ।
 मित्राणामत्र कैशे किमपि विरचयन्पूर्वपूर्वागतानां तपुषः सूर्यमलो नरपतितिलकः प्रादुरासीत्प्रवीरः ॥ १५ ॥
 तस्मान्मलनरेन्द्रनामधरणीपालो बभूव प्रभुः प्रौढप्रचलप्रतापदहनशालावृताहस्करः ।
 यस्यारातिनितम्बिनी मुचकिता शृण्वन्मुखाभ्मोक्ता स्थिता पर्वतगम्हरेतिविषये दिव्यं सदाभ्यस्यति ॥ १६ ॥
 पुण्यौघैर्जपयतदानोवपुलेर्गौरीपदाचार्यकलेः संजातस्तु महीन्द्रमलवमुधारजं ततस्तस्तुतः ।
 येनेमां किल काश्यपीं वतुमतीं रजेन पूर्णां वरां दत्त्वा भूमिसुराय स्वर्गभवने कीर्तिः स्थिरा स्थापिता ॥ १७ ॥
 श्रीपद्मे भक्तपूर्वं विनिहितसहसागातरूपप्रतिष्ठा भावैर्निर्गम्य देवीं कलिकलुपहरीं देखदर्पापहन्त्रीम् ॥
 आनीप स्वर्गानुभवे रचितगृहरे स्थापिता येन पूर्वं नियं तपूजनेन विभूजनललितां सिद्धिमुद्यामगाप ॥ १८ ॥
 तस्मान्च्छरीरसिंहनामनृपतिर्जातो धरामण्डले नेपालक्षितिपालमालतिलकः कन्दर्पदण्डपातः ।
 संसारार्णवतारणाय सततं नियं भवानीपदपाने दत्तमनाः समस्तविदुषां मध्ये प्रसिद्धक्रियः ॥ १९ ॥
 वैरिस्त्रीनयनावजनिर्गतजलेधाराशुभ्रियेन वै शस्ताः सान्द्रकवन्धरन्ध्ररुधिरैर्नद्यः समासादिताः ।
 तारां संगमसंभवं सुविमलं तीर्थं प्रयागाक्षयं । पत्र स्नानकृतां प्रलब्धमनिशं श्वशुश्रूषं सत्कलम् ॥ २० ॥
 तस्माद्गरिहरसिंहो नरपतिसिंहो बभूव भूपालः ।
 गच्छति जलनिधिपरं कीर्तिरिकाकिनी यस्य ॥ २१ ॥

धत्ते गैरिकरागविभ्रमभयं यस्य प्रतापोत्तरो यन्कीर्तिर्गुणपर्वतोपरितरी कौतूहलं यच्छति ।
 एतेनैव तु हेतुनास्य तु गुणान्विजाय कैलोत्तमान् दूरस्थाः प्रपलाप्य सन्धिधिममी कुर्वति यद्वैरिणः ॥ २२ ॥
 श्रीलक्ष्मीनरसिंहनामनृपतिस्समादभूत्सन्मतिः बाणधैः परिपन्थिमन्थनकरः कारुण्यपुण्याकरः ।
 यन्दृष्ट्वा खलु वैरिगोविता कम्पाकुला सर्वदा प्राणेष्वस्य सुजीवितं मय निभो देहीति संयाचति ॥ २३ ॥
 अष्टाशास्त्राणि यद्वत्पतनपनस्यालोक्य निजोदयं दीप्तान्मापि दिशनिशं भूशमहो विश्वान्धकारापहम् ।
 आन्यान् सहसा समीक्ष्य मनसा हीनं हठाद्दर्शयन् सायं सायमयं स्वयं दिनमणिर्दीनोन्मुषी मञ्जति ॥ २४ ॥
 श्रीलक्ष्मीनरसिंहभूपतिदिवप्रस्थानकालोद्यते देवैः शंखमुदगधेरिपवहभ्वाजैर्दिशः पुरिताः ॥
 यौढाः शूरतराः प्रदारितरिपोर्ब्रह्माण्डचण्डोलसन्मार्गैर्धैव विनिर्गताः सुयमिताः प्राणास्त्रयोस्यामलाः ॥ २५ ॥
 तपुवोसौ कवीन्द्रः क्षितिपतितिलकः श्रीपतावाभिधानः संयामे वैरिवगेप्रचलतरलसददर्पदाशनलाभः ।
 तर्कालंकारकीर्त्यादि कसकलमहाशास्त्रमार्गप्रवीणो नानागाद्यानवशात्सुललितकवितानर्त्तकीरङ्गभूमिः ॥ २६ ॥
 मेदिन्यामुदधौ सरस्तु सरिताम्मध्ये गिरौ कानने यस्य प्रौढतरप्रतापतपनस्यालोक्य दीप्ति पराम् ।
 अण्डुर्कर्मवेष्ट्य संप्रति समासाद्यापकर्षश्चिरादौर्वः स्वर्गयज्ञाः प्रक्षाम्यति हठान्मयः समुद्राम्भति ॥ २७ ॥
 दृष्ट्वा तस्य प्रतापं तपनमनुपमं हन्त दृष्टो विवस्वान्नेने ब्रह्माण्डभाण्डध्रमणविधिकृतं श्रान्तमेव श्रमौघम् ।

^{२०} Vs. 11 read साक्षिणः^० ;— Vs. 13, दन्तिर्दा is the incorrect form which the royal poet probably found inconvenient on account of the metre.

व्यस्ताहीराविभेदं विभुवनभवनं व्याप्तमेनं विदिता किञ्चार्थं चक्राकः शिथिलयति शुचं सर्वतः
सर्वबीजं ॥ २८ ॥

शस्त्रे शास्त्रवरे सदा सुखकरे सङ्गीतविद्यावरे सानन्दं किल कलिकर्मकुशलव्यापारकण्ठीरवः ।

स्वर्गे भूमितले तथा दशदिशाम्प्रान्ते गिरौ कानने कोप्यस्तीति निगद्यते मम समो राजेन्द्रचूडामणिः ॥ २९ ॥

नेपाले संवत्स्मिन्दयगिरिमुनिभिः संपुते माघमासे सप्तम्यां शुक्लपक्षे रविदिनसहिते रेवतीकक्षराजे ।

योगे श्रीसिद्धिसेते रजतमणिलसत्स्वर्णमुक्ताप्रवालैरेकीकृत्य प्रदत्तं हयशतसहितं येन दानं तुलाव्ययम् ॥

इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराजश्रीश्रीराजराजेन्द्रकबीन्द्रजयपतापमलदेवविरचिता निजवंशावली समाप्ता

माधुर्यादिविचित्रताखिलपदन्यासैर्मनोहारिणी संक्षिप्तेन कबीन्द्रभूमिपतिना वंशावली निर्मिता ।

प्रत्येकं किल कीर्तिशौर्यनिखिलप्रौढप्रतापादिकं भूपानां रचितुं विमृश्य निवृण्वं शक्तो न वा शक्यति ॥ ३० ॥

Abstract.

- I. *Invocation to Bhavāni and Sankara.*
II. *Foundaunt*, composed by king Pratāpamalla, a prince of poets:—

Vishnu

Sūrya

Manu Vaivāsata,

From him were descended:

Dillip.

Raghu

Aja

Dāsaratha

Rāma

Lava.

In his race were born:

Hastisinha,

who dug tanks in Mithilā and settled Nepāla.

Yakshamalla,

(falsely here called his son)

Ratanamalla

Sūryamalla

Narendramalla

Mahindramalla

who brought an image of Devī from Bhāgīnā

Sivasinha

Hastisinha

Lakshmanasinha

Pratāpamalla.

III. *Object of inscription*, to record the presentation of a *Talājarnasha*, i. e. the king's own weight in gold, silver and pearls, together with one hundred horses.

IV. *Date*, the 7th day of the bright half of Māgha, Nepāla Saka-vat 778, a Sunday, constellation Revatī, conjunction Siddhī.

No. 20.—An inscription of Rishihīlakshmi, dated Nepāla Saka-vat 810.

On a stone in the wall of a great temple of Śiva, close to the palace in Kātmāndu. On the upper portion of the same stone is found a hymn to Śiva, in the Bhajanga metre, composed by Śrī-Śrījaya Bhupālendra-malla, who describes himself as follows:

Śrīmat pāpapaticharapākatantardhādhābhābhā-
bhābhābhā — śrīmatpāpapaticharapākatantardhādhābhā-
bhābhābhā — śrīmatpāpapaticharapākatantardhādhābhā-
bhābhābhā — śrīmatpāpapaticharapākatantardhādhābhā-
bhābhābhā — śrīmatpāpapaticharapākatantardhādhābhā-
bhābhābhā — śrīmatpāpapaticharapākatantardhādhābhā-
bhābhābhā.

Letters Nirāl, language Sanskrit. Preservation good.

Transcript.

देवी श्रीकदिलक्ष्मी विमलकुलभा नीतिमार्गे निविष्टा शिष्टाचारैकभूमिस्त्रिभुवनजननीपादलब्धप्रसादा ।

शंभोरम्भोजजन्मप्रभृतिभिरमरैः सेवितस्याति — विख्याता व्यक्तीनिर्गति विजयते सप्तजनानन्द-
दायी ॥ १ ॥

नेपालक्षितिपालभालतिलको विद्वदुणालङ्कृतो दानेदिककृतातिरेकमहिमः प्रौढप्रतापेभतः ।

देवो यन्ननयो नयोदयलसत्कीर्तिप्रचारः श्रिया भूपालेन्द्र इति प्रथामुपगतो भूपो वरीवर्जते ॥ २ ॥
नेपालाब्दे गगनधरिणीनागपुके किलोर्जे भासे पक्षे विधुविरहिते मुद्रिवीर्यातिथौ सा ।
कृत्वा देशलयमपि रवौ ऋदिलक्ष्मी प्रसन्ना चक्रे देवी मुविधिविदितां शङ्करस्य प्रतिष्ठाम् ॥ ३ ॥

Abstract.

I. *Object of inscription*: to record the consecration of a temple of Śiva, built by Queen Rindhīlakshmi, the mother of king Bhūpalendrasaṃhita.

II. *Date*, the 2nd lunar day of the dark half of Kārtika, Nepālā Sakaṃvāt 810 (1630 A.D.).

No. 21.—An inscription of Śrīśāledan, dated Nepālā Sakaṃvāt 792.

On the lintel of the door* of the temple of Avalokiteśvara in Baugmāti (see above No. 6).

Letters Nivārī, language Sanskrit. Preservation good.

Transcript.

श्रीलोकेश्वराय नमः

मन्त्रेन्द्रे योगिना मुख्याः शान्ताः शक्तिं वदन्ति यम् ।
श्रीदा लोकेश्वरे तस्मै नमो ब्रह्मरूपिणे ॥ १ ॥

नेपालाब्दे लोचनशिल्पराजे (३)

श्रीपञ्चम्यां श्रीनिवासेन राज्ञा

स्वर्णद्वारं स्थापितं स्तोरणेन

सार्द्धं श्रीमलोकनाथस्य गेहे.

Translation.

* Perise to (that Deity), bearing the form of Brahman, whom the Śāktas, best of ascetics, call Mātarendranātha and the Bauddhas Lokēśvara!

On the 69th day of the bright half of Māgha (Cāyāśuklaṃ) king Śrīnivāsa placed a golden door and torana in the temple of glorious Lokanātha.

No. 22.—An inscription of Princess Yoganmāti, dated Nepālā Sakaṃvāt 843.

On a stone in the inner wall of a small temple of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa situated close to the palace in Lalitapattana.

Letters Nivārī, language corrupt Sanskrit.

Transcript.

पञ्चमीसुरसीरुहे समजनि ब्रह्मा जगन्मृष्टिकृत् प-
त्यादान्बुजतो वराह जगतामालम्बिनी स्वर्णदी ।

येनाभारि भया वराहवपुषा दंष्ट्रायकेनोच्चकैः प्रत्यु-
दाचननीरदायिरुचये तस्मै परस्मै नमः ॥ १ ॥

सजलजलदनीलः कामिनीप्रेमशीलः कलितभुवन-
लीलः कंसचानूरकालः ।

सुललितवनमालः मोक्षमार्गैकतालः भवतु मम मुदेसौ
सर्वा नन्दवालः ॥ २ ॥

आसीत्सिद्धिनुसिंहमलनृपतिः सूर्योन्मये कीर्तिमान्ने-
पाले ललिताभिधाननगरे पीयान्सा पालयन् ।

गोपीनाथपदारविन्दमधुपे वाचस्पतिर्द्वारः संसारं
जलबुद्धोपममसौ दिना गतो जगन्वीरम् ॥ ३ ॥

तस्यात्मजो भूपतिरेव जातः श्रीश्रीनिवासो ननु
श्रीनिवातः ।

सापानलो वैरिमहीरहाणां स रानतेतीव सुधाकरेव
॥ ४ ॥

तस्यात्मजो योगनरेन्द्रमलोमलेन्द्रचानूरतनुषवीर्यः ।

कन्दर्पसौन्दर्यविनिन्दिरूपः राज्ञा भूमाविन देवराजः
॥ ५ ॥

दौलपर्यवसावभिगम्य तत्र विष्णुभवने सह तामिः
एकविंशतिसतीभिरगच्छत् केशवं प्रति समाहि-
तचित्तः ॥ ६ ॥

तस्यात्मजा योगमती वधूत निमेषचिह्ना लक्ष्मी-
रिवापरा ।

सुवर्णकुम्भापुता नागहस्त यज्ञान्तरे स्नानकृतेन
पूता ॥ ७ ॥

तस्याः प्रसूत इव शक्तिधरोम्बिकायाः लोकप्रकाश-
नृपतिर्विराज धीरः ।

विष्णोः पदे स गतवाजमणीयरूपः शोहेति लोक-
मसकृच्चननीं विहाय ॥ ८ ॥

* The door is made of gilt brass plates and adorned by reliefs. The arch or torana above the door, which is

likewise made of brass, encloses three images of Lokanātha.

लोके किञ्च विलक्ष्यतेऽद्भुतरूपिः प्रासादराजो महा-
 आनातोरणमोहनावलिभरो जीमूतलेहायुतः ।
 भृङ्गं हेममयैर्मनोजकलक्षैः सज्जालयैवो --
 --- वसमीरणेन च भुवि भृङ्गं सुमेरोवभौ ॥ ९ ॥
 अन्ते रामप्रजेश्वरास्पवसुभिर्माघे सिते पक्षके
 शूले चोत्तरफाल्युने शशधरे वारे द्वितीयातिथौ ।
 [पुनार्थे] कुरुते सुधाश्रुवदना पाषाणदेवालयम्
 कृष्णं राधिकया सहाय --- कृत्वा प्रतिष्ठाकरोत्

Abstract.

I. Inscription to Vishnu—Krishna.

II. *Yoganarāṇḍī*.

Siddhīnārāyaṇamalla, king of Lalitapattana, becomes an ascetic, and went to dwell on the banks of the Gaṅgā (Bharuwa).

Srinivāsa

Yoganarendramalla went with his

twenty-one wives to Dolaparrata, and died in the temple of Vishnu.

Yogamati

Lokaprakāśa, died before his mother.

III. *Object of the inscription*, to record the consecration of a temple of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa, built by Princess Yogamati in memory of her son.

IV. *Date*, 2nd lunar day of the bright half of Māgha, Nepāla Śaṁvat 843 (1723 A.D.), a Monday, constellation—Uttarāṣāḍha, conjunction—Śula.

No. 23.—An inscription of Queen Lalitapattana, dated Vikram Śaṁvat 1278.

On a pillar, supporting a Naṁḍī, placed opposite the western door of a temple of Tripurādevī on the road from Katmandu to Lalitapattana, close to the river Vāgmati.

Letters Devanāgarī, language Sanskrit. Preservation good.

Transcript.

श्रीगणेशाय नमः

स्सस्ति श्रीमहिराजचक्रचूडामणिमरीचिनीराजितचरणतलवृत्तिनगिरिवरासभमहाचीनशीमपर्य-
 न्तनेपालदेशजयजनितयशोराशिदिशदितासामण्डलस्य श्रीगोरक्षचलाधीशश्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीपृथ्वी-
 नारायणशाहदेवस्य पौत्रो दयादाक्षिण्यादिप्रधानेगुणनिधानश्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीसिंहप्रतापशाहदेवयो
 निखिलमहीपालमौलिमालालितपादपीठः श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीरणवहादूरशाहदेवः शतरुद्रास्वर्ण-
 वतीतरङ्गशीर्षयन्तवारुणैन्द्रदिग्भागसायान्यविरुयातमूर्तिरभूत्पूर्वः समजनि
 युद्धे रुद्रः प्रतापे रथिरखिलभूषणे रक्षणे वासुदेवः स्वयमे कर्णः क्षमायां क्षितिरखिलजनानन्दने पूर्णचन्द्रः ।
 सद्ये धर्मः सुरुषे रतिपतिरप्यस्यायिनां दण्डधरो नानादेवस्वरूपो जयति रणवहादूरशाहो नृपेन्द्रः ॥

तस्य पुत्रः सकलगुणगणाभिरामप्रजारजनानुक्तरामावतारः श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीमीर्माणयुद्धवि-
 क्रमशाहदेवः प्रतीतस्तदामजे सकललक्षणशोभिते श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीरामेन्द्रविक्रमशाहदेवे मेदिन्यां
 पालयति श्रीमद्रणवहादूरशाहदेवपट्टराज्या श्रीमल्लितविपुरसुन्दरीदेव्या स्वभक्तुः स्वर्गसाधनप्रयासोत्कृषा
 वेदविद्यानिपुणनानाविद्वन्मण्डलीप्रार्थनासञ्चारितविचारनिश्चितधर्मप्रधानशिवलिङ्गादिदेवप्रतिष्ठादिकर्मत-
 या स्वीचानुमत्या तत्कार्यनिर्वाहानुगुणसामग्रीसम्पत्तिसम्पादनशर्म भीमसेनं मन्त्रीवरं तत्साधने नियोज्य
 सांप्रतं तत्कर्मविधानं नियुक्ताः श्रीगुण्वादिब्राह्मणा वेदसप्तगजेन्दुमिते १८७४ विक्रमे शाके शुचिशुक्लनवम्यां
 सोमान्वितायां शिलाधिसासनः कर्म यथाविधि सम्पाद्य तस्मिन्नेव शके भाद्रकृष्णनवम्यां शुक्ले शिलाप्रवेशं
 विधाय बाणस्वराणाभूमिते १८७५ शके माघमासि तृतीयायां गुरौ शिवलिङ्गादिदेवप्रतिष्ठाकर्म समाचरन्
 मध्ये श्रीविपुलेश्वरो यमदिशि द्वारे स्थितो भैरवो जेवाः शङ्खरुद्रभागतो हरिरभिःमातुराम्बास्ततः ।

दक्षादिकर्मकोणगा अथ महाकालादिनन्दी तथा भृङ्गी श्रीगणपत्य दक्षिणदिशो देशक्रमादिगताः ॥ १ ॥
 तद्वक्ष्ये स्वदिशि स्थिताः सुरपतिर्व्यन्धिर्यमो निर्ऋतिः पार्श्वे वायुकुबेरुद्रविषयो नागाधिपतः कमात् ।

ईशाने बलिशेषभागमिममत्तश्चण्डेश्वरः पश्चिमे विस्वातो वृषभश्च मण्डलगता देवा इमे सम्मताः ॥ २ ॥
 रम्भापत्रफलप्रसूनललिते ससोरणाच्छादने नानावर्णपताककेतनलसप्राप्ते महामण्डपे ।
 कुण्डानां नवकं विधाय विधिवद्विधिधानक्षमैः कर्माश्वर्यकरं समापयदिदं श्रीरङ्गनाथो गुरुः ॥ ३ ॥
 दोषेन्मोषवृषप्रघोषादिवेपत्तन्तोषपोषधमः संयातातुलतीर्यभूतपरिवत्सकारकम्पद्रुमा ।
 नानामङ्गलदिग्बस्तुनिभूतस्तौर्यत्रिकोलासितो ह्यः कोपि स वासरः समभवलोकप्रमोदोऽग्निलः ॥ ४ ॥
 ततस्तस्मिन्नेव शके मार्गकृष्णपञ्चम्यां बुधे देवालयप्रतिष्ठापकुर्यन्
 दिग्भागान्तरतन्निवेशितचतुर्वारः सुखारोहणः पश्चाद्भूम्युत्कर्षकेतनतलन्यस्तविशूलोन्तरः ।
 सौवर्णोऽज्वलकुम्भपत्रपटलप्रासादितशामुखः प्रासादो दिशतादभीषितसदाश्रयप्रसक्तो मुदः ॥
 ततः पाताललोकवसुवसुमती शके ज्येष्ठकृष्णदशम्यां रवौ श्रीशङ्खनीजलान्वारसोपानारागमघण्टाधर्म-
 शालाप्रतिष्ठाकर्म समापयन् ।
 सोपानालिरियं विदग्धरचनामुश्निष्टचित्रोपला रम्या वायुसुताभिवासविहितपोदामविघ्नावलिः ।
 सम्पादानिकसक्तलोकविहितस्वैच्छावकाशस्थला स्नानध्यानहिता मुधाधवलितप्रान्ता चिरं राजताम् ॥ १ ॥
 नानदिशप्रभवसुकलव्रातभारातिनम्रवृक्षश्रेणीनियमस्त्वचितः शालसेयुतमध्यः ।
 आरामोऽयं सुरभिमुग्नोरागिसंराजमानः नानावीरुललिततरणिः पूर्णकामः सदास्लाम् ॥ २ ॥
 घण्टानिनादकृतकर्णसुखातिपीरा पूजाविधानविहितभनिमादधाना ।
 देवप्रसादपरिपूरितहीनभागा सर्वोपचारपरिचारकृतां विधेयात् ॥ ३ ॥
 शालेयं विविधप्रशस्तिमनुजप्राप्त्योपकारक्षमा रम्याचलरम्यकोष्ठविलसद्वातापना श्लक्ष्णभूः ।
 नानदिशसमागतान् पथिपरिभ्रान्तान्सङ्ग्राहिणो नित्ये भोजनवासदानविधिना कामानुगन्तोपयेत् ॥ ४ ॥
 तदिदं साङ्गोपाङ्गकर्म संपूर्णसंश्रितं यजमानसङ्गत्सिद्धिं सम्पादयति चिरं श्रीशिवदिदेवप्रीत्ये भूयात्
 धर्मोऽयं कुलतन्त्रविप्रचयदो लोकतृप्तानन्दनस्तदोषे निरयादिदुःखजनका दोषाः परं कीर्तिताः ।
 शानैर्व नृपमन्त्रिप्रमनुरैरतस्य संरक्षणे नालस्यं श्रयणीयमिदमिति तं रक्षन् श्रुतः शासनम् ।

शुभभूयान्

(Abstract.)

I. *Inscription to Ganesa.*

II. *Pratishthā,*—

Prithvīnaragana Shā,
 lord of the Gopākhā hill (Gākhā), master
 of all Nepal up to the frontier of Mahāśākya.

Simhapaśāpā Shā

Rajabāhādūr Shā,
 who ruled in the west up to the Satarādri
 river (Kālī?) in the east up to the river
 Svargavati.

Gīrvāpāyuddhāvīkrama Shā

Rājāsāravīkrama Shā

III. *Object of the inscription,* to record the
 consecration of a temple of Śiva, built by Queen
 Lalitairipurasundarī, the widow of
 Rajabāhādūr Shā, in memory of her de-

ceased husband. She employed, with the per-
 mission of her grandson, the minister Bhīm-
 aśaka, the Upādhyāya and other Brāhmana
 for the execution of this work and for the ceremonies
 incidental thereto. On the 18th of the bright half
 of Āshāḍha, Vikrama Saka 1874, a Monday
 the *śilādāna*, the worship of the stones for
 the building was performed. The cornerstone
 was laid (*śilāpūṣṭa*) on the 9th day of the dark
 half of Bhādrapada of the same year, and on
 the 3rd day of the bright half of Māgha,
 of the following year, a Monday, the *lāga* of Śiva
 was consecrated. At all these ceremonies the
 royal Gura, Rāgunātha, presided. On the 5th
 day of the dark half of Mārgaśīrsha V. S. 1875
 the temple itself was consecrated, and finally on
 the 10th of the dark half of Jyēṣṭha 1877 a Dharm-
 mākalā and a staircase leading to the river Vāg-
 matī a garden and a well were made over to the
 temple.

THE BUDDHIST INSCRIPTION AT KEU-YUNG-KWAN.

BY REV. S. DEAL, D.D.

Attention has elsewhere been drawn to the ancient Buddhist inscription at Keu-yung-kwan, a small village about five miles to the north of the Nankow Pass. This inscription is engraved in the characters of six different nations, viz., Mongol or Bâshpah, Uighûr, Nyuchih, Chinese, Devanâgarî, and Tibetan. On examination it is found to contain certain Buddhist *dhâranî* or incantations, which in the paper alluded to (*Jour. R. A. Soc.*, vol. V. pp. 14ff.)¹ have been translated by Mr. Wylie and Dr. Haas for the benefit of the English reader. These *dhâranî* are found in various Buddhist works, and are supposed to represent the highest and most potent charms which words proceeding from the top of the illustrious diadem (*ekâda*) of Buddha's head are able to convey. This "honoured diadem of Buddha's head" refers to the well known conceit of the Buddhists that from the top of the cranium of their master proceeded an elongated exorcism (*usôphik*),² the top of which reached to the highest heaven. In all probability this imaginary formation is pictured in the Amarâvati sculptures as the "pillar of glory surmounted by Om" proceeding from the throne supposed to be occupied by Bhagavat (see particularly pl. lxxi, figs. 1 and 2, *Tree and Serpent Worship*). These pillars of light are also referred to by Spence Hardy (*Manual of Buddhism*, 1st ed. pp. 189, 207), and perhaps originated in the idea of the Lânga and its worship. Be this as it may, it is curious to trace as far back as we can the origin of such a peculiar idea; and for this purpose we have appended the translation of a *Sûtra* attributed to the Sâman Buddhavarn (*Fortopelli*) of the Yang dynasty.

The Sûtra of the Phûma of the Illustrious Diadem of Buddha's Surmounting Head.

"Thus have I heard. At one time Bhagavat was residing at Srâvastî, in the garden of Jeta, the friend of the orphans, together with 1250 great Bhikshus, his disciples, and with upwards of 12,000 great Bâddhâvâsas and priests. At this time there was amongst the Bôvas of the Trayâsitrâkâs Heavens, one in

the Assembly of the Sâddharma Hall, called Shen-chin. This Dêva, whilst wandering to and fro in the celestial gardens, with the company of Dêvas who attended him, had heard a voice proceeding from space, and warning him that in a few days hence he should be called to give up his heavenly estate and be born in hell, after which he should receive a succession of births all more or less miserable and painful. On this, the Dêva hastened to Sâkrevâja, and with doleful voice and many tears laid the case before him, asking and beseeching for advice and rescue. Then Sâkrevâja, having heard the words of Shen-chin, at once entered into a state of profound abstraction, and, perceiving that the case was to be with Shen-chin even as the voice had declared, he resolved at once to repair to the place where Buddha was residing, even to the garden of Jeta, and there having presented him with suitable gifts, to seek his counsel and advice on the point. Accordingly having done so, and having saluted the foot of Bhagavat seven times circumambulated him, he stated the circumstances of Shen-chin's destiny, and humbly asked the advice of the World-honoured one."

Then Buddha caused to proceed from the top of his head every kind of glorious light, which spread itself from world to world through all space. Then this light again returned to the presence of Buddha, and having revolved around him three times entered through his mouth. Then the World-honoured gave a gentle smile, and addressed Sâkrevâja as follows:—"Heavenly king, there are certain *dhâranî* called the 'honoured diadem of Buddha's head,' which are able to deliver from every kind of evil birth, and to destroy every possible sorrow. If a man once hears these, and if they once pass through his ears, then all the evil deeds he has ever done shall be cancelled and their punishment remitted; if he writes them on a wall, or reads them, or writes to others, then shall the same crimes quiesce forever and all his sins shall be forgiven."

On this Sâkrevâja repeated that he would repeat these charms, and that he would do so.

¹ It belongs to the *Manual*, pp. 145-146.

² See also Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I, pp. 29, 414.—Ed.

³ The word *usôphik* possibly means a 'turret,' but is used by the Buddhists as a technical term for the 'pagoda'

on Buddha's head, by which all flames of his are dispelled; the former represented in Indian sculpture, not as a sort of spire on his head.—Ed.

The *dhāraṇī* are much shorter than those on the Keu-yung gate, but contain the same leading words; we do not repeat them, our object being merely to show the purpose of their being placed on this barrier gate, through which Mongols and Tibetans must enter the

empire, and doubtless were glad to be so easily assured of deliverance by the repetition of the words.

"Śākrarāja, having heard these words, thankfully received them; and having saluted the World-honoured one, forthwith departed."*

NOTES ON THE *KURRAL* OF THE TAMIL POET TIRUVAḤḤUVAR.

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(Continued from Vol. VIII. p. 309.)

No. III.

It may seem strange that the introductory Chapter on God is followed by one on Rain. The connection, however, seems evident, as in *Jets* xiv. 17: 'Nevertheless He left not Himself without a witness, in that He did good, and gave us rain from heavens, and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness.'

In the *Bhagavatgītā*, III. 14: 'All things which have life are produced from bread which they eat. Bread is produced from rain; rain from divine worship, and divine worship from good works.' The title of the second chapter, or collection of 10 *Kurraṭṭi*, is 'vāṇ śrappu,' the specific qualities, or excellence of rain. The words for 'rain' in the chapter are *vāṇ* and *maṇai*; those for 'cloud' are *paṇai*, *ṇṇi*; those for 'sky' are *vāṇam*, *vāṇ*, *vāṇuṇ*.

A consideration of these words will prepare the way for the analysis of the chapter.

1. *Vāṇ* and *vāṇam* are the same word. By apocope *vāṇ* is used for *vāṇam* in poetry, and may signify 'the sky,' or the rain that falls from it. In common Tamil *vāṇam* is often pronounced *vāṇuṇ*; thus, a district which, having no rivers, is wholly dependent on seasonal rains, is called *vāṇam pāṇṇa śṇai*, 'a district that looks to the sky.' 2. *Vāṇ* is, I suppose, a poetical variation of the same word. 3. *Vāṇuṇ*-*ḥu* (S. *vāṇa* + *ḥu*; the postfix *ḥu* is added to many stems in Tamil to form a noun, with an idea of 'existence.' S. *ḥu* means 'coelum' and by metonymy 'a cloud.' 4. *paṇai* (also *paṇai* and *piṇai*) = 'nimbus'. 5. *ṇṇi* (from *ṇṇ*, 'arise' : Lat. *or*) is 'that which arises.' 6. *maṇai* is the ordinary word for 'rain.' It appears also as *māṇai*; and *vāṇi* = 'water' (comp. S. *vāṇ* and *vāṇi*). I regard the cerebrals in Tamil (and especially *r*) as resulting from

the attempt to pronounce a compound consonant such as *rs*.

The chief words for 'rain' or 'sky' in the Dravidian dialects are—

Tel.	Kan.	Mal.	Tam.
vāṇ.	bāṇ.	vāṇ-am.	vāṇ-am, viṇ.
varsha-mu	varsha.	varsha.	varsha.
	ma-le.	maṇa.	maṇai, māri.

(Toda: *nāṇ*)

I cannot help thinking that the Dravidian *vāṇ* (both as a verbal root = 'fashion' and as a noun = 'sky,' 'rain') is connected with S. *Varuṇa*, 'the investing sky' in the old Aryan mythology.

Couplet I.

vāṇuṇ | *ulagun* | *varuṇi* | *varuṇuṇ*
vāṇuṇ | *endruṇ* | *paṇai* | *paṇai*.

Scanning:

vāṇuṇ | *ulagun* | *varuṇi* | *varuṇuṇ* |

vāṇuṇ | *endruṇ* | *paṇai* | *paṇai*.

"Since by the continued existence of rain the world preserves its course, it (rain) is to be regarded as partaking of the nature of nectar."

The idea of this couplet is an obvious one: 'rain gives life to all creation, revives the dying vegetation, restores life to what seems dead.' Any one who has seen an Indian district suffering from drought, and noted the instantaneous change in the aspect of all living things when the long-expected rain has fallen, will understand the poet's feeling: 'rain is the elixir of immortality to the whole earth.'

Nūṇu (= having stood) is past adv. participle of *R*, *nū*. [con. S. *nū* in *nūṇu*.] *vāṇuṇu* is, in fact, a nominative absolute.

Ulagun, Tam. form of S. *ulaga*. Comp. Ch. I. 1.

Varuṇi, 'having gone on its way.' In Tamil a very large group of words from stem *var* is

* *The Oriental*, Oct. 3, 1873.

* ' over a letter indicates omission of a letter according to

the Tamil laws of euphony. *ā* is always *ā* in Tamil, as in 'this.' * *ṇ* indicates a very short *n*, hardly audible.

found. Some of these are here given. (1). *car-akku*, *car-akkam*, 'custom.' This is also written with *p* for *c*. It is probable that *car* and *par* are only variations of the same stem. (2). *car-anya*, 'be in use,' 'pass current,' this is the word in the stanza. The transitive is not found; but *par-akku* 'to habituate, render common,' takes its place. This has an intransitive, *par-aga*. (3). *caru*, 'a road, way, what is old, antiquity, succession.' Here we find *para*, 'old'; and *pari*, 'guilt,' the transmitted liability to punishment, a man's old sin. *Parum* is 'fruit,' 'result of actions.' I suggest that *car* = *par* = S. *pāl*. The cognates would be Gr. *πάλα*; Lat. *par*; Goth. *blan*. In ancient Kanarese this is *kāla*. Here may be an example of the law which I spoke of in my Dravidian notes, No. I. vol. V, p. 158. Other forms of the same stem are *paḷ*, *paṇ*, *paṇḍ*, illustrating the important fact that in the Dravidian languages cerebral and dental are interchangeable; and the original seems to be *ḷ*.

Tamīl possessed originally very few stems, and these were mostly, if not altogether, monosyllabic. Thence the poets, and especially the Jains, (who were anxious to obliterate all traces of Sanskrit; to introduce a new language, as they had introduced a new religion,) varied in every possible manner, especially softening every harsh sound, and promoting assuance. Tamīl and Telugu are, therefore, highly artificial languages, and in them the Aryan element has been designedly put out of sight.

Varuthalaḷ: here final *ḷ* is followed by initial *t* (dental), and both are changed into palatal *ṭ*. This is in accordance with the law that 'two consonants coming together must be of the same organ,' and assimilation: dental *t* becomes palatal, and *ḷ* is assimilated. *Vā*, in inflection *var* or *van* = 'come' or 'go', 'proceed.' *varuthal*, is a verbal noun = 'the proceeding,' and *āḷ* is the sign of the instrumental ablative: = 'by the proceeding,' 'because it proceeds.' *t* or *ṭ* added to a stem, with or without euphonic insertions, form a Dravidian noun. This is sometimes changed into *n*, and equals *r* and *s*, in Aryan languages. *Vā* is in Kanarese *bā*. We may compare Oscan and Umbrian *bes* with Latin *res*. *tā* is 'ipse.' *Seṭ* is the root of the reflexive pronoun in Aryan languages. Tamīl would write this *ta*, having no sibilant and using *t* for *s* habitually.

Amṛitham (S. *amṛita*, Gr. *ambrosia*) = 'immor-

tal,' 'a medicine prolonging life,' 'the food of the gods.' Other forms are *amṛitham*, *amṛitham*, *amṛithu*, *amṛitham*, and *amṛithu*. Thus the S. *ṛi* is rendered by *ru*, *ri*, *ir*, and *u*. The Kan. has also *amṛithu*.

The use of *caru* for Gr. *koti*, *kōs* has been referred to before.

Unar al = 'the perceiving, understanding.' This is a verbal noun, or infinitive mood, though very often the final *i* is omitted. The Latin suffix is *r* or *s* (see Roby), the Greek *n*, or *sth*. The root-stem *unar* is from *uḷ* or *un* = 'within,' 'internal,' *ar* = 'know,' as a separate verb *arri*. *uḷ* is much used (in cognate dialects = *uḷ*, *uḷ*). It is a case-inflection = 'in,' 'inter.' It is also the root of a verb = 'to be, exist.' It forms a verb *un* = 'eat,' 'suck in.' It forms a noun *unam* = 'reality, truth.' The equivalent root in the 'Ugriatic' is *uḷ* (see Fick).

Pōḷṭa is a form like *muthaḷu* in Ch. I. 1. (see Notes on Kurral II, vol. VIII, p. 397).

The noun is *paḷ* (for *paḷ al*: S. *bhay*: Fick.) = 'casualty property.'

Complex II.

tappāḷḷu | *tappāḷḷa* | *tappāḷḷi* | *tappāḷḷu* |
tappāḷḷ | *o thāḷḷu* | *arūḷ*.

Scanning:

tāṁṁṁṁṁṁ | *tāṁṁṁṁṁṁ* | *tāṁṁṁṁṁṁ* | *tāṁṁṁṁṁṁ*
tāṁṁ | *pāḷḷāḷ* | *māḷḷar*.

"For the givers sweet food making.

Taster-takers itself food becoming: such is ruin."

The root *ta* = (1) 'eat,' (2) 'enjoy,' (3) 'experience.' Hence the noun *tappa* = (1) 'food,' (2) 'enjoyment,' 'sweetness.' [S. *dak* = (1) milk, (2) enjoy].

There is a peculiarity in old Tamīl, which is called *āḷuḷāḷi* (= lengthening), by which in this case, short *u* is lengthened to *ū*, and then a short *a* is added, making *āḷ* out of *ū*. Thus *ūḷāḷu* is made *āḷāḷu*. Hiatu is here allowed. This resembles the process by which Ionic Greek writes *hēlios* for *helios*.

The idea is here, that rain causes fertility and is itself necessary to quench the thirst of men and cattle. The punning and alliteration are thoroughly in accordance with Tamīl ideas.

Complex III.

Vipṇāḷḷu | *vipṇāḷḷa* | *vipṇāḷḷi* | *vipṇāḷḷu* |
vipṇāḷḷ | *uḷāḷḷu* | *pāḷḷ*.

Scanning:

tāṁṁṁṁṁṁ | *tāṁṁ* | *pāḷḷāḷ* | *kāḷḷa* | *vīṇṁṁṁṁ* |
tāṁṁ | *pāḷḷāḷ* | *māḷḷar*.

"If the cloud standing (in the sky) deceives (by not falling in rain to the earth), hunger will afflict, standing in the midst of the wide-spread earth, though (this earth is) surrounded by an expanse of waters."

The clouds charged with moisture stand over the hills, big with the promise of fertilizing showers. If they remain there, and do not fulfil their promise, the earth, though surrounded by vast oceans of water, must fall a prey to all the miseries of famine.

During the late disastrous droughts, each day heavy clouds collected and hung over the Maisūr province; but winds arose and bore them away in the direction of the sea, leaving the broad fields dry and parched, and abandoning multitudes to misery and death by famine. Those who have seen this can understand the force of the poet's lines.

The compound *virī-vīra-viyan-ulagaṇa* is interesting. It is verb + noun + adjective + noun, extend + water + broad + world. 'The wide world around which the ocean spreads.' Observe the alliteration. Perhaps Sanskrit grammar would divide this into two compounds (1) *Viyan-ulagaṇa*, being a 'Karmadhāraya,' where *viyan* (S. *vīra*) is descriptive of *ulagaṇa* = the wide world; (2) *virī-vīra* being a 'bahuvrīhi.'

Virī is the stem, or crude form, used in Sanskrit (Comp. S. *virī*, *vi-virī*, *vi-virita*.) The Tamil grammarians see here only ellipsis (*lopa*) of inflectional particles and of connecting words.

Conplet IV.

irū | *uṇḍar* | *uṇḍar* | *pupaḷennu*
vāri | *vafam kūndri* | *kāl*.

Scansion :

tīrū | *pāḷimā* | *pāḷimā* | *pāḷimāṅgāy*
tēmā | *pāḷimāṅgāy* | *nā*.

"The ploughmen plough not with the yoked oxen when the abundance of the cloud-dalage is diminished."

Agriculture is the great employment of the Tamil people; it ceases when the rains are not abundant.

The roots *ir* and *ur* are very remarkable.

ir is 'the plough with its yoke of oxen.' It is found in all the S. Indian languages. *ir-uṇḍa* is 'a bull,' *ir-uṇḍi* is 'a buffalo,' *irru* is 'the male of any animal' (Tulu, *er* and *ekki*.) Here we may compare A. S. *ear-lau*, (Eng. *ear*), Lat. *ar-are*,

aratum. (See Fick), 'arman,' Lat. *ar-men-tio*. (See also Fick, *arhya*.)

The Kanarese has *ur* for *ur* (cerebrals interchangeable) and *ūḍi*. The Tamil has *uṇḍ-uṇḍi* for 'pulverised earth,' this in ancient Kan. is *uṇḍi*.

It is curious that the Sanskrit and Telugu words for 'plough' are quite different from each other, and from Tam., Kan., Mal., &c.

Conplet V.

Keduppathānu | *keṇḍāṅku* | *ēṇḍy matt* | *āṅḍ*
ēḍuppathānu | *ēḷḷ* | *māṇi*.

Scansion :

kārūvilāṅgāy | *tē māṅgāi* | *tē māṅgāi* | *tēmā*
kārūvilāṅgāy | *tēmā* | *māḷār*.

"That which will ruin, that which will uplift, becoming a help to the ruined; all this is rain."

The destructive violence of tropical storms, and the life-giving effects of the first burst of the monsoons in India, are referred to here.

Kēḍ = 'destroy,' 'perish.' [S. *śad*, *chid*, Fick. another form is *śere*.]

ēḷḷ = 'support.' The root *śū* = 'lean, recline against.' Hence the idea of 'prop,' 'support.' *ēḷḷ* = 'approach.' Comp. S. *char*.

ēḷḷ = 'take up,' 'lift,' 'assist.'

Roots with *d* as the significant letter, preceded by what seems to be a prefix, are many in Tamil. Thus :

1. *ko-ḍu* = 'give.'
2. *i-ḍu* = 'give,' 'place.'
3. *vi-ḍu* = 'leave.'
4. *d-ḍu* = 'move about.'
5. *pō-ḍu* = 'put.'
6. *o-ḍu* = 'take up.'
7. *to-ḍu* = 'hinder.'
8. *so-ḍu* = 'middle,' 'plant.'
9. *a-ḍu* = 'cook.'
10. *ko-ḍu* = 'cross.'
11. *no-ḍu* = 'walk.'
12. *u-ḍu* = 'clothe.'
13. *ḍ-ḍu* = 'run.'
14. *po-ḍu* = 'suffer,' 'sink.'

Whether these are not compounds of a root like *d* or *ḍ* of the Sanskrit, and *de* of the Greek, is an interesting question.

A parallel list with *r* as the significant letter, which may be formed from a root like *ri* or *ar*, or *aru* of the Sanskrit is :

1. *ko-ru*, 'soft,' 'grow fat.'
2. *ko-ri*, 'pass off.'
3. *vi-ru*, 'fall.'
4. *a-ri*, 'perish.'
5. *so-ri*, 'way.'
6. *i-ru*, 'draw.'
7. *po-ri*, 'pour forth.'

8. *a-ru*, 'rise up.'
 9. *a-ru*, 'weep.'
 10. *a-ru*, 'cease.'
 11. *hi-ru*, 'tear.'

A comparison of *a-ru* with *a-ru* suggests that *a-* is a prefix = 'up,' *ru* = 'down,' 'away,' 'off.'

The Tamil seems to me to contain just such traces of these compounds as the Keltic dialects do: e. g. *cy* in Welsh answers to *ku* or *ka* in Tamil. [*Cy-dia* (W.) = *ku-du* (T.) = 'join; dad in W. is = *re*, *un-dia*, back, comp. Tam. *ta-du*, *ta-dal*.]

In regard to such compounds, is it not possible that *S. krap* (Fick) Gr. *krap*, are made up of *ku* = *com*, and a stem signifying 'take,' (*ra* or *le*)? Thus Varro says 'corepsus' = 'klopare.' In Tam. *ku-l* = 'steal.'

Eu-dia = 'all.'

Couplet VI.

Vāṇmāṇṇi | tūṇi vāṇi | aliduvāṇi | 'dugd
paṇuvāṇi | tūṇi kṛdāṇi | aridāṇi.

Scansion:

vāṇmāṇṇi | vāṇmāṇṇi | tūṇi vāṇi | tūṇi
vāṇmāṇṇi | vāṇmāṇṇi | pīrāppā.

"Unless the drop of rain falls from the cloud, scarcely may you see the green grass putting forth its head."

Something of the effect of the rhythm may be seen in the following literal rendering, where the rhyme is preserved:

'If the drops | of the rain fall | not, then the | green shoots
 of the crops | are not seen | putting forth.'

Couplet VII.

neṇṇu kṛdāṇi | tūṇi vāṇi | kṛdāṇi | tūṇi vāṇi
tā 'nāḍāṇi | āṇi | vāṇi.

Scansion:

kāṇvāṇṇi | tūṇi vāṇi | tūṇi | kāṇvāṇṇi
tūṇi vāṇi | tūṇi | māṇi.

"The broad sea even will diminish in goodness, if the cloud do not swell and pour down its gifts."

Kaṇ-āṇi = 'sea': from *kāṇ*, 'cross over'; for epithet *ne-ṇṇu* = 'long' comp. Gr. 'eupeporos.'

Couplet VIII.

Sirappuṇṇi | pūṇṇi | kṛdāṇi | vāṇi
vāṇi vāṇi | vāṇi vāṇi | tūṇi.

Scansion:

kāṇvāṇṇi | kāṇvāṇṇi | tūṇi vāṇi | tūṇi
kāṇvāṇṇi | tūṇi vāṇi | kṛdāṇi.

"If the heaven dry up, worship to the heavenly ones with due solemnity on earth will not be paid."

Farr, 'dry.' en. Lat. *ar-idus*.

Sel = 'go,' 'go on,' [S. char. *chal*.]

il = 'if,' a contraction from *en-il* = 'if you say.'

vāṇ-āṇi = 'heaven.' Thence *vāṇ-āṇi*, 'a heavenly one,' plur. *vāṇ-āṇi*. Comp. Greek, *da* in participles. *āṇi* = 'he,' in Tamil, comp. Welsh, *af*.

Couplet IX.

dāṇam | tūṇi vāṇi | tūṇi vāṇi | tūṇi vāṇi
vāṇi vāṇi | tūṇi vāṇi | tūṇi.

Scansion:

tūṇi vāṇi vāṇi | tūṇi vāṇi vāṇi
tūṇi vāṇi vāṇi | tūṇi vāṇi vāṇi.

"Neither alms-giving nor ascetic practices will abide in the wide world, if the sky dispense not its gifts."

Asceticism, always an important subject in Oriental systems, is the subject of the next chapter.

Vijay-āṇi, comp. *vijay* on comp. III. and Greek, 'eurythraia.'

Couplet X.

vāṇi vāṇi | vāṇi vāṇi | vāṇi vāṇi | vāṇi vāṇi
vāṇi vāṇi | vāṇi vāṇi | vāṇi vāṇi.

Scansion:

tūṇi | vāṇi vāṇi | kāṇvāṇṇi | tūṇi vāṇi
tūṇi | vāṇi vāṇi | pīrāppā.

"If the world's work to none goes on without water, without rain the proscribed order cannot be preserved."

Vāṇi is plur. of *vāṇi* = 'who?' here it is doubled and *am* = 'and' is added = 'to any persons whatsoever.' *yu* = S. Ka. comp. Lat. use of *que* in *quis-que*.

Amāṇi is found in the form *amāṇi*. Another of the group is *amāṇi*. Initial *a* is often omitted in words from Sanskrit (*amāṇi* = *amāṇi*; *amāṇi* = *amāṇi*; *amāṇi* = *amāṇi*).

The S. root is *kāṇi*, Gr. *kāṇi*.

Vijay-āṇi—see ver under coup. I.

This ends the second chapter. The importance of rain as necessary to the subsistence of all living creatures, and to the observance of piety, is its topic.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

DISCOVERY OF SĀYAṆA'S COMMENTARY ON THE ATHARVA-YEDA.

I trust you will kindly allow me the use of your columns to announce the discovery of Sāyana's

long-sought Commentary on the Atharva-Yeda. Hitherto scholars had almost given up all hopes of finding the Commentary, which there was reason to believe did exist. And as all attempts to

find it made throughout the length and breadth of India had failed, and no trace had been found of it, scholars had already begun to say that it was never written by Śāyana; or, at any rate, that it had perished, like numerous other books which one hears so much about in Indian literature, and which, if found, would go very far to solve some knotty questions connected with Sanskrit literature.

The MS. of which I am now in possession contains Śāyana's *Commentary on the Śaundilya Śukla of the Atharva-Veda*, and was discovered in the South through the kind offices of an enlightened friend, himself a Sanskrit scholar, Mr. V. N. Namasivayengar, of the Mysore Commission. It is written on palm-leaf leaves, in what I suppose is called the Nandi-Nāgarī character, a form of Devanāgarī still in use in some parts of the Madras Presidency, especially on the Malabar Coast. Many in India had no doubt that the *Commentary* did exist; and as Śāyana, the great Vedic interpreter, lived in the South, and as that part of the country is still celebrated for Sanskrit, here and the preservation of ancient Sanskrit MSS., I directed my enquiries to centres of Sanskrit interest in that Presidency, and it is a matter for congratulation, in the interest of Vedic philology, that the long-died thing has been found at last.

It is a pity, however, that the MS. does not contain the whole of Śāyana's *Commentary on the Atharva-Veda*. Of the twenty Kāṇḍas, or chapters, into which the *Atharva Śaundilya* is divided, the MS. contains the commentary on nine Kāṇḍas, viz., the first four Kāṇḍas, the three Kāṇḍas from 4 to 8, and the five Kāṇḍas from 17 to 20. We have thus three fragments of the *Commentary*, but put together they form about two-thirds of the whole. I am in hopes of getting some portions of the Kāṇḍas that are missing, as some have been already traced; but I may not be sure of completing the *Commentary* without waiting for an indefinite length of time.

The MS., so far as it goes, is correct, and it will be possible to edit the *Commentary* from it even if no other copies are obtained. And I have already been working at the *Śaundilya* and the MS. with a

view to place before scholars the results of this happy find of the year 1879.

It is fortunate that the first portion of the *Commentary* has been found. We have there Śāyana's usual introduction. And here we learn some interesting facts. The author says that he was ordered to write the *Commentary* by King Harikara, the son of King Bakka, with whom Śāyana's *Commentary on the Rigveda* edited by Prof. Max Müller has acquainted the students of the *Veda*. From the introductory verses, when taken with the opening of the *Commentary on the Rigveda*, it would appear that Śāyana and Mādhyakshara are one and the same person. For, according to the present *Commentary*, Harikara commanded Śāyanaśekhara to compose—and it is Śāyanaśekhara that composes—the *Commentary*; and the author, further on, says that he proceeds, therefore, to write his *Commentary*, having already written his *Commentaries* on the other three Vedas. In Śāyana's *Commentary on the Rigveda* it is Bakka who commands Mādhyakshara to explain the *Rigveda*, and it is that Mādhyakshara who composes the *Commentary*. The question, therefore, whether Mādhyakshara and Śāyana were one and the same person, or, as has been supposed by some, different individuals, may be said to be not at rest by the *Commentary* now found.*

The Preface distinctly says that the *Atharva-Veda Commentary* was written after three other Vedas had been explained by the author by commentary.

Śāyana quotes an authority which says that the *Atharva-Veda* has five "upadeśas" or *Vaidikas*, which are *Sarvasūtra* (the *Veda* about snakes), *Pitṛasūtra* (the *Veda* about ghosts and devils), *Antarvasūtra* (the *Veda* about demons), *Dīdarsasūtra* (the *Veda* of legends), and *Pitṛasūtra* (the *Veda* of the *Pitṛas*).

According to Śāyana, there are nine branches, or Śākhās (he calls them branches), of the *Atharva-Veda*, which he enumerates as follows:—(1) the Paippalāda, (2) the Tundā, (3) the Maudā, (4) the Śaundilyā, (5) Akshakā, (6) the Jaladā, (7) Brahmanakā, (8) the Devadarina, and (9) the Chāndrayānya. And he goes on to say that the climatic use of the verses of the four Śākhās of

* The introductory verses are as follows:—

Vidyāyāyāṁ samantatāṁ sarvathānām upadeśasāṁ ||
Yam mātāṁ līkṣatītyaṁ yam tām namāmi Gajānana ||
Yasya nirmatam veda ya vedādhiva'kṣara jagat ||
Nirmatam tam abhā vanda Vidyādhivānana ||
Avidyābhānanaṁ Vidyādhivānana abhā bhaje ||
Yaduktakarapāṇinām āpāyāṁ pāṇikāpāṇam ||
Tatkatāṁ līkṣatītyaṁ yam tām namāmi Gajānana ||
Avidyābhānanaṁ Vidyādhivānana abhā bhaje ||
Vidyādhivānanaṁ Vidyādhivānana abhā bhaje ||
Dharmadharmadharmāyāṁ Kāṇḍa sarvathānām Kāṇḍayāṁ
Kāṇḍayāṁ ||
Śāundilyāṁ Maudāṁ Sarvāṁ vīṇāṁ Harikaraṇāṁ ||

Bhakti bhaktiṇāṁ tāmāṁ akṣatā Rāmāṁ mātāṁ ||
Yam tām līkṣatītyaṁ yam tām namāmi Gajānana ||
Yam tām līkṣatītyaṁ yam tām namāmi Gajānana ||
Yam tām līkṣatītyaṁ yam tām namāmi Gajānana ||
Yam tām līkṣatītyaṁ yam tām namāmi Gajānana ||
Yam tām līkṣatītyaṁ yam tām namāmi Gajānana ||
Yam tām līkṣatītyaṁ yam tām namāmi Gajānana ||
Yam tām līkṣatītyaṁ yam tām namāmi Gajānana ||
Yam tām līkṣatītyaṁ yam tām namāmi Gajānana ||
Yam tām līkṣatītyaṁ yam tām namāmi Gajānana ||

It will be observed that the reading of tatpāṇikāpāṇinām in line 7 gives a better sense than pāṇikāpāṇinām, &c., as found in Prof. Max Müller's most valuable edition of the *Rigveda-Commentary*.

the Śaunakīya, the Ākṣhaḥ, the Jaladā, and the Brahmacāḥ is given, in accordance with the *Gopātha Brahmana*, in five *Kalpa Sūtras*, which he names as (1) the *Kaṇḍika*, (2) the *Vaidika*, (3) the *Nakṣatrasūtra*, (4) the *Agnicaraka*, and (5) the *Saṁhita*.

Sāyana shows how the *Kaṇḍika Sūtra* is the chief of the five *Kalpa Sūtras*, and promises that, though he will give the substance of the other *Sūtras* in explaining the *Vidyā* of the *Ātharva-Veda-Saṁhita*, he will chiefly and largely quote from the *Kaṇḍika*.

As for the object and the use of the *Ātharva-Veda-Saṁhita*, according to the author of the *Kalpa-Sūtras*, Sāyana summarises the *Kaṇḍika* as follows:—The performance of the fortnightly sacrifices; the creation of brahmin; obtaining success of the vow of celibacy; the acquisition of villages, towns, forts, and kingdoms; the acquisition of soma, cattle, wealth, corn, subjects, wives, elephants, horses, chariots, sedans, and other means of comfort; the acquisition of unity among the people; acquisition of good feeling; frightening away enemies and elephants; acquisition of victory in battles; the fencing away of shafts; the fencing away of swords and other weapons; the stopping, resting, stopping, and destroying of hostile armies; the inspiring with bravery and the protection of one's own armies; finding out whether victory or defeat is to attend a given battle; the destruction of the commander of an army and similar high men; the throwing, in tracts travelled over by hostile armies, of charmed nets, swords, &c.; the mounting a chariot by a king desirous of victory; the hoisting of drums and all other instruments which have been charmed; the destruction of enemies; the restoration of a king dethroned by an enemy; the coronation of a king; the destruction of sin; about calamity; about fattening; the fattening of cows; the acquisition of prosperity; the tying of a falcon; the prosperity of cattle; the enriching of houses; the building of new halls; the letting-off of a bull; the application of medicinal remedies to curable diseases caused by sins committed in former existences; medicine for all diseases; medicines for fever, leucorrhoea, diabetes; stopping of blood flowing out from wounds made by weapons; the laying of devils, ghosts, demons, paroxysms, *Brahma vidhāna*, and evil spirits haunting children; medicines for bile, cough, and wind; removal of heart-diseases and jaundice; the curing of intermittent, diurnal, and remittent fever, of consumption and dropsy; destruction of worms; curing of vegetable, snake's, scorpion's, and other poison derived from immovable or moveable things; medicines for diseases of the head, of the

eyes, of the nose, of the ear, of the tongue, of the throat, &c.; antidote against the curse of Brahmans and others; medicines for various diseases, such as catarrhes, easy parturition, consumption, and formation of the foetus; appeasing of the ire of kings and others; the knowledge of the means of obtaining what is desired; the warding off storms, lightning, and excessive rain; victory in meetings, in disputations, and reconciliations; making the rivers flow according to one's own desires; digging up of treasures; victory in gambling; reconciliation between the cow and the calf; obtaining pinto to horses; obtaining profits in trade; liberating a woman from sin; entering a new house; purification of a house defiled by a dove, a crow, &c.; the warding off the effects of improper receipt of largesses; of improper sacrificing and officiating; warding off the effects of an evil dream; warding off the effects of a boy's birth under inauspicious stars; the repaying of debts; warding off the evil effects of bad suspicions; warding off the effects of magic practised by others; performance of ceremonies connected with the birth, the naming, the sowing, and the initiation of children; the performance of pious sacrifices; purification on the occasion of many accidents, such as bleeding, the meeting with a demigod (*Yaksha*) and demon, an earthquake, the sight of a comet, lunar and solar eclipses, &c.

Then follow similar but shorter summaries of contents of the other four *Kalpa Sūtras*.

As might have been expected, the *Commentary* (which comprises both the text and the explanation) comes to the help of the reader of the edition of the text published by Profs. Whitney and Roth by supplying more correct and intelligible readings. This is especially the case, so far as I have hitherto seen, in the last two *Kāṇḍas*. In many places the readings of the MSS. relied upon by the editors are erroneous, and in some places their emendations are shown to have been correctly made. Thus in *Kāṇḍa* xix. 1. 3, Sāyana reads and explains *gāṇḍhīrāṇāṁ* instead of *gāṇḍhīrāṇāṁ* of the printed edition. In xix. 4. 1. 8, Sāyana reads and explains *ud-nyāyāṇāṁ* instead of *ud-nyāyāṇāṁ*. In xix. 4. 2. 2, Sāyana reads and explains *śāntāṇāṁ* instead of *śāntāṇāṁ*. In xix. 7, last verse but one, instead of *śāntāṇāṁ* Sāyana correctly reads and explains *śāntāṇāṁ* which is obviously the proper reading.

From the *Commentary on the Rīgveda* we learn that Sāyana was the minister (*śāntāṇāṁ*) of King Bāṇa; here he calls himself the minister of King Hārīṣa (*śāntāṇāṁ*).

varasat-Haribharmaharjashashijadharandharena
Sāyanaśāhāryena vimohite mādhye Atharva-
radasambhitāśāhārye vedārthaprakāśe, &c., &c.).

The MS. is not very old, but may have been written within the present century. This justifies us in hoping that the missing portions of the Commentary may yet be found. But the portions in hand being on the most important parts of the Atharva collection, I propose editing the Commentary, incomplete as it is.

From Sāyana's introductory verses already quoted it also appears that he was different from Vidyāraṇya. Popularly Sāyana and Vidyāraṇya are believed to be one and the same individual, and Sāyana's Commentary on whatever work is called *Vidyāraṇya-bhāṣya*. Sāyana's respectful mention of Vidyāraṇya made in those verses now shows that the latter was a different individual from Sāyana, and different again from Sāyana's Guru or Teacher, whom Sāyana constantly mentions and refers to in language worthy of the Divine Being only, under the name of Vidyāśeṭha-Mahādevam.

SHANKAR PANDURANG PANDIT.¹

With reference to the above, we have received the following communication from Mr. S. P. Pandit:—

Since I wrote to *The Academy*, I have been following various lines of search after the missing portions of Sāyana's Commentary on the Atharva-Veda Śukhīnī, but regret that I have not yet succeeded in obtaining any of the portions which are missing in the MSS. already in my possession, except that on Kāṇḍa xi. This was obtained from one of the sources which yielded the fragments described in the letter given above. Further search in the same places, though made with care and attention, has only made the hope of getting the needed portions of the Commentary less than ever likely to be immediately fulfilled. "It appears," says my esteemed friend Mr. Narasimayengar, of the Mysore Commission, to whom I owe the discovery of the Commentary, "leaps of Cadjan MSS. get spoiled and are thrown away into the Tungabhadra river periodically! It is possible the missing parts were lost in the same way." I am nevertheless hopeful that my enquiries in other quarters may yet succeed, and we may some day come into possession of the whole Commentary.

SHANKAR P. PANDIT.

Poona, 27th August 1880.

I have just read Prof. Shankar Pandurang Pandit's able and interesting letter on the discovery of a MS. of Sāyana's Commentary on the Atharva-Veda śukhīnī, and I feel tempted to say

again what I said the other day, when I had to announce the discovery of Sanskrit texts in Japan, "It never rains but it pours." After we had been looking for years for a single MS. of Sāyana's Commentary on the so-called Fourth Veda, the same week brings us tidings of the discovery of two MSS. That a Commentary by Sāyana or Mādhyava on that Veda had once existed could hardly be doubted, but in reply to repeated enquiries addressed by me to my friends in India I always received the same answer, *Nam cat inventum*. The reason why I did not give up my belief in the existence of such a Commentary was because, so far back as 1846, in some statistic accounts of Vedic literature sent to Mr. J. Muir, and published by him in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, not only the name of the author of the Commentary, viz. Mādhyava, but the number of lines of his Commentary on the Śukhīnī and on the Brāhmaṇa was mentioned—viz., 80,000 for the former, 20,000 for the latter. That information seemed to me so important that I thought it right to call the attention of Sanskrit scholars to it, and, particularly of those who were exploring India in search of MSS., and had it published therefore once more in my *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, 1873, p. 109. But though my friends Dr. Bühler, Kielhorn, Burnell, and others have kept a keen lookout for "Sāyana on the Atharva-Veda," and though rumours of its existence reached them from time to time, nothing tangible has ever come to light. So late as March 10, 1874, Dr. Burnell, that most indefatigable explorer of the ancient literature of India, wrote to me from Mangalore:—"For the same reason I doubt the report of the Benares Brahmins to Dr. Muir about an Atharva-Veda Commentary. I have so often had tales told me quite as precise which I have ascertained afterwards to be untrue that I am very little inclined to believe more assertions." (See Preface to the sixth volume of my edition of *Rig-Veda*, p. xvii, note.) Now, at almost the same time that Mr. V. N. Narasimayengar discovered the MS. in Nandi Nāgarī described by Prof. Shankar Pandurang Pandit, Dr. Bühler writes to me that he had an offer from a learned Brahman at Madras of a copy of Sāyana's long-sought-for Commentary on the Atharva-Veda, written in the Grantha alphabet. While the copy in Nandi Nāgarī is incomplete, that in Grantha is said to be complete, so that Dr. Bühler hopes we may at last obtain, not only the missing Kuntāpa hymns, but also a more readable text of the nineteenth book of the Atharva-Veda than that hitherto accessible.

In the same letter (dated Ahmedabad, May 7, 1880) in which Dr. Bühler informs me of the dis-

¹ *The Academy*, 6th June 1880.

covery of the Grantha MS. of Śāyana, he sends me several other items of information which may be of interest to Sanskrit scholars, and which I feel at liberty to publish. "Among our new finds," he writes, "you will see a long list of Vedica. There is a *Pañc-pāṭha* of the Mantras of the *Maitrāyaṇya Saṁhitā* which is unique. It seems most opportune, as Dr. Schröder intends publishing the book. I found that in Gujarat, north of the Narmadā, there are still many Maitrāyaṇyas, among them three so-called Śākhas, who recite the whole *Saṁhitā* from day to day. The others know little of their sacred writings. The Northern Atharvavedins are really, as the *Chandogya Upaniṣad* asserts, all Paippalādins. But as they have lost their books they study the *Saṁhitā* of the *Saṁhitā* of any other Veda." "What I have bought this year of Vedica consists of nearly one hundred numbers. For the other Śāstras there is also some new material, even some historical texts, and such scarce works as the *Pāṇinīyāsiddhāntikā* of Varāha-mihira. The *Sūtra* *Kośa*, according to Aufrecht the oldest *Kośa*, has been found. A little time ago a portion of a very old MS. of Śāyana's *Commentary on the Rig-Veda-saṁhitā* was brought to me. It is written *in the 11th c.* I collated some passages with your edition, and found that the MS. belonged to what you designate as the *U* family. It is wonderful that that family should be so old. I shall go on collating some more of it."

The same letter contains some very important information about the discovery of new inscriptions and their bearing on the date of Buddha's death, in 477 B.C.; but in regard to these matters I do not like to anticipate Dr. Bolder's own statements.

What is a matter of real congratulation in these discoveries is that they have been made in the very spot where they were expected to be made, and that hope deferred has at last been rewarded. We seldom find what we are looking for in exactly the place where we think it ought to be, and therefore the discovery of Śāyana's *Commentary on the Atharva-Veda*, after thirty-four years of search, in the South of India, *i.e.* in exactly the locality where it might to have been, like the discovery of Sanskrit texts in Japan, is the best encouragement that could have happened in this field of research.

I cannot close this letter without stating that not only Japan, but China, too, is at last succouring some of the literary treasures which, beginning with the first century of our era, and not

with the seventh, were poured into it from India. I have now the Sanskrit text of the *Pañc-pāṭha* and some other *Sūtras* published in China, and I hope soon to find leisure to report more fully on those new *treasures*.

F. Max Müller.

Oxford, June 5, 1880.¹

CINDERELLA—HEPHAESTUS—KUPERA.

Rev. S. Beal writing to the *Academy* (July 3, 1880, p. 11) thinks "we may find a probable explanation of the story of Cinderella in the far East. If we take the Russian variant *Chernushka*, which according to Halston is derived from *chern*, 'black,' her connexion with the figure known in Japan as *Dai Gakkō*—the 'Great black one' is at once suggested. *Dai Gakkō* is worshipped there as the god of riches. He is represented as a little man with a large sack on his shoulders and a hammer in his hand. His proper place is in the kitchen, and he is always found placed near the hearth." Hwen Thsang mentions him as *Chin-wang*, and he is described "as a little black figure seated on the hearth and called *Mahākālā* (the mighty black one)." "In every case he is represented as a little dwarf, two or three feet high." Now in Smith's *Dictionary of Biog. and Mythology*, s.v. 'Hephaestus,' we find that "the Greeks frequently placed small dwarf-like figures of this god near the hearth, and these dwarfish figures seem to have been the usual ancestor." Hence, adds Mr. Beal, "in Aristophanes, *Aves* 435, we have the expression *ἐλπίος καὶ ἐμερῶς*, where *ἐμερῶς* is thus described by the scholiast: 'simulacrum Intem Vulcani quod prope focum collocari solent, huius sic dictum fuisse quod Vulcanus assens *ἐμερῶς*, *i.e.* prope et inspector ignis airo foci' (vide *Suidas* sub *ἐμερῶς*; and Spanheim, s.v. *Celliouchus*, p. 172). And now, taking Max Müller's derivation of Hephæstus from *yeriashfa*, *i.e.* the youngest, we have some light let in upon the question why Cinderella, who answers to the Norse *Boots*, is described as the youngest child and always sitting in the hearth among the ashes."

But again, as to the connexion of Cinderella, or rather *Cendrillon* and the other variants, with the cow. This is at once explained by the myth that Hera was the mother of Vulcan. In the later form of the myth she was his *handmaid*—less mother, and under this form she is represented as disliking him on account of his deformity. This appears to be the origin of the idea of the step-

¹ From *The Academy*, June 12, 1880.

² See *Mon. and Ins. Conf. Off.* tom. I. p. 430; also pp. 30, and 319, tom. II. p. 221.—Ed.

³ See Mr. Lang's paper in *The Academy*, June 26, 1880, p. 474.

mother's dislike to the cinder wench. But Harn under the form of Io, and in other ways, is figured as a cow. The cow spinning the kibe of cotton* refers plainly enough to the moon threading her courses through the stars at night, while her death is explained by her monthly disappearance. Instead of 'light' then, I would take Cinderella to denote 'fire,' or 'flame,' which dies out and becomes black in the form of cinders, but when revived is beauti-

ful in its golden dress; and as the deformed Vulcan becomes the husband of the lovely Aphrodite, so, by an easy change of sex, Cinderella is chosen by the beautiful prince to be his wife.

"The identity of the Indian *Vaiśṇaveśa* with the Greek Hephaestus, is proved by the derivation *eiśṇas* 'the renowned,' which is identical with the Homeric epithet, *ἑρωςῆρος*, always applied to Vulcan."

BOOK NOTICE.

LITERARY BEHEAVE OF DR. THEODORE GOLDSTÜCKER, 2 vols. 8vo. W. H. Allen & Co. London: 1879.

Goldstücker's premature death on the 6th March 1872, was a heavy blow to the progress of Sanskrit studies in England; his conscientiousness and energy impressed all those in communication with him, and his disinterestedness had much effect in raising the tone of Oriental studies in England, where selfish motives, not love of scientific truth, are too often the inducements to follow unattractive courses of study; the results of this offer a sad contrast to the work done in other countries.

The views Goldstücker adopted in respect of the value of the work of the native commentators, are already quite obsolete, and it would be difficult now to find a single scholar who follows him. He held the native commentators far above the results attained by means of scientific philology, and said (e.g.): "when modern Sanskrit philology affords the spectacle of writers haughtily exaggerating these shortcomings, and combining with their would-be criticisms the pretence of establishing the true sense of the *Upanishads* without the assistance of Mādhyama, a mere comparison of the commentary of the latter with what the European public is called upon to accept as its substitute, adds a new testimony to the vast superiority of the Hindu scholar over his European antagonists" (vol. I. pp. 161-2). The results already attained by European philologists are decisive on the question, and Goldstücker, if now alive, would, probably, materially modify the strong views he held. But his opposition did much good in its way, as the philologists had to look earnestly to the solidity of their work, and thus it happens that the dispute has been finally decided on really solid grounds. In this respect, Goldstücker's papers are rather valuable as materials for history of the past than as helps for the present.

In other respects, every Sanskritist will welcome these two volumes as valuable helps in present difficulties.

The first volume contains contributions to the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana* and *Chambers' Encyclopædia*, and consists of sixty-eight articles, some of considerable length, especially one on the Vedas. The Editor has carefully annotated these, and drawn attention, where necessary, to the results of more recent research; it thus constitutes a small Indian Encyclopædia.

The second volume contains six longer Essays, and a philological note. Among these are the famous Essay on Hindu Epic Poetry, originally published in the *Westminster Review*, and the remarkable pamphlet on the *Deficiencies in the Present Administration of Hindu Law*, which is just as true now as when it was written ten years ago. But if slow in coming, its result is certain.

It will thus be seen that a really excellent work has been done in bringing together papers of such value, and which were so inaccessible before, for the most part. But a little more might have been found; in Trübner's *Review* (e.g.) there are several summaries of papers which Goldstücker read before the Philological Society, but never published, and there is, also, his most remarkable review of Max Müller's *Prolegomena of the Rigveda*, printed in the *Academy* of July 6th 1870, which might well have been included. The biographical notice prefixed (16 pp.) is excellent; it is no secret that it is by the sympathetic and most competent pen of Dr. E. Roast.

An occasional error remains to be corrected here and there, e.g. the statement (I, p. 276) that the *Adhikuta-Bṛāhmaṇa* is probably recent, and that it is not mentioned by *Sāyaṇa*; it is part of the *Śaṅkaiśa* which *Sāyaṇa* does mention.

All Sanskritists will welcome these volumes as a worthy memorial of a true scholar, and it is to be hoped that Mr. J. F. Fleet will now see his way to bringing out Goldstücker's *Sanskrit Grammar*.

A. B.

* In the Mentone version given by Mr. Lang.

"Uncle," asked Bôpô Lûchî, "that peacock screams funnily, what does it say?"

"Oh," answered the thag, "all peacocks make that noise about here."

A little further they met a jackal—no sooner did it see pretty Bôpô Lûchî than it began to howl—

Bôpô Lûchî!

Ayloâ gâufhî,

Thag nâl thagî gayî.

Bôpô Lûchî!

You have lost your wife,

You have been deceived by a thag.¹¹

"Uncle," said Bôpô Lûchî, "that jackal howls funnily, what does it say?"

"Oh," said the thag, "all the jackals make that noise about here."

Then they arrived at the Thag's house, and he told her who he was, and that he intended to marry her himself, and she wept and cried. Then the Thag went out and left her in charge of his old, ever so old, mother. Now, Bôpô Lûchî had such beautiful hair that it reached down to her ankles, but the old mother hadn't a single hair on the top of her bald old head.

"Daughter," she said, as she was putting the bridal dress on Bôpô Lûchî, "how did you get such beautiful hair?"

"Well," said Bôpô Lûchî, "my mother made it grow. She pounded my head in the mortar¹² for husking rice, and at every stroke she gave with the pestle my hair grew longer and longer. It is a plan that never fails."

"Perhaps it would make my hair grow," said the old lady.

"Perhaps it would," said Bôpô Lûchî.

So the old woman put her head in the mortar, and Bôpô Lûchî pounded it so hard that the old woman died.

Then Bôpô Lûchî dressed the dead body in her scarlet bridal dress, seated it on the low bridal chair, and put the spinning wheel in front of it. Then she drew the veil well over the dead woman's face, put on the dead woman's clothes, and taking her bundle of things stepped out of the house as quickly as possible.¹³

¹¹ See Note 8.

¹² *وگھلی* *ughli* Hind. a mortar, and *موسل* *mosal* a pestle. Hind.—R. C. T.

¹³ The word used for the bridal chair is *چیر* *chîr*, this with its diminutive *چیر* *chîr* is a low seat or stool with a back like a chair used by women. The word is universal in many forms in Hindi and Panj. as *chîrâ*, *chîrî* and *chîrîpî*.

On the road she met the Thag who was returning with a stolen mill-stone on his head. She was dreadfully frightened, so she slipped behind the hedge so as not to be seen. The thag did not know her in his mother's dress, but thought she was some strange woman from another village, so he slipped behind the other hedge so as not to be seen. And so it was that Bôpô Lûchî ran away home safe.

When the thag came to his house he saw the figure in bridal scarlet¹⁴ sitting on the bridal chair spinning, and thought it was Bôpô Lûchî. So he called to her to help him down with the mill-stone. But she didn't answer. So he called again, but still she didn't answer. Then he got angry, and threw the mill stone at her head. The figure toppled over, and lo! it was not Bôpô Lûchî but his own mother! Then the thag wept and beat his breast, for he thought he had killed her. But when he found out Bôpô Lûchî had run away, he determined to bring her back somehow.

Now Bôpô Lûchî felt sure the thag would try and carry her off, so every night she begged a night's lodging in a friend's house, and so her own little bed in her own little house stood empty. But at the end of a month she had slept in every friend's house for a night, and was ashamed to ask any of them again. So she determined to sleep at home whatever happened, but she took a bill-hook to bed with her. In the middle of the night four men came and lifted up her bed, and the thag was behind her head. Bôpô Lûchî pretended to be fast asleep till they came to a wild deserted spot, and then she whipped out the bill-hook, and in a twinkling cut off the heads of the two men at the foot of the bed. Then she turned round quickly, and cut off the head of one of the men at the head of the bed, but the Thag who was the fourth ran away, and scrambled up a tree like a wild cat before she could cut off his head.

"Come down," said Bôpô Lûchî, "and fight it out."

But he wouldn't come down. So Bôpô Lûchî gathered all the sticks she could find, piled them

The Sansk. form is *चिर* *chîr* seat. The diminutive *चिर* *chîr* also means the pangs of childbirth, etc. but this is probably quite a different word connected with the Sansk. *चिर* *chîr*, to be afflicted, suffer pain.—R. C. T.

¹⁴ The bridal scarlet, a universal custom among all Panjab tribes and climes. Every bride, however poor, wears a dress of scarlet and gold for six months, and if rich for two years.—R. C. T.

round the tree, and set fire to them. Then the tree caught fire, and there was so much smoke that the Thag was obliged to throw himself down and was killed. Then Bôpô Lûchi went to the Thag's house and carried off all the gold and silver jewels and clothes. And after that Bôpô Lûchi was so rich that she could marry any one she pleased.

No. 2:—FOLK-TALK.

The Sparrow and the Crow.

This is a very common tale among Hindûs and Muhammadans in the Pirôzpûr, Siâlkôt, and Lâhûr districts.

A sparrow and a crow once agreed to cook *Khijrî* for their dinner. The crow brought pulses* and the sparrow rice, and the sparrow cooked the *khijrî*. When it was ready the crow came to claim his share. "No," said the sparrow, "you are dirty, go and wash your beak in the tank yonder, and after that sit down to dinner."

So the crow went to the tank, and said—

Tû Chhappar Dû,
Maik Kûng Dû,
Dûl paneriyâ,
Dhûvêh chûcheriyâ,
Khûvêh khijeriyâ,
Dûkh chîrîyâ kâ chûvêh,
*Maik kûng saparû.**

* *Khijrî* (*khijrî*) properly *کھجری* *khajrî*, a dish of rice and dâl (دال) the peas of various pulses prepared for cooking, etc.). *Khijrî* is usually prepared from *مٹوں* *mâtôn* pulses (Panj.), *منگي* *manghî*, but some versions of this tale make it to be made from the *مانگ* *mang* (Panj.) = Hind. *ma'âh* (*ma'âh*) pulses.—R. C. T.

* *نورنگ کی دال* or *منگ معاش* *mang* or *ma'âh kî dâl*, see note 1.—R. C. T.

نورنگ کی دال
مین کانگ داس
دو دیو منگرو
مین کھو دوں چلرو
نکا لون پندرو
دھوون چنچرو
کھاوون کھچرو
دیکھر چڑیا کا چوچلر
مین کانگ سیریا

چھپڑ *chhappar* Panj., a tank; *کانگ* *kang* or *کان* *kân* Panj., crow—Hind. *کارو* *karû*; *پنریا* *paneriyâ* and the other words *چوچریا* *chûcheriyâ* *کھچریا* *khijeriyâ* are

You're Mr. Tank;
I am Mr. Crow,
Give me water
That I may wash my beak,
And eat my *khijrî*.
See the bird's playfulness,
I am a clean crow.

But the tank said: "I will give you water if you will go to the deer, break off one of its horns, and dig a hole in the ground close by me, and then I'll let my water run in clean and fresh. So the crow went to the deer, and said—

Tû Hirû Dû,
Maik Kûng Dû,
Tû dâo singarû,
Maik khûvêh chûlarû,
Nihêlêh panarû,
Dhûvêh chûjarû,
Khûvêh khijarû,
Dûkh chîrîyâ kâ chûvêh,
*Maik kûng saparû.**

You are Mr. Deer,
I am Mr. Crow,
You give me a horn,
And I will dig a hole,
And take out the water,
That I may wash my beak,
And eat my *khijrî*.
See the bird's playfulness,
I am a clean crow.

notably made to assume this form for the song and represent respectively *پانی* *panî*, water, *چوچ* *chûch* (Panj., *chûch*), a bird's beak, and *کھچری* *khijrî*, while the final word *سیریا* *siriyâ* represents the Arab. *سیر* *sîr*, clean.—R. C. T.

نورنگ داس
مین کانگ داس
دو دیو منگرو
مین کھو دوں چلرو
نکا لون پندرو
دھوون چنچرو
کھاوون کھچرو
دیکھر چڑیا کا چوچلر
مین کانگ سیریا

In this song and those following it the rhyming fanciful termination is *رو* *rû*, the terminal words being *منگ* *mang*, Panj.—Hind. *منگ* *mang*, a horn, *چلرو* *chlarû*, a hole, and the remainder as before.—R. C. T.

But the deer said—"I'll give you my horn if you will give me some buffalo's milk, for then I shall grow fat, and breaking my horn won't hurt me." So the crow went to a buffalo and said—

Tu Bhaiās Dās,
Mañ Kāg Dās,
Ti dā dūtharwa,
Pildāñ hīnarwa,
Tipā singarwa,
Khōdā chalarwa,
Nikālā panarwa,
Dhūwā chunjarwa,
Khāwā khijarwa,
Dēkh khijā kē chōchhā.
*Mañ lāg saparwa.**

You are Mrs. Buffalo,
I am Mr. Crow,
You give me milk,
That I may give it the deer to drink,
And break his horn,
And dig the hole,
And take out the water,
And wash my beak,
And eat my khijet,
See the bird's playfulness,
I am a clean crow.

But the buffalo said—"Bring me some grass first, and I'll give you milk."

So the crow went to some grass, and said—

Tu Ghās Dās,
Mañ Kāg Dās,
Ti dā phanarwa,
Pildāñ bhajāsarwa,
Chōwā dūtharwa,
Pildāñ hīnarwa,
Tipā singarwa,
Khōdā chalarwa,
Nikālā panarwa,

تو بھانس داس
میں کانگ داس
تو دیو دودھروا
پلداون ہیراروا
توپا سینگروا
توڑیں سنگروا

remainder as before. In this the new terminal words are
دودھ dōdā, milk, and ہیرا hīra, a deer.—R. C. T.

تو گھاس داس
میں کانگ داس
تو دیو گھروا
داوین بھنروا
چوڑیں دودھروا

Dhūwā chunjarwa,
Khāwā khijarwa,
Dēkh khijā kē chōchhā
*Mañ lāg saparwa.**

You are Mr. Grass,
I am Mr. Crow,
You give me some grass,
That I may give it the buffalo,
And take her milk,
And give it the deer to drink,
And break his horn,
And dig the hole,
And take out the water,
And wash my beak,
And eat my khijet,
See the bird's playfulness,
I am a clean crow.

But the grass said—"Get a spade first, and then you can dig me up."

So the crow went to a blacksmith, and said—

Tu Lohār Dās,
Mañ Kāg Dās,
Ti dā pharwa,
Mañ Khōdā ghāsarwa,
Khōdā bhajāsarwa,
Chōwā dūtharwa,
Pildāñ hīnarwa,
Tipā singarwa,
Khōdā chalarwa,
Nikālā panarwa,
Dhūwā chunjarwa,
Khāwā khijarwa,
Dēkh khijā kē chōchhā,
*Mañ lāg saparwa.**

You are Mr. Blacksmith,
I am Mr. Crow,
You give me a spade,
And I will dig the grass,
That I may give it the buffalo to eat,

remainder as before. Terminal words are گھاس ghās, grass;
بھانس bhaiās a buffalo. دودھ dōdā, milk, پانہ panā
dūtharwa—that the buffalo may obtain it. پانہ panā
to obtain, چوڑیں chōrīn Panj. (find. دونا dōnā)
to milk, کھند khēnd, is to core.—R. C. T.

تو لوہار داس
میں کانگ داس
تو دیو پھروا
میں کھوڑیں گھروا
کھڑوین بھنروا

remainder as before.—R. C. T.

And take her milk,
And give it the deer to drink,
And break his horn,
And dig the hole,
And take out the water,
And wash my beak,
And eat my klajrl.
See the bird's playfulness,
I am a clean crow.

"With pleasure," said the blacksmith, "if you will light the fire and blow the bellows."

So the crow began to light the fire and blow the bellows, and in so doing fell into the middle of the fire and was burnt.

So that was the end of him, and the sparrow ate all the klajrl.

NO. 3.—FOUR TALE.

*The Lord of Death.*¹

Told by a North-West² boy, who heard it from his grandmother:—

Once upon a time there was a road, and every one who travelled along it died. Some said they were killed by a snake, and others said they were killed by a scorpion.

Now a very old man was travelling along the road, and he sat down on a stone to rest, and on the stone beside him he saw a scorpion as big as a cock, and as he looked at it, it changed into a snake. He was wonderstruck, and determined to follow it to see what it really was. So he followed it at a little distance.

One day it went into an inn and killed several travellers; another day it crept into the king's house and killed him. Then it crept up the waterspout to the women's rooms, and killed the king's young daughter, and always when the sound of weeping and wailing arose, it went on its way. All this time the old man followed it, but never spoke, so it took no notice of him.

Then in the road came a broad deep river, and the snake changed to a handsome buffalo with brass necklaces and bells. Now on the bank of the river sat some poor travellers who had no money to pay the ferry; when they saw the buffalo they said, "This beast is going to its home across the river; let us get on its back and hold on to its tail, and so get over the stream." So they got on its back, and

held on to its tail, and the buffalo swam bravely with them to the middle of the river. Then it began to kick till they had to let go; so they were all drowned, but when the old man who was following in a ferry boat got across there was no buffalo to be seen, only a beautiful ox. A peasant saw the ox wandering about, and being struck by covetousness, lured it to his house. It was very gentle, and suffered itself to be tied up with the other beasts; but in the middle of the night it changed into a snake and bit all the cattle till they died. Then it crept into the house, and killed all the sleeping folk. After that it escaped. The old man followed it, but never spoke, so it took no notice of him.

Presently they came to another river, and then the snake changed into the likeness of a beautiful young girl covered with jewels and fair to see. Now two brothers, soldiers, came that way, and as they approached the girl began to cry. "What is the matter," asked they, "that you so young and beautiful sit by the river alone?"

The girl answered—"My husband was even now taking me home, and there was no ferry boat, so he went down to the stream to look, and fell to washing his face, when he tumbled in, and was drowned. I have neither friends nor relations left." Said the eldest of the brothers, who was enamoured of her beauty, "Come with me, and I will marry you." "On one condition," said the girl, "you must never ask me to do any household work, and whatever I ask for, you must give me." "As a slave will I obey you," cried the elder brother. "Then go and fetch me a draught of water from the well," said the girl, "your brother shall stay with me."

The elder brother did as he was bid, and went to the well. Then the snake girl said to the younger, "Fly with me, I love you. I don't care for your brother. It was only a trick to get him away." "Nay," said the younger, "you have promised him, and are now as my mother."

Then the girl was angry, and began to weep and wail, and when the elder brother came back with the water, she cried "Oh! what a villain

¹ ملك الموت *Malik al-maut*—the Lord of Death, a common subject of belief.—R. C. T.

² پورنيا *Purnia*—properly Eastern, but applied in the Punjab to the inhabitants of the North-West Provinces.—R. C. T.

this is. He asked me to fly with him, and bid me leave you, my husband." Then there was great anger in the elder brother's heart, and he drew his sword and fought all the day long with his brother, till in the evening they both died.

Then the girl changed to a snake again, and afterwards to an old, old man with a white beard, reaching to his waist. At last the old man who had followed the snake so long took courage, laid hold of him, and asked—"Tell me

who you are." The old, old man said: "Some people call me the Lord of Death, and I go about to bring death to the world." Then said the old man—"Give me death, for I am old and have followed you far." But the Lord of Death said: "Not so. I only give death to those whose years are full, and you have yet sixty years of life before you." Then the old, old man vanished, but whether he was the Lord of Death or a devil, who can tell?

THE YERAKALA LANGUAGE.

BY THE REV. J. CAIN.

Whilst staying a few days in Rájamahendravaram (Rájamahendry) in 1879, I was asked to help in drawing up a vocabulary of the Erakala language to be sent to the Director of Public Instruction, Madras. Two of the Assistant Masters of the Provincial College did most of the work, my part being chiefly that of suggesting the line of questioning the intelligent Yeraka brought to us. These two Masters afterwards drew up an interesting paper, which was sent to the Dir. Pub. Instr., Madras. Probably the information we gleaned on that occasion may be of use to some of the readers of the *Indian Antiquary*. For other notices of these people see vols. III. p. 151, V. p. 188, and VIII. pp. 106, 219. They must not be confounded with another class—the Elakalavar, a people who eat rats, hence their name; *elaka* = a rat; although the Erakalavaru will not disdain the flesh of the mungoose and cat.

Amongst themselves they call each other 'Kuluvuru,' but the Telugu people call them Erakuvuru or Erakalavuru, and this name has been derived from the Telugu word *eraka*, which means knowledge or acquaintance, as they are great fortune-tellers.

English.	Erakala.	Tamil.	Telugu.
Father	Tāpan	Tāpāpan	
Mother	Tāi	Tāi	
Father (familiar term)	Āva	Appān	
Mother (familiar term)	Āmma	Āmmāi	Āmma
Elder brother	Ānna	Ānnān	Ānna
Younger brother	Tembi	Tambī	•Tammaḍu
Elder sister	Akka	Akkāi	Akka
Younger sister	Tevise	Tengachchi	Tangsi

English.	Erakala.	Tamil.	Telugu.
Wife	Pamā	Pendāti	Pendāma
Husband	Mosāgam	Pepā	Mogādu
Grandfather	Tātām	Tātān	Tātā
Son	Mogānu	Mogān	Tatāyān
Daughter	Mogula	Mogai	
Brother-in-law	Machchannu	Machchinnu	
Father-in-law	Mama	Māman	Mama
Son-in-law	Marumma	Marumān	
Daughter-in-law	Marumma	Marumān	
Grandson	Pōtan	Pōtan	
Grand-daughter	Pōi	Pōi	
Uncle	Sottām		
Sister-in-law	Nānga	Nāngai	
Person	Kerānu	Pōr	
Boy	Guntām		
King	Kuragada		
Bar	Kādām	Kādu	
Eye	Kan	Kan	Kan
Mouth	Vāi	Vāi	Vai (Nuru)
Nose	Mōkka	Mōkka	Mukku
Hand	Kai	Kai	Kai (Cheyyi)
Leg	Kāi	Kāi	Kalu
Tongue	Nākk	Nākk	Nāka
Tooth	Pai	Pai	Pallu
Head	Onḍu		
Finger	Ēlu		Velu
Neck	Kogan		
House	Ūḍu	Vīḍu	Vīḍu (a city)
Entrance	Vāssai	Vāssai	Vakili
Ox	Mādu	Mādu	
Sheep	Āḍu	Āḍu	
Pig	Pandri	Pandri	Pandi
Cat	Pānu	Pānai	
Fish	Mina	Mīn	Minnu
Crane	Kokku	Kokku	Kunga

English.	Eschala.	Tamil.	Telugu.
Crocodile	Modala	Modalai	
Dog	Nai	Nai	
Mongoose	Kiri	Kari	
Squirrel	Ani	Ani	
Rat	Eui	Eli	Eluka or Eluka
Bird	Kunzu	Korravi	
Snake	Tōu		
Hair	Mogaru	Mayir	
Stone	Kellu	Kallu	Kallu (Ea)
Tree	Maram	Maram	
Leaf	Ela	Ilai	
Branch	Komma	Kombu	Kommu
Unripe fruit	Létakapana-mu		Leita (young)
Fruit	Pagum	Paṭara	
Bark	Beraḍa		Beraḍa
Toddy	Oḍa		
Palmyra tree	Paujeḍi	Panamaram	
	Panamaram		
Grass	Guḍji		Guḍji
Rice	Eriac	Ariai	
Rice(hulled)	Sōu	Sōu	
Cholam	Chāḷam	Chāḷam	
Ragi	Kāḷuru	Kavuraku	
Plough	Nagali		Nagali
Salt	Noman		
Knife	Kolli		
Son	Proḍḍa	Poradu	Proḍḍa
Sunshine	Oga		
Moon	Nōu	Niḷi	Nōu
River	Āu	Āu	Ēu
Tank	Ēri	Ēri	
Well	Guḍḍa	Kindu	
Water	Tanni	Tannir	
Earth	Tera	Tavai	
Footstep	Aḍuḡa	Aḍi	Aḍuḡa
Mountain	Konḍa	Kundra	Konḍa
Stream	Nāḡ		
Bain	Maga	Maṡai	
Mat	Taḷpa		Taḷpa
Sweetness	Tipu	Tiḷippu	Tipu
Sour	Pūli	Polu	Pūli
Bitter	Kocholu	Kuḷappa	
Whiteness	Velapu	Velappa	Vai (Tella)
Black	Kar	Karu	Kar (Nalla)
Great	Beru	Peru	Peru (Pōḍḍa)
Small	Chiru	Chinna	Chiru(chinna)
Yellow	Manḡa	Manḡul	
Red	Ēra		Ēra
Male	Avai	Ā, āu	

Nouns.

Plural number.

The plural terminations resemble the plural terminations of Tamil nouns far more than those of Telugu nouns. The principal plural

endings are *gala*, *g*, *hi*, *mara*, and *ra*. *Gala*, *g*, and *hi* seem to be pluralising particles of the neuter and *mara* and *ra* epicene pluralising particles.

Kagan, *ada*, *kapanam*, and *madu* all form their plural by the addition of *gala*. [Tamil *gal*].

Uḍu, *kunzu*, *modala*, *nai*, *pellu*, *enda*, *ela*, and *kalu* by the addition of *g* only. [In common Tamil the *l* of *gal* is little heard.]

Kai *rai*, *pane*, *panḍi*, *ar*, *er*, *vanḷi*, *kari*, *avi*, and *en* by affixing *hi*, as in Telugu.

Tapa, *ava*, *tanḷi*, *annu*, *talava*, *appa*, *alḷa*, *torḷi*, *paḍa*, *manḡam*, *vaḡḡu*, and *maḡala*, by the epicene pluralising particle *mara*.

Gender.

There seems to be "no mark of gender inherent in, or inseparably annexed to the nominative of any noun." The prefix *avai* is used to denote the masculine gender.

Case.

"All case-relations" seem to be "expressed by means of postpositions or postpositional suffixes." With the exceptions of *kōli*, *kōri* and *maḡa* most of these suffixes are the same as used in Telugu. This may perhaps be due to local influence, and further south other forms may be used. One paradigm is given:—

Nominative.	Seḷi.
Accusative.	Seḷiva.
Instrumental.	Seḷikoll.
Conjunctive.	Seḷitoli. [ōḷu. Tam.]
Dative.	Seḷiki. [ka. Tam.]
Abative of motion.	Seḷimanchi. [nādu. Tam.]
Genitive.	Seḷimadu. [ōḷaiya. Tam.]
Locative.	Seḷikoli. [uḷ. Tam.]
Vocative.	Seḷi.

The neuter demonstrative genitives are *ad* and *ayyala*. As will be seen below *ad* is *he*, and *ayyala* *they*.

The Adjective.

The two Assistant Masters above mentioned thought that "adjectives generally appear to be formed by adding *a* and *i* either to the crude form or the crude form modified by doubling the final consonant, or by adding some inflexional increment as *ḡu*." But I think I should prefer seeing a larger vocabulary of adjectives before coming to a decided opinion.

The Numerals.

English.	Yerkala.	Tamil.	Telugu.	Canarese.
One	Ondu	Ondu	Oka Ondu	Ondu
Two	Henju	Irundu	Konju	Erudu
Three	Mudu	Māru	Mudu	Muru
Four	Nalugu	Nālu	Nalugu	Nalku
Five	Anju	{ Eindu } { Añju }	Eidu	Eidu
Six	Aru	Aru	Aru	Aru
Seven	Ogu	Enu	Enu	Enu
Eight	Oṣṣu	Enu	Kutudi	Kutu
Nine	Onbada	Onbada	Tuminidi	Onbada
Ten	Pottu	Pattu	Padi	Hattu
Twenty	Iruvadu	Iruvadu	Iruvai	
Thirty	Mappadu	Māppadu	Mappai	
Forty	Naluvadu	Nārvadu	Nalabhai	

The Pronouns.

English.	Yerkala.	Tamil.	Telugu.
I	nehu	yā, nā	nehu
My	nanga	ni	ni
Me	nanu	enu	nanu
We (exclusive)	nangal	nām	nenugu
(inclusive)	nangal	nāngal	nāmanu
Our (exclusive)	nambar	nāmadaiya	na
(inclusive)	nambar	nā	nanu
Us (exclusive)	nangsten	nāman	nāmanugu
(inclusive)	nangsten	nāngal	
Thou	nina	nī	nina
Thy	nina	nāmadaiya	ni
Thee	nina	nā	nina
You	ningal	ninai	nina
Your	ningal	nāmadaiya	ni
You	ningolna	nāgala	nāmanu
He	ad	ayai	vada
His	asaga	ayaiyā	vai
Him	atta	ayai	vai
They	ayyalu	avar, or nāngal	vadu
Their	asaga	avaraiyā	vai
Them	asal, or ayyalu	avarai	varai

The Demonstrative Pronouns are *ad* and *id*, the Interrogative *el*.

*The Verb.**To see.**Present Tense.*

English.	Yerkala.
I see	nehu patikkō
Thou seest	nina patikkikkira
He sees	ad patikkikkira
We see	nangal patikkikkira
You see	ningal patikkikkiranga
They see	ayyalu patikkikkirum

Past Tense.

English.	Yerkala.
I saw	nehu pato
Thou sawest	nina pato
He saw	ad pato
We saw	nangal pato
You saw	ningal patiranga
They saw	ayyalu patirum

Future Tense.

English.	Yerkala.
I will see	nehu patko
Thou wilt see	nina patko
He will see	ad patko
We will see	nangal patko
You will see	ningal patkanga
He will see	ayyalu patakum

*To eat.**Present Tense.*

English.	Yerkala.
I eat	nehu unduketikkira
Thou eatest	nina unduketikkira
He eats	ad unduketikkira
We eat	nangal unduketikkira
You eat	ningal unduketikkiranga
They eat	ayyalu unduketikkirum

Past Tense.

English.	Yerkala.
I ate	nehu unda
Thou ate	nina unda
He ate	ad unda
We ate	nangal unda
You ate	ningal undanga
They ate	ayyalu undum

Future Tense.

English.	Yerkala.
I will eat	nehu undko
Thou wilt eat	nina undko
He will eat	ad undko
We will eat	nangal undko
You will eat	ningal undkanga
They will eat	ayyalu undakum

The Infinitive seems to be formed by adding *a* to the root, and the verbal noun by adding *pa* or *da* to the infinitive, as in Telugu.

Having seen = *patu*; seeing = *patiketi*.

The similarity of the termination *ikkira* to the Tamil cannot but strike the most careless listener. The addition of *k* to the root in forming the future is said to be not unknown in some old Tamil words. It is not—*alla*; there is not—*alla*. (In old Tamil, *ayyā*—'I shall eat,' *ayyā*—'we shall eat'.)

The Adverb.

This is generally formed as in Telugu by adding *ga* to adjectives and nouns.

Probably vocabularies gathered from districts farther south might give slightly different results.

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(Continued from p. 10.)

II.

Having discarded the earlier part of the genealogy of the Mongol Imperial house as really belonging to the Turks, we will resume our story at the point where we showed there was an actual break in the legendary descent. As we have seen the Saga makes Dobo Mergen marry Alun Goa.

The *Yuan-sh'ao-pi-shi* goes on to say that once when Dobo was hunting on the hills Tokhoshakh,¹ he met a man of the district Uriangka,² who was cooking a stag which he had killed. Dobo having asked him for some of it, he detached the offal for his own use, and presented his guest with all the rest. Dobo tied it on his horse, and wended homewards. On the way he met a poor beggar with his son. The former said he belonged to the tribe of Makhali Bayan. He asked him for the deer, offering his son in exchange for it. This was agreed to by Dobo, who accordingly took the boy home with him, and brought him up in his house as his attendant. Sanaug Setzen, who mentions this boy, calls him Makhali of the race or tribe Baynged.³ The Baynged are elsewhere named by him.⁴ They were doubtless the Bayant of Rashidu'd-din, who says they were divided into two sections, the Jida Bayant living on the river Jida, doubtless the tributary of the Selings so called, and the Kehrui Bayant living on the steppe or plain.⁵ Abulghazi has corrupted Kehrui into Mekrin.⁶ The Bayants were very probably a Turkish tribe. According to the *Yuan-sh'ao-pi-shi*, after the death of Dobo Mergen, Alun Goa had three sons, named Bakhu Kataghi, Bakhatu Salji and Budantsar—the Bugha Khataki, Bugha Saljighe and Budantsar Mong Khan of Sanaug Setzen.⁷ This posthumous birth aroused the suspicions of Belgetei and Bagontei, her older

sons, who began to talk together, and to suggest that their guest, the boy Makhali, might know something of the paternity of the new arrivals; whereupon their mother, who was cooking some hard-frozen mutton, summoned them to her, and explained how during several nights a man of a blonde complexion had entered her yurt or tent through the hole in its summit, and that a ray of light which came from him penetrated her watch, after which he disappeared in the sunlight in the guise of a yellow dog. "It is quite plain," she added, "that the three boys are of divine origin, and you cannot compare them to ordinary people. When they become kings and princes you will recognise this." Then telling them all to cling together, and relating to them the world-famous parable of the bundle of faggots, which when tied together could not be broken, while each individual stick was exceedingly frail, she died. This is the story as told in the *Yuan-sh'ao-pi-shi*. The story, it will be seen, makes Budantsar, who is treated as the stem-father of the Mongol Imperial house, the son of Alun Goa, and a divine father, and clearly establishes the fact which we argued in the former paper that the Dobo Mergen and his ancestors are really strangers to the pedigree of the Mongol Emperors which begins *de novo* with Alun Goa. The story of the supernatural birth of her sons has its parallel in several other Eastern tales. The Siamese story of Somsomudom, who was born of a maiden who had been fertilised by the sun, is a case in point. Elsewhere we have in the sagas of the origin of the royal dynasties among the northern frontagers of China several parallels. Tan-che-ho-wi, the leader of the Siangpi, was conceived by a widow, into whose open mouth a thunderbolt entered while she was gazing upwards. Apakshi, the founder of the

¹ Probably some part of the Kentei chain.

² This name merely means 'woods'. The name Uriangka or 'woodman' was however specifically applied to certain tribes, one of those, to which the famous Mongol leader Subutai Behadar belonged, was the guardian of Chinghis Khan's tomb. According to Rashidu'd-din this tribe was descended from those who came out of Irgeneli Kun (Erdmann, *op. cit.* p. 105) by which, as we have seen, he means the Turks, and to this day the Turks of the Chulim are called Uriangkai by their neighbours, from living in woods, but the people referred to in the passage we are discussing were probably the southern Samoyedes

or Soyots, called Uriangkai-Pokhi by Rashidu'd-din, and Uriangkai to this day by the Chinese. They live between the Sayanian mountains and the Khangai and Altai chains on the river Tei, which flows into lake Ussu, and the Bactrian which falls into the Altan or Terekhai lake.—*Asia Poliorientis*, pp. 195 and 224.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 59.

⁴ *Op. cit.* pp. 80, 183, and 261.

⁵ Kehrui means a plain; Erdmann, *Vollständige Uebersicht*, *etc.* p. 435.

⁶ *Op. cit.* Ed. Desmaisons, p. 68.

⁷ *Op. cit.* p. 50.

Khitan dynasty, was the outcome of a virgin who had been impregnated by a ray from the sun.⁹

Similar stories are told about Aishin Giyoro, the reputed founder of the present Manchu dynasty, but the legend which has the most analogy with the one we are discussing, and from which the latter was probably derived, is that referring to the early history of the Uighurs, the dominant Turkish race in Eastern Asia, in the earlier half of the ninth century, and who, as I have shown, were identical with the nation called Bede in the Mongol legends. Of this legend we have two rescensions, one of them is derived from an inscription discovered during the reign of Ogotai Khakan, the successor of Chinghis Khân on the site of Karakorum as reported by Rashidû'd-din. This inscription ran as follows: "At a place called Kumalanju situated at the junction of the rivers Tula and Selings, which rise in the Karakorum mountains, there were two trees close together, one of them a fatuk tree, resembling a pine, evergreen like a cypress, and with cone-like fruit; the other, a wild pine. Between these two trees a hillock appeared, upon which a stream of light descended from heaven; whereupon the hillock began to grow, and marvellous things were seen about it. Just after the lapse of the period of a woman's pregnancy, the hillock opened, and five hillocks resembling tents were seen. In each tent was a little boy; and to these boys the people paid the greatest respect. The youngest of them, called Balqa-tegin, was very intelligent, and subsequently the Uighurs made him their Khân."¹⁰

The other rescension of the Saga is preserved in the biography of the Uighur chief Barchu as given in the *Yuen-shi*. In this we read that there was in the country where the Uighurs originally lived a mountain called Ho lin,¹¹ from which the two rivers Tula and Selings take their rise. It happened once in the night-time that a stream of light fell from heaven upon a tree standing between the two rivers, whereupon the tree began to swell like a pregnant woman, and in nine months and ten days gave birth to five sons.

The youngest received the name of Boko Khân; he was afterwards elected king, and subdued the neighbouring countries.¹² The mound or tree which became pregnant when struck with a sun-beam, and bore five sons, is assuredly the prototype of Alan Gao and her five sons, a conjecture which becomes almost a certainty when we find that two of these sons are given the name of Buktas or Buktas, which was the very name borne by the stem-father of the Uighur kings.

The two sons whom Alan Gao had by Dobo, I believe to be an importation into the legend. They were perhaps evolved by some mistake out of Belgotai and Bekter, brothers of Chinghis Khân, to whom we shall refer presently.

The whole tale therefore crumbles into legend directly we apply criticism to it, and the only part of it of any value is the fact which it apparently attests that the Katakina, Saljiut, and Mongols were the three senior tribes of the Mongol confederacy, and that the Mongols claimed a divine origin for their race, whence the name of Nirams or Narana, i.e. children of light or of the sun, applied by Rashidû'd-din to all the true Mongols who traced their mythical descent from Alan Gao. Rashid treats her as an historical person, and she also heads the genealogy of the Mongol Khâns given in the *Yuen-shi*. The former argues that from the history of Chingis Khân preserved in the Imperial Treasury,¹³ and from the evidence of very old witnesses she lived four centuries before his time, and during the domination of the early Abbasides and Samanids.¹⁴ It is more interesting to turn to the Mongol reports as to her origin. Rashidû'd-din states more than once that she belonged to the tribe of the Karulus, but he does not name her father or grandfather.¹⁵

The *Yuan-shi* gives more details. It says that in former times the ruler of Kolbar-kuchin, Bargudai Mordai, had a daughter called Bugoljin Gao,¹⁶ whom he gave in marriage to Khorilartai Mergen of the horde Khorita Madun called Khoritai Mergen of the Khoray Tumud tribe by Saanang Setzen. Their daughter was Alan Gao. It having been forbidden to capture sables in the district of Khorita,

⁹ Kolmann, *Tumultschin der Unerschütterlichte*, p. 537 note.

¹⁰ Bretschneider, *Notices of Manchou Geography*, &c. p. 125.

¹¹ I. e. the Chinese form of Karakorum.

¹² Id. pp. 120 and 121.

¹³ I. e. from the *Altan Döger*.

¹⁴ D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, tom. I, p. 24 note.

¹⁵ Abulghazi, ed. Desmaisons, p. 64, note 8.

¹⁶ The Baragholin Gao of the *Altan Topchi* and *Saanang Setzen*.

Madun Khorilarini had moved with his family to the neighbourhood of the Barkhan mountains, where he had heard they were plentiful, and where the ruler was called Shinchiboyan. Let us now try and analyse this statement. Kolbarkuchin or Gol Barkuchin, i. e. the river Barkuchin, was a famous feeder of lake Baikal, and is still known under the name of Barguzin or Barkujin, giving its name to the town of Barguzinsk, while from it the country south-east of lake Baikal is still known as Bargu or Barakha.¹² It is called the plain of Bargu by Marco Polo,¹³ and is called Bargujin Tugum by Rashidu'd-din.¹⁴ Georgi in describing the river Barguzin says it is so called by the Buriats and Tunguses, who are thinly scattered along its banks. It springs from a small lake in the mountains. These mountains also give birth to the Maken, a feeder of the Angara and the China which falls into the river Witim. The river and its tributaries water a district, part of which is very fertile, and is called the steppe of Barguzin. The district, especially on the banks of the Chirkou and Koluktoi, two small feeders of the Barguzin, is covered with traces of ancient agriculture and with graves similar to those on the Arguda and Kurga. These graves are marked by stone mounds. In these are found weapons, stirrups, etc. The remains of fields show the Buriats to have been agriculturists. Small ploughshares of cast iron are still found in them, and there is a tradition that they could make cloth out of birch trees. These primitive inhabitants who inhabited the district before the Tunguses are called Buriats in the local traditions.¹⁵ This agrees with the statement of Rashidu'd-din, who calls the inhabitants of this district Buriats, and devotes two paragraphs to them,¹⁶ apparently making two distinct tribes out of them. I have little doubt that they were the ancestors of the Bargu Buriats, one section of whom, according to the Chinese geographical work translated by M. Huc in the Bitterliki, and appended to Tinkofski's Travels by Klapproth, lives on the right bank of the Amur (the Argun) in the country of the Solons,¹⁷ while another lives to the north of lake Baikal and on the Lena. This latter speaks a

rough dialect, and is still Shamanist, and ignorant of writing, according to Schmidt.¹⁸ The Bargu Buriats are in fact very pure and unsophisticated Mongols. Rashidu'd-din links with the Buriats in one passage the Kurkuts, or as Von Hammer reads the name Kurolewants or Kolowrats,¹⁹ while in Abulghazi the name appears as Kurkut or Kurkut.²⁰ This again is a name which has been duplicated by Rashidu'd-din, and no doubt connotes the same class as the Kuroles, a division of the Konguruts. In the notice first cited where he calls them Kurlants, he says they lived near the Konguruts, the Ujigins²¹ and the Buriats. These tribes were allies, and had the same language or seal.²² This notice is very curious, and it seems to follow that the Turkish race of Konguruts was at this time divided into two sections, one living, as I shall show afterwards, near the Khingis mountains, and the other in the country of Barguchin. The passage from the *Yuan-shi* therefore means that a chief of the Kuroles, having married a daughter of the chief of the Buriats, became the father of Alun Goa. She was therefore in the legend the daughter of a Turkish father and a Buriat mother. As I said, Alun Goa is made the ancestress of the Mongol Khans in the official history of the house contained in the *Yuan-shi*. We must now devote a few more lines to this work, laying Dr. Bretschneider under contribution for the purpose. According to the *Ming-shi* or official history of the Ming dynasty, the *Yuan-shi* was composed in the year 1369, the year after the Mongols were expelled from China, in which year the records of the thirteen Yuan emperors were brought together, and the composition of the history commenced under sixteen scholars superintended by Sung-lien and Wang Wei. The work was finally completed in the 6th month of 1370.²³ Dr. Bretschneider says the work was very carelessly composed. Several editions of the *Yuan-shi* appeared during the domination of the Ming dynasty, while three have appeared during the domination of the Manchus, one in 1659, another in the middle of the last century, and a third during the present century. The second of these was

¹² Erdmann, *Travels*, p. 180, note 4.

¹³ Marco Polo, *Yuan-shi*, vol. I, p. 311.

¹⁴ Erdmann, *Travels*, vol. I, p. 121; Abulghazi, p. 41, note 2.

¹⁵ Georgi, *Russia*, vol. I, pp. 123, 127-8.

¹⁶ Erdmann, *Travels*, p. 123 and 129.

¹⁷ Tinkofski, *Travels*, vol. II, p. 212.

¹⁸ Bitterliki, *Travels*, vol. II, p. 196.

¹⁹ Erdmann, *Travels*, p. 56.

²⁰ A section of the *Shahinshah*.

²¹ Erdmann, *Travels*, p. 56.

²² Bretschneider, *Notes of Medieval Geography*, p. 4, 5.

²³ *Op. cit.*, p. 60.

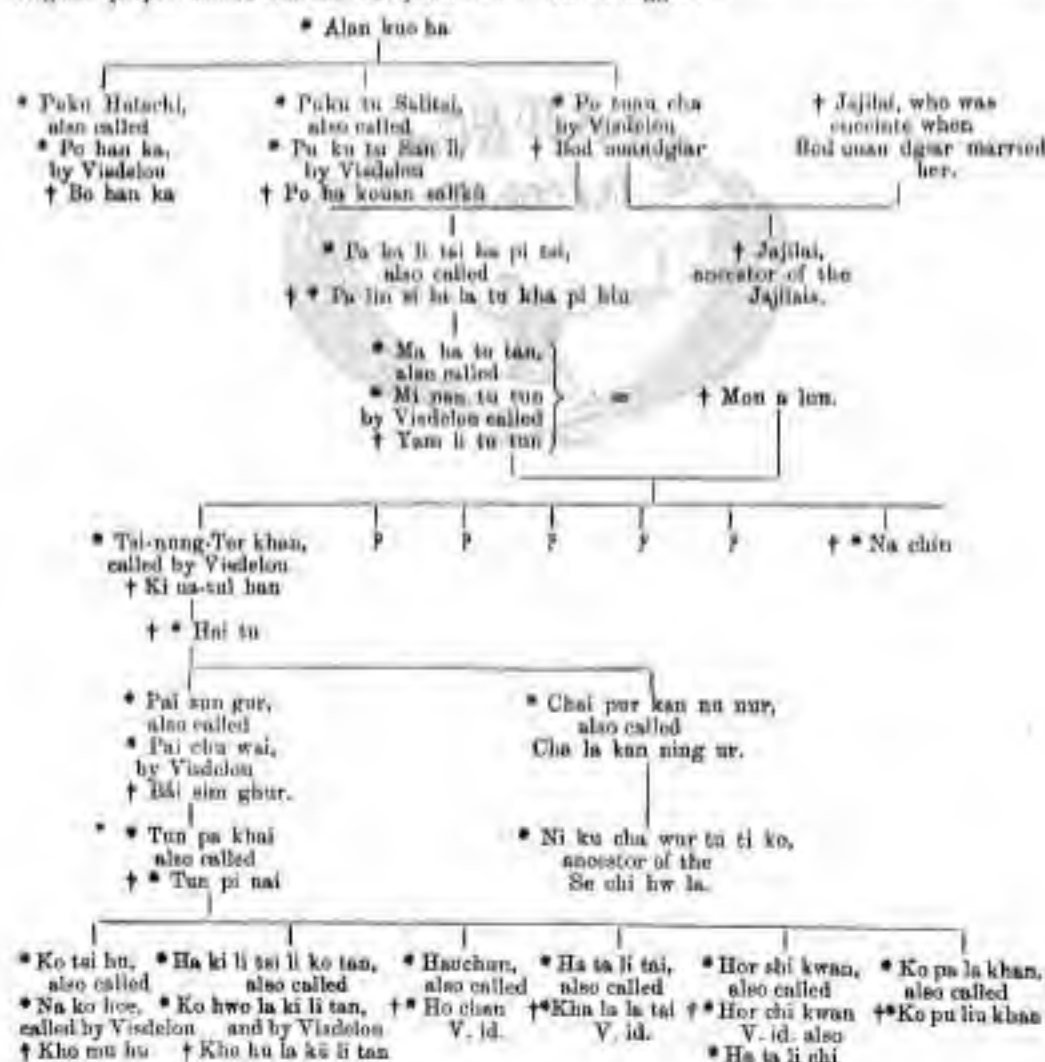
composed during the reign of K'ien-lung, and was in the nature of an eclectic text. Upon it Dr. Bretschneider makes the following remarks:—

"A learned committee consisting of Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Western Muhammadans, etc. was appointed by the emperor K'ien-lung to revise the *Yuan-shi*, and especially the foreign names of men, places, etc., occurring so frequently in that book. These savants, in their reformatory zeal, proceeded on the idea that all the proper names had been incorrectly rendered in the official documents of the Mongols, and had to be changed. They pronounced the same verdict with respect to the histories of the Liao and the Kin. Thus in the new editions of the histories of the Liao, Kin and Yuan, all the original proper names without exception dis-

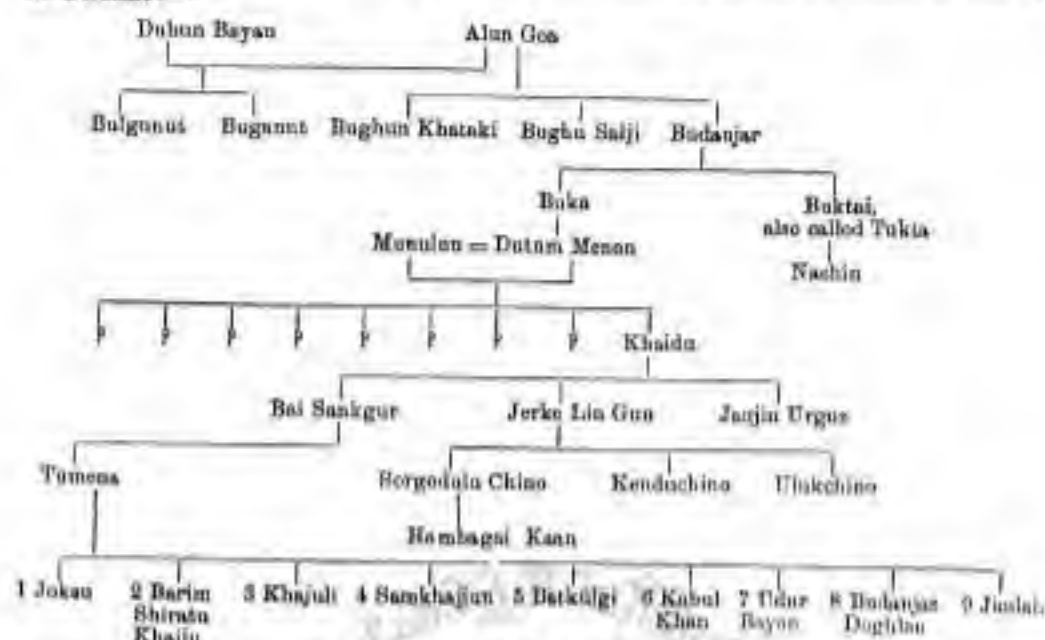
appeared, and were replaced by names of a new invention which generally have little resemblance to the original."

My friend Mr. Douglas has kindly extracted from the 107th chapter of the *Yuan-shi* a portion of the genealogical table there given. This contains the names in duplicate, one no doubt in its original form and the other as revised by K'ien-lung's commission. Viadelon apparently had access to this table, or to one similar to it, and he refers to it in his notes to D'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*.

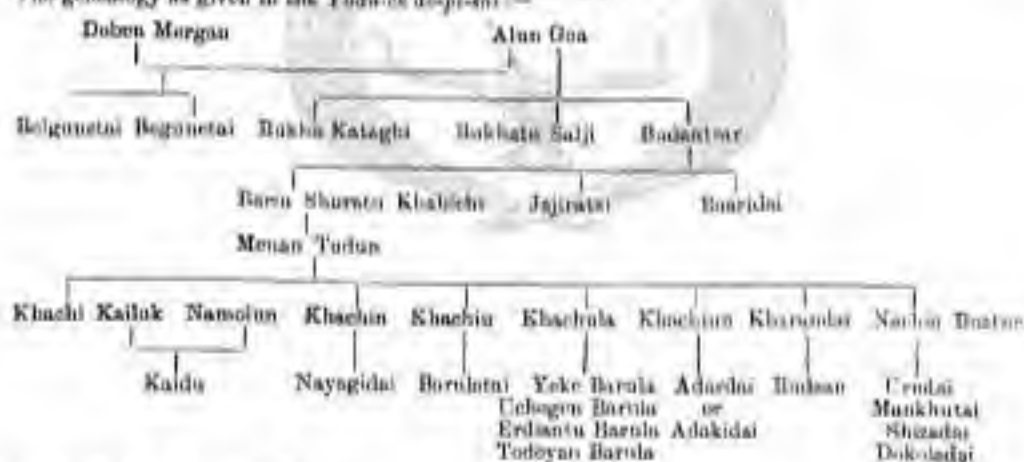
In the following table I have given the names as contained in the Museum copy of the *Yuan-shi*, which I have marked with an asterisk; the variants as given by Viadelon I have given with a dagger:—



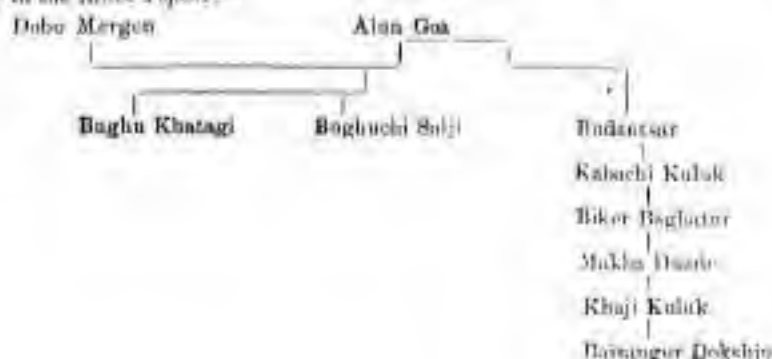
I will now give the table as reported by Rashidu'd-din, taking the names as read by M. Berezine:—



The genealogy as given in the *Yuan-shih-pi-shi*:—



Genealogy in the *Altai Topchi*:—



like snow towards them, and they inferred he must live in that direction. Presently Budantsear himself appeared. As he and his brother were on their way home, he remarked that "it was a good thing when there was a head on a man's trunk, and a collar on his coat." On being asked what he meant, he replied that the people on the Tunggheli had no chief, and that it would be easy to subdue them. On reaching home his brothers put Budantsear at their head, and together they returned and conquered the people on the Tunggheli. We are still clearly in the land of mere legend. Budantsear, according to Munshi, the author of the *Tuikhi Mubim Khatai*, who calls him Buzanjir, means in Mongol a rhinoceros, and he argues that the prince was actually changed into that animal.⁴⁸ Whatever the value of this etymology, it seems probable that the stories about his being fed in an abnormal manner during his exile were altered from the same Uighur saga, whence his miraculous birth was derived, where we read that "the reign of Boku Khân was very prosperous, and he was marvellously assisted by three ravens sent by Heaven. They knew all the languages of the world, and brought him news whenever it was required."—Herschneider, p. 127. If the Boku Khân of the Uighur legend be the same as the P'ik-lo-ko-lan of the Tang Annals, he lived about the middle of the 8th century A.D.⁴⁹ That was not still in the land of legend is best proved by the descendant testimony of the authorities as to the children of Budantsear. Rashidu'd-din says he had two sons Boku and Baktai. The latter name is given as Toka by Abulghazi,⁵⁰ the former is another repetition of the name of the stem-father of the Dighur chiefs. The genealogy in the *Yuan-shi* gives Budantsear but one son, whom it calls Pak-hi-tai-lin-pi-tai, which Hyacinthe gives as Bagartai Khabichi. DeMaffia's authority gives the name as Capitei Culup Patara.⁵¹

The *Yuan-shi* *ao-pi-shi* calls him Barin Shuntakhabichi. The *Altan Topchi* calls him Kabachi Kulak, and gives him a son Biker Baghatar, while Senanang Setzen calls him Dagharitai-khân Isaghochi, whom he makes the father of Khabichi Baghatar.

These two authors therefore introduce an extra generation into the pedigree not warranted by any

of the other authorities, and we shall be most safe in following the Imperial list as published in the *Yuan-shi*, and making Khabichi the successor of Budantsear and the father of Makha Todan.

The *Yuan-shi* *ao-pi-shi* gives Budantsear two illegitimate sons. It says that when he conquered the people of Tunggheli he seized a pregnant female, who said she belonged to the tribe of Jarjam Adankha⁵² Uriangka.

Having made her his wife she bore a son Jajiratai, who was the ancestor of the tribe of Jadar. He was the father of Tugu-adai, the father of Buri Bulshira, the father of Kara Kadaan, the father of J a m n k a, who ruled the race Jadai. This illegitimate son of Budantsear, Wajiratai, seems to be the same one who is called a little later in the *Yuan-shi* *ao-pi-shi*, Jauradai, and who, we are told, was legitimized by his father, and allowed to share in the family sacrifices in the shades of the ancestors. He is called Wajiratai by Senanang Setzen, who tells us he was the ancestor of the family Wajiratai. These various names are no doubt equivalent to the Juratai or Jajiratai of Rashidu'd-din, who were the subjects of J a m n k a as above mentioned, but he makes the race descend from a son of Tamsench Khân, to whom we shall refer presently. The meaning of the genealogical puzzle probably is that the Juratai or Jajiratai were treated by the Mongols as of doubtfully genuine Mongol blood, and we are further told that on their father's death Jauradai was driven out of his house as illegitimate by Budantsear's successor Khabichi.

By a second side-wife Budantsear, according to the *Yuan-shi* *ao-pi-shi*, had another son called Baaridai, who was the ancestor of the tribe Barin. Baaridai's son was called Chedakulok, who had many wives and children, from among whom was formed the tribe of Menian-barin. Rashidu'd-din, although he names the Barins among the Niruns or children of light, does not trace them to any sponyms like he does so many of the other Mongol clans, and it would seem from this entry in the *Yuan-shi* *ao-pi-shi* that they were not deemed of pure descent.

Baktai, the second son of Budantsear, according to Rashid, is not mentioned by the other authorities unless his name be a mere corruption of Bagharitai. The Persian author makes him

⁴⁸ *Senkata's*, *Suppl.* pp. 76 and 77.

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.* note 237.

⁵⁰ Abulghazi, p. 66 and note 4.

⁵¹ *Op. cit.* p. 5.

⁵² Adankha is perhaps the mountain Adakha north of Urga, whence the head streams of the Karagol flow.

marry a Mongol, and become the father of Tajin, whom he in one place makes the ancestor of the Tajut. Elsewhere he confuses this Tajin with Nachin, the uncle of Kaidu. He says however that in the *Altan Defter* the Tajut are made to descend from a son of Kaidu Khân,²⁷ which is in accordance with the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, and there can be small doubt that the former statement is founded on a mistake.

Let us now proceed. The genealogy in the *Yuan-shi* makes Bagharitai Khabichi be succeeded by Makhia Tudan, who is so called also by De Maille, the author of the *Altan Tsyshi*, and Samang Setzen. In the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* he is called Menen Tudan. Hsiao-ch'ao gives the name as Minen Tudan, and Rashidu'd-din calls him Datun Menen.²⁸

According to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* and the Chinese authorities Menen Tudan had seven sons. Rashidu'd-din gives him nine, which is no doubt a mistake. Their names, according to the first of these authorities, were—1, Khachi Kuluk, the Kachi Kuluk of Samang Setzen, called Taisung Terkhan in the genealogy in the *Yuan-shi*; 2, Khachin, who had a son named Nayagidai, so called because he liked to drink like a nobleman. He was the stem-father of the Nayakins; 3, Khachin, who was called Barulatai, because he was big as a child, and ate his food with avidity. He founded the tribe of the Barulas; 4, Khachula, whose sons had a similar failing, and were respectively called Faidanta Barula and Tudayan Barula, i.e. Great and Little Barula, the ancestors of tribes so named; 5, Khachin, who had a son called Adardai or Adarkadai, who loved trials and litigation, whence his name. He was the ancestor of the tribe Adarkin; 6, Khurandai, who used to seize upon the food belonging to others, whence his name of Undan, and that of his tribe Undak; 7, Nachin Baghadur, who had two sons named Uendai and Manghutai, the ancestors of the Urut and Manghut. He had two other sons named Shiradai and Dukoladai.²⁹

It is very curious that when we compare this list with those given by Rashidu'd-din and in the *Yuan-shi*, we should find such a marked discrepancy. The latter authorities mention the names of these worthies, but they make them

the great-great-grandsons of Menen Tudan, and not his sons. There is also a considerable variation in the details. They omit the eldest son Khachi-kuluk, Rashid calls Khachin—Jaksu, the *Yuan-shi*—Kotsih. The former author makes him the stem-father of the Nyakins, of the Uruts and Mangkuts. Khachin, Rashidu'd-din calls Barim Shirata Kairja, mixing up his name apparently with that of his ancestor Barim Shirata Khabichi as given in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*. To him he assigns no descendants. He is not named in the *Yuan-shi*. Khachula is called Hachi-li-tai in the *Yuan-shi*. Rashid makes him the ancestor of the Barulas; Sam Khajin, Khachin of the above list, is called Hachun in the *Yuan-shi*. Rashid makes him the ancestor of the Hederkins, i.e. of the Adardai or Adarkidai of the same list. The Khurandai of the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* is called Hachi-li-tai in the *Yuan-shi*; Rashid calls him Bat Kulgi, and also makes him the leader of the Indata. He does not name Nachin at all. The *Yuan-shi* calls the 5th son of Tudan Koy-shi-kwan; Rashid calls the 6th brother Kaba Khân, the Kôpâ Khân of the *Yuan-shi*, the ancestor of the Kuits, the 7th Udar Bayan the ancestor of the Jageruts or Juruts.³⁰ The 8th Baidjar Daghlan, the chief of the Daghlan; and the 9th Jistai, the leader of the Yiasuts, or, as it is read by Edmann, Baluts. These three last sons are not named in the *Yuan-shi*. Again, while the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* makes Kaidu Khân the son of Khachi Kuluk, and therefore the grandson of Menen Tudan, a relationship confirmed by the *Yuan-shi*, Rashidu'd-din makes him his son,—in which variations I have no doubt the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* preserves the earlier and more trustworthy legend. There is another variation involved in this adjustment, which is interesting. The mother of Kaidu seems to have been a somewhat transient person. She is called Monsun in the *Yuan-shi*, in the Kangra, and by Rashidu'd-din, while in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* she is called No-ma-lan. The former is probably the correct form of the name, and may be compared with Altan and Tuman, the daughter and sister of Chinghiz Khân.

Monsun was the heroine of a story which is related both by the Chinese authors and by Rashidu'd-din, but not in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*.

²⁷ *Yuan-shi*.

²⁸ D'Olsson, vol. I. p. 26, note 2.

²⁹ Nachin is the Mongol name for a bird of prey (D'Olsson, vol. I. p. 28 note).

³⁰ *Ibid.* ante.

Rashid tells us that on the death of her husband, Momlan, who was very rich in horses and cattle, lived in a place whose name is doubtfully read as Nash Aegi, also known as the Black Mountain, which was very fertile and thickly strewn with cattle. At this time the Jelairs, who lived along the Keronon, and consisted of 70 gerans or 70,000 families, were often at war with the Khitans, who then dominated over Northern China. The Khitans having sent a powerful army against them, the Jelairs, who were separated from the invaders by the river, and thought themselves safe, took off their caps, spread out their coats, and threw ironical gibes at the Khitans, bidding them go over and carry off their horses and families. The latter thereupon collected faggots and twigs, and made rafts on which they crossed over, surprised the Jelairs, and punished them severely, not even excepting the children. The survivors fled and sought refuge in the district where Momlan lived. There driven by hunger they proceeded to dig for the roots of a plant called *solomon* for food. This M. Dornin identifies with the Mongolian *Suta* the *seugai-acha carnea*, whose roots are used as a substitute for tea.* In digging for these roots the fugitives disturbed the ground where the sons of Momlan were in the habit of exercising their horses. Momlan, who according to the *Yamushi* was of a voracious and irritable disposition, reproached them bitterly. She drove her horses furiously over the trespassers, and killed several of them, and injured others. The Jelairs accordingly made a raid on the horses of her sons, and harried them. Thereupon they went in pursuit without waiting to put on their armour. When Momlan heard of this, she told her daughters-in-law to put the armour in carts, and to follow after their husbands, but it was too late. They had already fallen victims to

their temerity and been killed. The Jelairs followed up their victory, and killed Momlan and such of her family as they could lay their hands upon. There only escaped—Kaida, the infant son of her eldest son, who was hidden away, according to Rashid's tale in a skin for making *kasu* in, and according to the *Yamushi* in a bundle of faggots,—and Nachin, Momlan's youngest son, who was then living among the Barguts, where he was married. When the latter heard of what had happened, he returned to his mother's yurt, where he found Kaida and a few women. Determined to revenge himself, he caught a horse which had been carried off by the Jelairs, and had twice escaped, and mounting it went in pursuit of them disguised as a horseman. On his way he met two men—father and son, who were hawking and some distance apart. Seeing his brother's hawk on the fist of the younger Jelair, he asked him if he had seen a herd of horses led by a big boy pass that way; he replied he had not, and inquired in turn if Nachin had met with any wild ducks or geese. Nachin replied that he had, and offered to conduct him to them. When they had rounded the bend of a river, and were out of view of the elder hunter, Nachin fell upon the younger one, and killed him. Then tethering his horse and hawk to a tree, he went to meet the father, whom he also slew. Going on again, he came across a herd of horses in charge of some Jelair boys, who were amusing themselves by throwing stones at a mark. Having drawn near them he killed them also, and carried off the horses, with which and the hawks he once more went home. He now took the young Kaida and the women to his own yurt in the country of Barguts, being the country of the Barguts already mentioned.

(To be continued.)

CHAMPANIR AND PAWAGADH.

BY EDWARD B. EASTWICK, C.B.

The reason why these two most interesting places are so seldom visited by Europeans, is probably the excessive badness of the road from Baroda to them, and the impossibility of getting supplies along it. The direct distance to Champanir from Baroda is 31 miles, but by the road it is about 48 miles. The stages are,

first, Ayahgām, which is 10 miles; then variant Jorāl, which is called 8 miles, but is more nearly 10 miles; thirsl, Kengarl, which is 10 miles; and Champanir, which is as nearly as possible another 10 miles. The road at first passes nearly due east, by the European soldiers' quarters at Baroda, and then by the sepoy's line—

* See *Erman's Turkestan*, &c. p. 541, note 1.

After this the road turns to the north, and becomes a mere village path full of deep ruts and holes, very narrow and passing between thorn-bushes. The first village passed is called Nauran, and then the Māhi river is crossed by a bridge. Cultivation is abundant up to the third stage, when jungle commences and grows gradually thicker up to the ruins. About a mile from Champaṇir the road passes under an archway, on either side of which is a wall of the fort, which has been carried up the hills, but is now broken down in many places. Several ruined mandirs and other buildings, near two of them Maṅgārāhās of jds. are passed before reaching the archway. After passing it the road has been paved, but is now in such a ruinous state that a traveller by *gāri* is shaken to death. On the left hand side of the road beyond the archway is seen an inner wall of the fort, at from 50 to 100 yards, strongly built, about 25 feet high, and with bastions, but broken down in many places. After a mile from the archway, turn to the left through a double gateway, the first arch of which is 18 feet high. The walls are adorned with the same carved in the stone, and there is an Apāli inscription. Beyond this gateway, turning to the left is the camping ground at Champaṇir, with some fine trees, and a dharmasāla not fit for Europeans, to the south. The miserable village which still exists at Champaṇir is to the north of the camping ground, and is also what is called, the Jāma Masjid. This is the principal thing to be seen, and it is indeed well worthy of examination. It is about 250 yards from the camping ground, and is clearly a Hindū temple which has been converted by the Muslims into a mosque. A very handsome dharmasāla was included in the wall which surrounds the mosque, but this wall is now broken down in parts.

The dharmasāla is to the east of the mosque, and has a large dome, and four smaller ones, one at each corner like those so common in Upper India. The building is 18 feet high to the base, whence the dome springs. The base is 5 feet high, and the dome itself is conjecturally 15 feet more, so that the total height would be 33 feet. The court of the mosque is separated from the dharmasāla by a wall. This wall has 8 arches, a large one 8 feet broad and a small one 5' 5" broad alternately. The court of

the mosque measures 187 feet from north to south, and 122 feet from east to west. The principal entrance to the mosque is in the eastern face, and has two minārs of stone, one on either side the door. Each minār has seven storeys, if the cone at the top be reckoned as one. The lowest storey is handsomely carved, with the flower pattern. The second and third storeys have projecting eaves at top, as has the fourth, but it is much wider. The fifth and sixth storeys have eaves supported by the plumb-line bracket, so common at Bijnagar, only that it has a twist. To the top of the fifth storey is 76½ feet, and above that to the top of the cone is 19 feet, making 95½ feet for the total height. The carved base of the minārs projects from the wall of the mosque with a semi-circle of 21 feet. The entrance arch is 14' 10" wide. The hall of the mosque has 88 pillars of Hindū architecture on either side, and the roof is supported by seven large cupolas, besides several smaller ones. There can hardly be a doubt that it is one of those halls in Hindu temples called "halls of a thousand pillars," though in no one case is that exact number to be found. The hall measures 108 feet from north to south, and 79' 10" from east to west. In the western face are seven alcoves or niches, handsomely carved. The central one is of white marble, the others of masonry. There is no *mihrāb* or *pulpit*, and the lotus ornament is carved in relief in the niches. Immense bats roost in the cupolas, and the floor below is covered with their deposits. The hall very much resembles that of the temple of Kātehaṇḍ at Kālberga, but is smaller. There is no inscription. In the court is the tomb of a so-called *pīr*, Jāhān Shāh. It should be added that the central cupola of the hall has three storeys from which galleries extend along the roof.

The ascent of the mountain of Pawaṅgadh is the next thing to be done, and it must be made on the north-east side. The height is 2,800 feet, and the summit will hardly be reached under three hours. After leaving the gate close to the encampment, the road from the archway is crossed, and a dense jungle is at once entered upon, which is said to contain many tigers and panthers and a few bears. After crossing a succession of ridges, by a path resembling the bed of a mountain torrent, and paved with jagged pieces of rock, the first gateway is reached

in from 20 to 30 minutes according to the ability of the climber and the mode he chooses to ascend. A clever pony has ascended and cows have been driven up but with great difficulty. In about 20 minutes after passing the first gateway, a natural scarp 20 feet high is reached, which is surmounted by a wall 12 feet high, crenellated in the usual style. Trees, long grass and creepers grow from this wall in a most picturesque manner. In one place a silvery grass hangs down 8 feet at least from the wall in a thick mass. The scarp is crossed and ascended by gate No. 2, called *bachiga*. On the left of this gateway is a small pool of good water which drops from the wall on the left. Above to the left are seen two semicircular bastions, about 70 feet in diameter, but only 12 feet high. At this place there are 190 steps cut in the rock in tolerable repair, while many others have been broken. At the end of these steps is a third gateway, above which, at a distance of about 80 yards, is gateway No. 4, and here the jungle ends for a short space, and then begins again, but with larger and handsomer trees. The path now leads between two walls, that on the left being 30 feet high. After a hundred yards the fifth gateway is reached, and at the same distance the sixth gateway. No. 7 is a quarter of a mile beyond this. On the left is a ruined house of Sindhi's time in which three policemen and their families live. They say they never see or hear wild beasts. After this the path becomes much more steep, and the usual mode of ascent is in a *malkhi*, which is simply a cushion supported by two long bamboos, with a bit of dirty cloth on which to rest one's feet. There is no support for the back, consequently, the traveller must cling to the bamboos, or risk falling out backwards. The path rapidly becomes more difficult, but the Bhil bearers, small, thin, wiry men, spring from rock to rock with incredible agility. In some places the sides of the mountain are very precipitous, but the jungle veils the chasm. Above gateway No. 7 are three granaries, called *mathai kothars*. They are domed, and measure 30 feet square. Their walls are 5 feet thick, and they are used as offices by the English officials who go up to reside on the mountain. Below them are reservoirs for water, and you cross the roofs of these to enter the *kothars*. A long way above

them to the right of the road are nine smaller *kothars*, called *non kothars*. They are the same as the lower ones in all respects except being smaller. They are used by Europeans as residences, but the wind blows with such force as to render them very uncomfortable. To the right of the *kothars* is the Chāmpāvatī palace, consisting of a series of apartments on different terraces descending a long way and commanding fine views. As the first syllable in the name of this palace is pronounced decidedly short, there seems good reason for thinking that it ought to be pronounced short in the word "Chāmpanir" also. It is true that in the *Bā. Māla* and other works it is written as if long, and a story is told of the name being taken from a minister named "Chāmpā" or "Jhāmpā." But considering how often such stories are invented by the Hindus, and how unusual the name is for a man, it may fairly be supposed that this story also is a fiction. "Chāmpā" is a common name for a place, and unless the word should be found written with the long *a* in very old writings, the fair supposition is that the city was called from the jasmine plant which was common in the locality. No. 8 gateway is called the Makai Kothār gate, and beyond it is a wooden bridge which leads to gateway No. 9, called the Patanpur gate, at which two-thirds of the ascent is finished. According to the bearers the whole ascent extends two *kos*, and from the Patanpur gate to the summit is one *kos*. After about 50 minutes since the tenth gateway is reached, and this opens upon the great platform, above which is the scarped rock, which contains the temple of Mahākālī. There is here a small tank about 100 feet by 80 feet, on the edge of which are some temples in ruins. One however is roofed, and has lately been repaired or rebuilt by Hindu merchants. So far, according to the Brahmans, tigers are known to come, but they do not ascend the steps which lead to the top of the rock on which is Mahākālī's shrine.

The ascent to this crowning plateau is by stone steps, very steep, and consisting of the following flights:— $113 + 8 + 3 + 12 + 10 + 10 + 3 + 1 + 3 + 3 + 3 + 3 + 11 + 11 + 3 + 7 = 220$. The first great flight has a rising $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad of stone. The last flight leads to gate No. 11, after passing which the temple of Mahākālī is seen on the left. This temple is $66\frac{1}{2}$ feet

from east to west, 18' 4" from north to south, and 17' 2" high. Over the *cinchra* is a sort of chamber 7 feet high, which is said to be the shrine of a Muhammadan pir. This holy man was called "Sajjan," and also "Mānā Saham," and is said to have been a converted Rajput. There is a female Muslim who attends on the shrine. In the Mahākālī temple there are generally two Brahmins present who break up the offerings offered, and receive money from the pilgrims. These Brahmins live in small cottages to the east of the shrine. The shrine itself consists of a room with eight pillars, and

paved with marble, where votaries assemble. To the left is a small recess where there is no image but a painting of the goddess. To the west of the temple there is a precipice of about one thousand feet, and on the brink of this is a pillar for lamps, the light of which must be seen at a very great distance. At this point there is a magnificent view. The scarped platform on which stands the temple of Mahākālī looks as if it were formed by nature to have a citadel built upon it. The scarp is quite 200 feet high, and in the old time when the fortifications were entire, and well garrisoned, the place ought to have been impregnable.

STORY OF THE MERCHANT WHO STRUCK HIS MOTHER.

BY THE REV. S. BEAL.

"I remember in years gone by, there were 500 merchants in Jambedwipa, of whom a certain one was the chief, his name was Māitri (*Sac-chi*). On one occasion, these merchants all assembled together, and began to consult how they might best embark on some expedition for the purpose of getting gain. Having agreed upon a voyage in a certain direction, and settled all preliminaries as to freight and provisioning the ship, they separated for a time, returning to their homes, to take leave of their wives and families.

"Now at this time, Māitri went to see his mother, to get her permission and blessing ere he set out on the expedition contemplated. At this time his mother was living in retirement in the upper portion of the house, exercising herself in religious discipline [laws of purity and self-restraint].

"Māitri approaching her, addressed his mother thus: 'Honoured mother! [or, honoured parent!] I am about to undertake a voyage by sea for the purpose of getting much profit. I hope to return home with gold, silver, jewels of every kind, and so be able to minister in every way to your comfort, and also to that of the members of my family [give me then your permission and blessing].'

"Then his mother began to expostulate with him, and to say, 'Dear son! why venture your life at sea? Surely you have wealth enough at home, and every comfort and necessary without stint. You can easily afford to give what is necessary in religious charity; there is no impediment in the way of your happiness (*merit*). Darling son! dear son! the sea is full of perils,

boisterous winds, hungry and cruel monsters (*fishes*), evil spirits, Rākshasas, and ghouls; dear son! darling Māitri! all these dangers infest the ocean; and now I am getting old, and if you leave me now, although as you say you want to return a rich man to minister to my necessities, still the day of my death is so near, that all your pious intentions may be of little use to me; stay, then, dear son! stay, to be the comfort of my old age! (And so she entreated him three times.)

"Then Māitri answered: 'Yes, dear mother, but still I must go! think of the wealth I shall bring back, the gold and silver and jewels! think how I shall be able to nourish and cherish you in your old age, and what gifts I can bestow in religious charity.'

"Then his mother arose from her seat, and threw her arms round his neck, and embraced him as she cried: 'Darling son! dear Māitri! I cannot let you go; I cannot give you leave to risk your life on the ocean just to seek for gain! We have money enough, we have all we need at home! I cannot let you go!'

"Then Māitri thought thus:—'My mother is cross with me, and does not want me to prosper, and so she forbids me go this voyage,' and then he got angry, and pulling his mother to the ground, he slapped (*kister*) her head, and rushed out of the house.

"Then the merchants having assembled on the coast, and offered their worship to the Sea-God, selected five men to superintend the various departments (as before), and set sail. But sad to say! their ship was soon overtaken by a storm, and broke to pieces, and all the merchants ex-

cept Māitri were lost. But he, having clung to a plank, after tossing about on the waves for a long time, was at length thrown on the shore of an islet called Vaisvadīpa (North Island or islet). So Māitri, having refreshed himself with some wild seeds and medicinal herbs growing on the shore, at length recovered his strength, and began to explore the neighbourhood of the spot where he had been cast ashore. At length, as he went on, he came to a southern division (*fork*) of the island, and there he saw a path leading right before him. Following the track, after a short distance he saw, from a slight eminence, a city immediately in front of him, shining like silver, extremely beautiful and glorious! it was full of towers and palaces, surrounded by a lofty wall, and in every respect perfectly adorned [with lakes, woods, conifers, flags, etc., etc.] and calculated for the unbridled indulgence of love and pleasure. In the centre of the city was a charming palace (called 'Merry-joy,') built of the seven precious substances, and most exquisite to behold!

"And now, from the inside of the city there came forth four beautiful women, adorned with jewels, and every ornament calculated to please. Approaching the spot where Māitri was, they addressed him as follows:—'Welcome, O Māitri! let us conduct you within yonder city, there is no one there to interfere with us, and there is an abundance of every necessary for food and enjoyment. See yonder beautiful palace, called 'Joy and Pleasure,' constructed of the seven precious substances! It is there we four live, we rise up and lie down as we like, with no one to molest us! come then, oh Māitri! enter there with us and enjoy our company without interference, we will nourish you and cherish you with fondest care.' So entering into that pleasant hall, Māitri enjoyed the society of these women, with no one (*una*) to dispute possession with him. Thus passed many, many years; nothing to interrupt the current of his happiness. At length, after a long lapse of time, these four women addressed Māitri, and said, 'Dear Māitri; remain here with us, and go not to any other city.' Then Māitri began to doubt about the matter, and he thought, 'What do these women mean when they talk about other cities? I will wait till they are asleep, and then go and explore in every direction, and see whether there is good or bad luck in store for me.' So

when they had dropped off to slumber, Māitri arose, and leaving the precious tower, and passing through the eastern gate, he entered the garden which surrounded the city, and then leaving this by the southern gate, he struck into a road, along which he pursued his way. At length he saw before him at some distance a city of gold, most beautiful to look at, and in the middle of it a lovely palace called 'Ever Durable,' made of the seven precious substances and beautifully adorned. Now whilst he gazed, lo! eight beautiful women came forth from the city to the place where he stood, and addressed Māitri as follows:—'Dear Māitri! come near and enter this city in our company, there is a beautiful palace which we occupy, with no one to molest us, there is no lack of any comfort or necessary within its walls; come, then, and enjoy our society, whilst we nourish and cherish you without intermission.' So he went with them, and enjoyed their company for many years, till at last, when they began to talk to him about going to any other city, his suspicions were aroused as before, and he resolved when they were asleep to explore further, and find out what other cities there were. [And so he discovered two other cities, one built of crystal, the other of lapis lazuli, the first with sixteen, the other with thirty-two maidens, who invited him to use their company as before.] On receiving similar hints from these, in succession, he went on further discoveries, till at length he saw an iron city, that appeared to him quite desolate, only he heard a voice constantly crying out 'Who is hungry? who is thirsty? who is naked? who is weary? who is a stranger? who wishes to be carried?' On hearing this voice, Māitri began to consider with himself: 'At the other cities I found agreeable companions, but here I see no one, but only hear this doleful voice. I must search into this.' Accordingly he entered the city to see whence the voice proceeded. No sooner had he passed through the gate, than it shut behind him, and he felt that he was alone within the walls and all escape cut off. On this he was filled with fear, his limbs trembled, and the hairs of his body stood upright. He began to run to and fro in every direction, exclaiming, 'Woe is me! I am undone! I am ruined.' At length, as he ran here and there, lo! he saw confronting him a man, on whose head there was placed an iron wheel,

—this wheel red with heat, and glowing as from a furnace, terrible to behold. Seeing this terrible sight, Mātṛi exclaimed: 'Who are you? why do you carry that terrible wheel on your head?' On this, that wretched man replied: 'Dear sir! is it possible you know me not? I am a merchant chief called Govinda.' Then Mātṛi asked him, and said, 'Pray then tell me, what dreadful crime have you committed in former days that you are constrained to wear that fiery wheel on your head?' Then Govinda answered, 'In former days I was angry with and struck my mother on the head as she lay upon the ground, and for this reason I am condemned to wear this fiery iron wheel around my head.' At this time, Mātṛi, self-accused, began to cry out and lament; he was filled with remorse in recollection of his own conduct, and exclaimed in his agony, 'Now am I caught like a deer in the snare.'

"Then a certain Yaksha, who kept guard over that city, whose name was Viruka, suddenly came to the spot, and removing the fiery wheel from off the head of Govinda, he placed it on the head of Mātṛi. Then the wretched man cried out in his agony, and said, 'Oh, what have I done to merit this torment?' [The *Gāthas* are to this effect.] To which the Yaksha replied, 'You, wretched man, dared to strike (*kai*) your mother on the head as she lay on the ground; now, therefore, on your head you must wear this fiery wheel, through 60,000 years your punishment shall last; be assured of this, through all these years you shall wear this wheel.'

"Now, Bhikshus! I was that wicked Mātṛi, and for 60,000 years I wore that wheel for disobedience to my mother; so be ye assured that disobedience to your religious superiors will be punished in the same way."

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

PROF. WEBER AND BABU RAJENDRALALA MITRA.

1. *Letter published in the Academy, Nov. 15, 1879.*

"To Babu Rajendra Lal Mitra, Calcutta.

"Baltimore, Md., Berlin, B.W., Oct. 27, 1878.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have just received your beautiful work on *Buddha Geyd*, and my attention has naturally been drawn first to your polemic against my bias on the influence of Greek, &c., art on India. I shall not attempt to defend them here, as our points of issue are so very different; but I venture to call your attention to a gross mistake which you have committed on p. 178 note, when you say: 'Pr. W. erroneously calls the mother Devaki, who never had an opportunity to perform the maternal duty of nursing her child. According to the *Harivansa* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the child as soon as born was taken away from her prison shade and left with Yashodā, who reared it up.' . . . *Hindus in this country would never so grossly falsify the story as to make Devaki nurse her son!* Now, my dear Sir, you certainly cannot have read at all my paper on the Krishnaprasthānta as it stands translated in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III. (1874) pp. 21 ff., vol. VI. (1877) pp. 281 ff. For there you will find

"(1) the distinct statement that at the festival of Krishna's birthday he is to be represented as

'drinking at his mother's breast': *Devakītanāśa dhāya*, (*drishyaṅgratī*) *Devakītanāśa dhāyagand* (better *dhāyagand*) see vol. VI. 285 ff.; and

"(2) at p. 285, vol. VI,* you will read the following statement:—'Thus, again, is something very surprising about this representation. For while the legend throughout informs us that at Krishna's birth there was danger in delay, that his father, Vasudeva, had to carry the newly-born child immediately away to escape the dangers that threatened him, the above representation, which shows us the mother and child (the former, too, "joyfully moved") slumbering beside each other on a couch, presents a picture of undisturbed repose, and stands, therefore, in such direct contrast to the legend that it is difficult to suppose that both representations have grown up on the same ground. The representation in this place appears as foreign as the difference discussed above (p. 283) in reference to the locality of Krishna's birth.' The passage quoted here runs thus:—'It is highly surprising, first of all, that, according to these statements, the *śālāyāśram* (house for a woman in childbirth) is to be set up like a *gāṇḍama*. For the legend itself is quite consistent throughout in stating that Devaki gave birth to Krishna in prison. Evidently a transference has here taken place to Devaki of those circumstances in which

* From the *Oriental*, Oct. 2nd, 1875, also reprinted in *The Romantic Legend of Shiva Buddha*.

* In the *Academy* this was misprinted 'VII'; the Babu, in his reply (*Academy*, Feb. 28), appears not to have re-

marked this, and speaks quite earnestly of his having failed to find in vol. VII. anything about the nativity of Christ.—A. W.

Yāśodā, who received the newly-born child immediately after his birth, on her part gave birth to her own child, that magical girl who is exchanged with him. The reason of this, indeed, can only be that, from the beginning, the celebration of the Jamsadānt festival stood in close relation to the representation of Krishna's growing up among cowherds, and consequently this conception entirely preponderated over the other, according to which he was a prince born in prison.

"(3) These differences between the ritual of Krishna's birthday and between the legends of his birth are the very keystone of my theory of the foreign origin of the festival. Thus you read in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III. (1874), p. 21:—'The most difficult point in connection with the festival of the birthday of Krishna, as we now have described it, lies clearly in the description, and particularly in the pictorial representation, of him as a suckling at his mother's breast, and in the homage paid to the mother, represented as lying on a couch in a cow-house, who has borne him, the lord of the world, in her womb. Such a representation of the god is a strange contrast to the other representations of him—to that of the epic, for example, in which he appears as a warrior hero—and is, moreover, the only thing of its kind in India [mark this note]. Again, the pictorial representation of the festival differs in various details from the usual legends about Krishna's birth in a way which it is difficult to explain. The enquirer is therefore not surprised if relevant grounds present themselves in explanation of this unique phenomenon, which gives probability to the supposition that we have in this festival something transferred from outside, and retained, in spite of the incongruities it has given rise to, in the form in which it was received. And such grounds are, as a matter of fact, sufficiently numerous.

"PACERSON ALEX. WILKES."

2. To the Editor of the *Indian Antiquary*.

NOW having seen *The Academy* of 26th February till a few days ago, I was not aware that Balu Rājendralāla Mitra had replied to my letter of 27th October last. This may account for the delay of this, but I think it my duty not to let his statements pass without necessary correction. And as the *Ind. Antiquary* brought out the English version of my original paper, I hope you will not refuse to produce in its columns this complement to it.

The Babu is fully entitled to call the mother in the picture in question (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 350, from Moor's *Hindoo Pantheon*) by the name of Yāśodā, for, in the legend, she is the nurse of Krishna, (see also my remarks on "Yāśodā

lactans" in my paper on the *Saptasādhana* of Hāla, p. 208); but he has no right whatever to say that I have "erroneously" called her Devakī, or as he now puts it that I have "deliberately substituted Devakī for Yāśodā," for in the *Ātma Devakī* too is described as Krishna's nurse. With reference to the picture, therefore, both names are *a priori* equally justifiable—the one not more than the other. Nor do I lay any special stress on the title attached to it in Moor's work,—not by me,—as may be seen from my remarks (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. pp. 350, 351): "no direct reference to the special accounts of the manner in which the infant Krishna is represented at the festival of the *Krishnajasamsānti* is found in it; he is neither represented as 'asleep drinking at the breast,' nor 'sucking,' &c." And when I continue "of the identity of the person, however, there can be no reasonable doubt," I refer to those doubts only which I discuss in the sequel, viz. of Niclas Müller, Creuser, Guignaut—who on their part conceive the mother to be Bhāyānī or Māyā. If therefore the Babu prefers to call the mother represented in that picture Yāśodā rather than Devakī, he is quite welcome to do so. Whether she be the one or the other matters nothing in the end, and does not in the least affect the results arrived at in my paper, which are quite independent of the question about this picture.

My reclamation against him, the "gross mistake" with which I charge him, refers to the arguments by which he tries to support his own view of it. For when he states: 1, that "Devakī had no opportunity to perform the maternal duty of nursing her child," as, 2, "According to the *Pardās* Krishna was, as soon as born, taken away from his mother," I beg on the contrary to maintain, or rather to repeat, that this is a mere begging of the question. I never questioned at all that such were the legends of the *Pardās*, but I showed that the *Ātma prasādhana* for the festival of Krishna's birthday had a different aspect in view; and it is just this very difference of the two representations which serves as the basis of my theory of the foreign origin of the latter. Now Dr. Rājendralāla may be quite correct in saying that "to the Vaisnavas there is no scriptural authority higher than the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*," as undoubtedly he is, when he says that "it entirely contradicts" my position; but he fails to take into account two things—1, that I am fully aware of this incongruity, and have repeatedly noticed and commented upon the fact that the *Bhāgavata* does not mention this sort of festival (see e. g. pp. 170, 171, 179), and 2, that we European scholars are not bound to swear by the authority of his scriptures and

"undertook to establish." With regard to this latter point, and particularly to this very 'interference,' our views on the subject are really so entirely at variance that it is better I should stop short here.

Berlin, 25th April 1890.

A. WENIG.

THE REMNANT OF THE ORIGINAL ARYAN RACE.

It is said that Major Biddulph, stationed on the Kashmir boundary, has prepared a report upon the customs, the languages, and the folklore of the singular communities among whom he has been residing for a long time. From Major Biddulph's peculiar advantages and opportunities may be expected, says the *Pioneer*, a complete account of people who are a survival of the old Aryans from whom all civilized mankind of the present day is probably descended. Surgeon-Major Belton, meanwhile, has been examining a few men from the cantons on the south-west of Dardistan, peopled by a similar race, who in one respect are still more interesting, for their country has never yet been visited by a civilized traveller. But in appearance and language they closely resemble the Dards, and, unlike them, have not embraced the creed of their Muhammadan neighbours. The tongues spoken in all these hills are, for the most part, Aryan; not descended from Sanskrit, and, indeed, of earlier origin than that classical language. On the northern slopes of the mountains Paed words prevail; in the southern cantons some of the words resemble Greek, some Latin, some those of modern Europe. They make (and freely consume) grape wine, something like a crude Burgundy. Those who are not Muhammadans believe in one God, but employ the intercession of minor powers, represented by images. They also occasionally enslave great men whom they have lost by death. They are usually monogamous, opposed to divorce, and strict defenders of the chastity of their unmarried girls. These latter have blue, grey, or hazel eyes; black hair is the exception amongst them; and when young, they are of such remarkable comeliness as to be in great demand in the slave markets of adjacent countries. Authentic information concerning these interesting races cannot but be anxiously awaited by all who realize the nature of the questions involved.—*Globe*, April 17.

ANCIENT ARABIAN POETRY.—Mr. W. A. Clouston, of Glasgow, intends issuing by private subscription a limited edition of *A Treasury of Ancient Arabian Poetry*. It will include specimens from Aunalkais, Tarafa, Zohair, Labid, Antam,

Asma, and Harith, besides a selection from the well-known Bedawin Romance of *Asrar*, by Asma'i, who was one of the stars of the Court of Harun-al-Raschid. The most striking passages of the *Mudlakat* which have been rendered into English verse by various translators will be given in the appendix. Professor G. F. Nicholl, M.A., of Oxford University, and King's College, London will furnish some critical notes on obscure passages of Sir William Jones' English text of the *Mudlakat*, and Mr. J. W. Redhouse, the eminent Orientalist, will contribute an original translation of the celebrated Poem of the Munka, by Ka'b, son of Zuhayr, son of Abi Sulma, with critical notes.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

2. PROPER NAMES.—With reference to Mr. George A. Grierson's letter in the *Indian Antiquary*, note p. 141, I beg to state that in the Mysore Province the custom of having the right side of the nostrils of the children whose elder brothers or sisters died soon after their birth prevails. Such children are called

Gunda—rock.	Hacha—madman.
Kalla—stone.	Tijja—dunghill.

The last name is given after some childish frolic a dunghill has been brought in a sieve, and the child placed in it.

I learn that this custom prevails in the Madras Presidency also, and that the names given there are *Gunda*, *Kalla*, *Kappa* (*Kappa* being the Tamil word for dunghill), and *Pratim* or the *Margosa* tree. It does not appear that the mother herself changes her name as in Bengal.

As the district in which I now live is close to the Southern Maratha Country, it is probable that the custom prevails there also.

NIRANTH AIVASOIE.

Shimoga, 23rd May 1890.

With reference to Mr. Grierson's request at p. 141 of the current volume of the *Indian Antiquary*, I may mention that the custom of calling a newborn child (after the parent has lost a first-born or more in succession) by an appellative name, is common amongst many castes in Southern India—including even Muhammadans.

Any one well acquainted with the customs of the natives could add much to Mr. Grierson's information on the subject.

Karyamandai (= Sir Dungheap) is one of the commonest names for such children, and they have the distinguishing mark of a parent's nostril and ear (on the right side) with a knob of gold in it. Other names are *Chathayappai* and *Gheppudiyai*.¹
Madras.
B. R. B.

¹ *Coll. Ind. Ant.* vol. IV, p. 238; vol. VI, p. 148.

3. **BRAHMANI DUCK.**—What is the origin of the term "Brahmani Duck"? It is applied to the bird usually known to natives as Chakwā and Chakwi, scientific name *Anas casarca*, or *Casarca erythr.* The term Brahmani as used to qualify this bird is quite unknown to the natives of the Panjāb, who can make no conjecture why it should have come to be used by the English. On what grounds is the bird held sacred?

FRASER.

R. C. TEMPLE.

4. **INDIAN ARMS.**—No country in the world can vie with Hindustan either for splendor or variety in the production of implements of war, as any one will see by paying a visit to the collection of Arms exhibited at the India Museum. The Hon. W. Egerton, M.A., M.P., has compiled a "Handbook" of this collection; it is illustrated by coloured engravings of the choicest arms in the collection, and has an introductory sketch of the Military History of India. The thanks of antiquaries are due to Mr. Egerton for compiling this catalogue, and thus bringing together in one volume, matter that forms an important Indian Historical Monograph.

5. **NAGA FIGURES.**—Prior Jordanus, (iv. 1325) in the 4th chapter of his *Maraca*, in speaking of Western India, says—"There be also venomous animals, such as many serpents, big beyond bounds, and of divers colours, black, red, white, and green, and particularly; two-headed also, three-headed, and five-headed. Admirable marrales!"

Col. Yule remarks on this,—that "two-headed and even three-headed serpents might be suggested by the appearance of a cobra with dilated hood and spectacles, especially if the spectacles were (as probably would be the case) in a great fright. But for five heads I can make no apology."

The Naga stoups to be seen in every village in the Kōṣṭhā represent principally three and five-headed snakes. May they not have given rise to Jordanus's polycephalous marrales? But if so, what gave rise to the Naga figures having so many heads? There is one at Kāmavāsi with five heads and a Pāli inscription in the 12th year of King Satākarni Haritiputa.

THE ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

The *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XII, part I. (Jan. 1890) commences with an article by Mr. Redhouse on "The Most Comely Names"—that is, on the various epithets applied by orthodox Muhammadan writers to their god. The author gives a list of 552 such epithets compiled from various previous lists, explaining each epithet, with references, where necessary, to the Korān. It is abundantly evident, therefore, that

the number of "the most comely names" has by no means been confined to any sacred number, such as 77, 99, 101, or 1,000, in spite of the frequent references to the "ninety-nine names of God." In Mr. Redhouse's notes to each so-called name will be found several interesting points of Muslim superstition. The next article is by Sir Henry Rawlinson. It is—"Notes on a newly-discovered Clay Cylinder of Cyrus the Great." In it he gives a transliteration and translation of a highly interesting inscription, together with a useful historical introduction. The cylinder records in effect an edict issued by Cyrus after his conquest of Babylon and of the reigning king, Nabonahid (the Nabonidus of the Greeks). The record gives the genealogy of Cyrus in the order stated by Herodotus, viz., 1, Akkumenes; 2, Teispes (Siapis); 3, Cyrus (Kurua); 4, Cambyses (Kambujiya); 5, Cyrus (Kurua) the Great.

Mr. R. Sewell, M.C.S., follows with a note on Hwen Thsang's account of Dhanakacheka, and Mr. Fergusson gives expression to the doubt with which he—very rightly, as it seems to us—regards Mr. Sewell's proposed explanation. H. Sauvire completes, from a newly discovered MS. at Gotha, his translation of the interesting treatise on Weights and Measures by Mār Elyā, Archbishop of Nisibis. The number closes with a lengthy discussion as to the age of the Ajanta Caves, consisting of a paper by Rājendralāla Mitra, Rai Bahadar, followed by a note by Mr. Fergusson. Dr. Rājendralāla argues that certain inscriptions in the caves are in an alphabet that assimilates to that of "the Gujarāt dated plates, which belong to the 2nd century A.D.," and therefore these inscriptions fall between the 3rd century B.C. and the 2nd A.D. But no scholar now holds that any of the dates on plates from Gujarāt are earlier than the 5th century, and they come down at least to the 7th. Arguing exclusively from the age he thus assigns to inscriptions in certain caves, he concludes that the paintings in others are from 1800 to 2000 years old. Mr. Fergusson trusting rather to architectural style and details in determining the age of the monuments, where the evidence of the inscriptions is so unsatisfactory, concludes that the paintings in Cave No. 1 may be of as late a date as the first half of the seventh century A.D.

Part II. (April) opens with Max Müller's paper on Sanskrit texts discovered in Japan, which has also been printed separately.* The next consists of Extracts from an Official Report to the Government of India on the islands and antiquities of Bahrain, by Captain Durand. To this are added valuable and suggestive notes by Sir H. Rawlinson, con-

* *The Academy*, April 24, 1890, p. 319.

* See Book Notice, p. 253.

taining much new and interesting matter relating to the Persian Gulf accumulated since Vincent and Heeren conducted their investigations.

This is followed by "Notes on the Locality and Population of the Tribes dwelling between the Brahmaputra and Ningthi Rivers," by the late G. H. Dainton, M.A. The paper is accompanied by tables of comparative vocabularies.

"On the Śaka, Samrat, and Gupta Eras"—a supplement to his paper "On Indian Chronology," (N. S. vol. IV, pp. 81-137), by J. Fergusson, D.C.L., &c. takes up, first the dates of the Indo-Scythian inscriptions of Kanishka, Huvishka, Vasudava, &c. which the author regards as dating from the Śaka era established, he believes, "by King Kanishka, who himself was a Śaka king." This is supported by the fact of Gondophares, in the first century, being anterior to Kanishka, and coins of the time of Domitian, Trajan, and Hadrian, being found with those of Kufaphisa, Kanishka, and Oerke in a tope in Afghanistan. Secondly, the Kshatrapa colus, he contends, do not date from the Vikrama Samvat, but from the Śaka era, and overlap the earlier Guptas, and that the Vikrama Samvat was not in use till about the year 1000, when it was introduced and dated from 600 years, or ten cycles before the battle of Kacur, assumed to have been fought in A.D. 544, in the time of Harsha Vikramāditya; and at the same time the Harsha era, dating 1000 years before the same event, or 456 B.C., was proposed and partially established. The Guptas he regards as dated from A.D. 318-19, and that the "foreign invaders" who overthrew them were the White Huns whom Kosmas Indikopleustes mentions as a powerful nation in the north of India, early in the sixth century.

"The Megha Sātra" by C. Bendall, follows, and gives the text and a translation of this late *Sātra*² of the Mahāyāna school, from the Nepalese MSS. at Cambridge.

The next article is "Historical and Archaeological Notes on a Journey in South-Western Persia, 1877-78," by A. Houten-Schindler; and the last in this number is on the "Identification of the 'Palae Dava' of the Muslims with the Zolneal Light of Europeans," by J. W. Redhouse. This is a continuation of a paper on the same subject in vol. X.

The third part, for July 1889, contains a second paper by Mr. E. L. Brandreth on the Gaurian compared with the Romance languages, in continuation of the first in vol. XI. In this interesting paper the author carefully develops many striking analogies existing between the forms in which Sanskrit has broken up into the various modern

Prākṛita, and the way in which Latin broke up into the various Romance languages of modern Europe. These analogies are not only very marked and extend to many details as between one Prākṛit and one Romance language, but what is more strikingly curious even, we find one Prākṛit following the precise analogy in its derivations from Sanskrit that Italian does in its derivations from Latin, whilst another is in as close analogy to French. Take as examples Sansk. *var-as* 'man': Sindhi, *var-u*; Hindi, *var*; and compare Lat. *var-us*, Ital. *var-o*, Fr. *var*; or Sans. *jīh-vā* Sind. *jīh-vā*, H. *jīh*, with Lat. *var-o*, It. *var-o*, Fr. *var*; or, again, Sans. *bāh-vā*, Sind. *bāh-vā*, H. *bāh*, and Lat. *var-vā*, It. *var-vā*, Fr. *var*; &c. The next paper is by Arminius Vambéry, "On the Uzbeg Epics," a poem in 74 cantos containing upwards of 4,300 distichs in the metre of the *Majnun-e-Jahān*. It is from a MS. in the Imperial Library of Vienna, and bears date upon the last page of 919 A. H. (1510 A. D.), and must have been written shortly after the death of its author, Prince Mohammed Sāhib, the son of Mir Sāhib, formerly ruler of Kharezm. The poem celebrates the glories of his master the great Uzbeg Chingiz, Shēhānī Khān, and from its length, the historical events related are brought before us in such detail, and with such episodes, as neither Baber nor Mirān, nor the *Turikh-i Rashidi* used by Krakow, and still less the little *Shēhānī Mānch* edited by the Russian Orientalist K. Borealis, in 1840, can supply us. The narrative commences with Shēhānī's first march upon Samarkand, then governed by Baki Turkhān; then follow his engagements with the Mirān (as the Timurides are called) in Transoxiana, in which Baber plays a prominent part, particularly in the account of the siege of Samarkand, and of the troubles which the founder of the Mogul dynasty in India had to suffer at the hands of his triumphant rival. After the expulsion of Baber and the downfall of the Mirān, which led to the defeat of the Mongol auxiliaries of Baber, Shēhānī crosses the Oxus (called *Okus* or *Ughuz* by the author), and enters upon the long war with the children of Mirān Husām Baikara and with Khosru Shāh, the lord of Bukhārā—comprising in those days Balukhshan, Khatlan, Derwez, Boshan, and Shighnan. After the defeat and death of this Turkish prince, Shēhānī concludes the war against Kharezm, where Chingiz, the chief of the great Ad-Turkoman tribe, made a vigorous resistance, and inflicted heavy losses on the Uzbegs, who had to besiege the capital of the sub-country for eleven months, and only reduced it through the indomitable perseverance of Shēhānī. Here the poem

² See Beal's *Celestia*, p. 416E; *Journ. Res.* vol. XX., p. 329.

comes to close about 1505 A.D. before the capture of Herat in 1507, and only five years after Shaihani's first appearance before Samarkand in 1500.

The next paper is a translation by Dr. Kern of the two separate edicts of Ashoka at Dhimli and Jaugada, to which we shall have occasion to refer elsewhere.

This is followed by a "Grammatical Sketch of the Kakhryen Language" by the Rev. J. N. Cushing, of the American Baptist Mission, Rangoon. Kakhryen is the Burman name for the Shaghe or Chingpa people occupying the mountainous tract stretching from Upper Assam across Northern Burma into the Chinese province of Yunnan.

The last paper is "Notes on the Libyan Languages" by Prof. F. W. Newman.

In the *Journal Asiatique* for February, March, April 1890, M. Clermont-Ganneau continues his notes on "La Coupe Phénicienne de Palestine et l'un des sources de l'art et de la Mythologie Hébraïque."—M. Maspero gives the first part of a study of certain pictures and Egyptian texts relating to Funerals.—M. C. de Harlez gives his fifth paper on the "Origines du Zoroastrisme,"

treating of the *Fravashis*; the inferior evil genii—*Tifos*, *Paishas*, *Kayashas*, *Kayashas*, *Jahis*, and *Ashem-shas*; Median eschatology; and Zoroaster and the legends.—M. Sauvage publishes the first part of his *Materials for the History of Muslim Numismatics and Metrology*.—M. le Marquis de Vogüé has an interesting note on the form of the tomb of Eshmunazar, king of Sidon, whose inscribed sarcophagus is one of the most valuable remains preserved in the Louvre, with an attempt to translate the Phœnician legend engraved on it. This is followed by the first part of a masterly study by M. Sémari on the inscriptions of Piyadasi, to which we shall refer at length at a later page. The number closes with the Proceedings and Book Notices. In the number for May-June, M. Maspero concludes his study on Egyptian funerary paintings; M. Sauvage continues his 'Materials'; and M. Sémari his inscriptions of Piyadasi; while M. St. Geyard gives his fifth series of Notes on Assyrian Lexicography. The Proceedings are followed by translations of the Van inscriptions by M. Guyard and several Babylonian records by M. Oppert.

BOOK NOTICES.

A COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR OF THE GAUDIAN LANGUAGES, with special reference to the Eastern Hindi. By A. F. R. Hoernle. (Trübner & Co., 1890.)

In vols. XLII. to XLIII. (1872-4) of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* Dr. Hoernle brought out a series of essays on the Gaudian (i. e., Sanskritic) languages of N. India, which attracted a great deal of attention among oriental philologists. These essays were subsequently expanded and completed by the author, who by a continued and more matured study of the subject was enabled to introduce a number of modifications, corrections, and additions. The book at the head of this notice is thus the milestone of many years' labour in this particular field of enquiry, and not only contains within a comparatively small compass a vast amount of information, but also shows the trained philologist by the scientific method and the spirit of incisive research by which it is pervaded. Dr. Hoernle rightly lays great stress on the dialectal varieties of the spoken languages and on the forms of speech exhibited by them, and claims a full share of importance for the fact that "in most cases adjoining languages and dialects pass into each other so imperceptibly that the determination of the limits of each will always remain more or less a matter of doubt and dispute." As the work was originally intended to be a grammar of Eastern Hindi, this language has been allowed to remain the centre of the author's researches round

which the other languages have been grouped under each subject in separate paragraphs headed "affinity" and "derivation," an arrangement which does not in the least detract from the merit of the book as a Comparative Grammar of all the Gaudian languages. As regards the important linguistic results of Dr. Hoernle's investigations, we must forbear following him through the laborious processes and ingenious combinations by which he has been enabled to formulate them. The historical development of the languages is briefly summed up as follows:—"Four periods may be distinguished in the linguistic history of India. First, when the *Māgadhī* tongue in some form was the only Aryan vernacular in North India. Secondly, when the *Sauraseni* tongue existed there beside the *Māgadhī*, the one occupying the north-western, the other the south-eastern half. Thirdly, when these were broken up, each into two speeches, the W. and N. *Gaudīan*, and the E. and S. *Gaudīan*. Fourthly, when these four speeches were subdivided into the several *Gaudīan* languages. The last period is that now providing." Concerning their philological classification, Dr. Hoernle has arrived at the following conclusions:—"Since *Bangālī* and *Oriyā* are accounted separate languages from Eastern Hindi, and *Panjābī*, *Gujarātī* and *Sindhī* from Western Hindi, a fortiori Eastern Hindi and Western Hindi must be considered as distinct languages, and not merely as

dialects of one and the same." And further, "the languages divide themselves into two large groups or two great forms of speech; the one extending over the Eastern half of North-India and comprising Eastern Hindi, Bengali and Oriya; the other covering its Western half and including Western Hindi, Panjabi, Gujarati, Sindhi." To the former group must also be added Marathi as representative of the Southern Gaudian speech, and to the latter Nepali as representative of the Northern Gaudian. By endeavouring to trace the growth of these languages through its successive stages, be it of development or decay, back to the earlier Prakrits, the author has had to grapple with a most difficult problem. While, however, some of his views may perhaps appear hazardous and open to controversy, no one will for a moment question that his work is of sterling value as a solid contribution to Prakrit philology in its widest sense, trustworthy alike for the linguistic materials it communicates, and for the sound principles it applies in analysing them.

R. R.

THE VINAYAPITAKAM. Edited by Dr. H. Oldenberg. Vol. I. The Mahāvagga. 1879. Vol. II. The Cullavagga. 1880. (London: Williams and Norquist.)

Dr. Oldenberg did well in selecting the *Vinayapitaka* for publication in preference to any other portion of the sacred canon of the Southern Buddhists. No part of it had ever been published, and but few fragments were known from Gogerly's and Cole's translations. The *Vinayapitaka* besides, is important not only as containing the ecclesiastical code of the Buddhists, but also as furnishing an excellent insight into the state of Hindu society and civilisation in the early centuries of Buddhism upwards of 2200 years ago; and for the history of that period it supplies more complete and more valuable data than may be found anywhere in the wide range of Buddhist literature. The Editor defines, in the Introduction to the first volume, the peculiar character of the *Vinayapitaka* as distinct from the *Suttapitaka*, or ethical code, and discusses the leading questions as to the origin and historical position of the work. The result at which he arrives as to the date of its final revision is that that must have taken place some time before the council of Vesālī, or about 400 B.C. His remarks on the school to which the existing Vinaya text belongs, and on the original seat of the Pālī language, are certainly full of interest, and if his reasoning does not in every case carry conviction with it, it certainly leads on towards an eventual settlement of the various important questions under discussion. The work is to be completed in five volumes, two of which, comprising the *Mahāvagga* and the *Cullavagga*,

have appeared. The various Indices, added to the second volume, are most valuable; and the care with which the text has been edited reflects the greatest credit on the promising scholar who is making these authentic records of an ancient priestly organization available to his fellow-students.

R. R.

"ON SANSKRIT TEXTS DISCOVERED IN JAPAN." By Prof. F. Max Müller, 1880, pp. 96 and one plate (facsimile).

This new pamphlet by Prof. Max Müller is a separate impression (from vol. XII, N. S., of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*) of a lecture lately delivered before the Society, and of which more or less incorrect notices appeared in the papers at the time.

It had long been known that Chinese pilgrims had, in the earlier centuries A. D., taken Sanskrit books to China and the furthest East, but all enquiries seemed fruitless, and the discovery now announced is entirely due to Prof. Max Müller's unwearied exertions: a Japanese pupil at last got him the text now published. All must hope that this is merely the first, and that many others will follow.

The text is of a *Mahāvagga-sūtra* termed 'Sāthā-sūthā-sūtra,' and belongs to that later stage of Indian Buddhism when the early simple and grand ideas of that religion had been modified after the usual Indian pattern. It is a mixture of frigid exaggeration with an Indian pretence at exactness, and contains a childish account of a heaven called *Sukhāvati*, which the Buddhist is supposed to reach by persistent and heartless formalities, and to live there for ever. This twaddle is, then, of no value, and every one will agree with Prof. Max Müller in hoping that the Japanese Buddhists will now begin to "purify and reform their religion, that is to bring it back to its original form, . . . a work that must be done before anything else can be attempted."

Thus, the interest attaching to this tract depends on secondary inferences which may be safely drawn from it: these are important in their way.

The first is: that these Buddhist treatises, even the latest, existed in recensions of very different lengths, as is the case with a large number of Hindu books even now. But this particular recension, recovered from Japan, seems not to exist now in Nepal.

Secondly, it may be inferred that in all probability it will be possible to find older MSS. in China and Japan than in India. It may safely be said that no MS. written one thousand years ago is now existent in India, and that it is almost impossible to find one written five hundred years ago, for

most MSS. which claim to be of that date are merely copies of old MSS. the dates of which are repeated by the copyists. The *Sukhavatī-sūtra* is written in a northern form of Nāgarī which belongs to a comparatively recent period, but many of the letters have not been copied exactly, and it is impossible to fix the date satisfactorily.

Any one who will take the trouble to compare the facsimile plate with the corresponding text on p. 30 will not fail to admire the admirable way in which Prof. Max Müller has restored this almost illegible and very corrupt text.

In the notes (pp. 24, etc.) the Professor has discussed and cleared up the meaning of a number of difficult words which perpetually occur in Buddhist texts, and many of which are of great interest to Sanskrit students.

On p. 7 the Professor identifies Kōṅkapaṇa with the western coast of the Dekhan, but the presence of a forest of the *Borassus* palm there is decisive against this, as it only grows in large numbers in dry places; Kōṅkapaṇa is surely Kōṅkavāṇa [1], a former chief town in the Mysore territory.

A. B.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS RELATING TO INDIAN BUDDHISM, by Brian Hodgson Hodgson, Esq., F.R.S., late B.C.S., &c. 2 vols. London: Trübner & Co. 1880.

These two volumes of Messrs. Trübner & Co.'s 'Oriental Series' contain a number of papers contributed principally to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* between the years 1847 and 1853, and relating chiefly to the languages and ethnology of the aboriginal tribes of India, with some other essays of a more general character. The first Essay on the Kōchis, Bōdō and Dhimal tribes appeared separately at Calcutta in 1847, the tenth and eleventh on the Route of the Nepalese Mission to Peking, and on the Route from Kāthmāndū to Darjiling, with the twelfth, on the Systems of Law and Police in Nepāl, were published in the *Selections from the Records of Bengal*. The short paper on the Native Method of making the paper called 'Nepālese,' is from the *Transactions of the Agricultural Society*; and the Lectures on Vernaculars, with which the second volume concludes, are reprinted from the *Friend of India*, 1848.

"Almost all the papers," says the editor, Dr. B. Roost, "more especially the longer Linguistical Essays, have been reprinted from copies revised and annotated by the author himself, who has earned a fresh and lasting title to the gratitude of all students of Indian glossology and ethnology by allowing the rare and valuable Papers comprised in these volumes to be made generally available."

And whilst the great field of Mr. Hodgson's labours lay in Nepāl and along the northern frontier of India, it must not be forgotten that these essays are by no means restricted to that zone: the fifth and sixth sections of these volumes is on the Aborigines of the Eastern frontier, and the Indo-Chinese Borderers in Burma, Arakan, and Tenasserim, while the ninth is on the Aborigines of Central India, the Eastern Ghāts, the Nilagiris, and Ceylon. Thus to students of ethnology and glossology in all parts of the Indian empire these essays will be of interest.

The few lithographs that illustrated the original papers have not been reproduced (except a Map) with these reprints, but a greater defect is the want of an Index of some sort to make the work more convenient for reference.

We have already (vol. IV. p. 89) noticed the reprint of Mr. Hodgson's *Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepāl and Thibet*: we could only wish that they were re-edited with the same care as these volumes, and issued as a third one.

1. *Vie de L'ÉVÊQUE DE GAYAMA le Banian des Brames*, et Notes sur les Phrignes ou Moines Birmans. Par Monsieur F. Bigandet, Evêque de Banatou, ancien apostolique d'Avant-Pagou. Traduit en Français par Victor Gervais, Lévit. de vaucluse. Paris: E. Leroux, 1875. (8vo, pp. 302 and 540.)

2. *THE LIFE OF JOSEPHUS GAYAMA: the Buddha of the Burmese, with annotations; the ways of Nibbāna, and notes of the Phrignes or Burmese Monks.* By the Right Rev. F. Bigandet, Bishop of Banatou, &c. in 2 vols. London: Trübner, 1866.

Bishop Bigandet's invaluable work on Buddha and Burmese Buddhism first appeared in a single volume (324 pp.) printed at Rangoon in 1858, and was favourably noticed in the *Calcutta Review* in June 1859. A second edition revised and much enlarged (538 pp.) appeared at the same place in 1866. Both these editions were out of print when Lieutenant Victor Gervais prepared his very excellent French translation of the second edition, which brought the work again within the reach of European scholars in a convenient form and clear type.

Messrs. Trübner & Co. now reproduce the same work in a faithful reprint of the second English edition¹ in two handy volumes, which will be welcome to English students. Buddhism in Burma, as in Ceylon, differs markedly from the religion which passes under the same name in Nepāl, Thibet, and China: it knows nothing of the Bodhisattvas, Jñāna Buddhas, Śaktis, Devis, and the multitudinous pantheon of the Mahāyāna sects, and on this account alone deserves a special study. And no work founded—rather translated—from original sources presents to the Western student

¹ Only too faithful: for it reproduces even the misprints, e.g. 'Illahabā' in the note vol. II. p. 262. Gervais (p. 480) has not overlooked such errors.

a more faithful picture than that of Bishop Bigandet.

To the ordinary reader unacquainted with the Burmese representations of Indian names they will at first be somewhat confusing: 'Theodandana' for Suddhaddana, 'Pounha' for Brâhman, 'Radragio' for Râjagṛîha, 'Kathaba' for Kâtyâya, 'Dzewaka' for Jivaka, 'Wethalle' for Vaisali, 'Dzetawon' for Jêtavana, 'Adzatatha' for Ajâtasatru, 'Manh' for Mâra, 'Manta' for Munda, 'Negata-saka' for Nâgadâsaka, 'Tsandagutta' for Chandragupta, &c. are examples of these Burmese forms. Might it not have been worth while either noting the Sanskrit equivalents in footnotes, or giving a table of them? The want of an Index is a great defect of these otherwise valuable volumes.

1. *SELECTIONS FROM THE KUR'ÂN.* By Edward William Lane, Esq. D.D. London, Con. Just. Fr. &c. A new edition, revised and enlarged with an Introduction. By Stanley Lane Poole. (London: Trübner & Co. 1879.)

2. *EXTRACTS FROM THE QUR'ÂN* in the original, with English rendering. Compiled by Sir William Muir, K.C.I.S., LL.D. (London: Trübner & Co. 1890.)

These two works are similar, though of very different pretensions. Sir W. Muir's very modest little volume of 64 pages contains thirty-five short extracts in Arabic with English versions. They are arranged according to the existing order of the *Kur'ân*, and are of that class which exhibit "arguments drawn from Nature and Providence, with a view to prove the existence of God as the Supreme Ruler, and enforce His sovereign claim on the obedience and gratitude of mankind. The retribution of good and evil in the world to come, the obligation to follow virtue and eschew vice, the duty and happiness of the creature in worshipping and serving the Creator, and such like topics, are set forth in language of beauty and vigour, abounding often with real poetry." "Passages like these," the author considers, "can hardly be objectionable to the professors of any faith; and there is much in them that should be welcome to all." The collection intentionally avoids the special tenets of Islâm, and may thus be useful "as affording a certain basis of agreement and common thought, for those who come into contact with the Muslim world." They might be useful in schools in India, and for the student of Arabic the selection may be found very serviceable. The Arabic type is that of Stephen Austin of Hertford, and is very clear and legible.

Mr. Lane's volume is of a very different character; partly a reprint of his *Selections* published in 1843, the book has almost been recast by his nephew. The extracts, which occupy the second half of the volume, are given only in English, and are arranged under distinctive heads,—the first part (consisting of about a fourth of the whole) sets forth the doctrines of Islâm; the second presents Muhammad's versions of the history of the patriarchs and other personages of the Jewish and Christian writings. To the first Mr. Poole has added considerably, while he has also largely freed it from the commentary with which, in the first edition, it was interwoven.

The original introduction, however, which had been abridged from Sale's Preliminary Discourse, has been discarded, and for it Mr. Poole has substituted an essay of 166 pages giving a sketch of the beginnings of Islâm in four chapters—(1) The Arabs before Muhammad, (2) Muhammad, (3) Islâm, and (4) The Kur'ân—well written and instructive. The volume is completed by two excellent indexes.

METRICAL TRANSLATIONS FROM SANSKRIT WRITERS, with an introduction, series versions and parallel passages from classical authors. By J. Muir, C.I.E., D.C.L., LL.D., Ph.D. (London: Trübner & Co. 1879.)

This volume of Trübner's 'Oriental Series' is the work of a well-known and conscientious scholar whose services to the cause of Oriental learning will not soon be forgotten. These 248 *Metrical Translations*, which fill the first 196 pages of this volume, have partly appeared in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*,* partly also in *Religious and Moral Sentiments from Sanskrit Writers*,† and in three collections of versified translations printed for private circulation. They include also a reprint of the metrical pieces from the author's *Original Sanskrit Poets*, vols. II. and V.

Besides occasional extracts the author adds to his metrical renderings an Appendix of 142 pages, containing faithful prose translations of all the passages versified, so that the freedom of the metrical version can be at once judged of; and these latter are interspersed with references to interesting parallel passages in the Greek and Roman Classics, especially the Greek Dramatists. In addition to this, a further supplement of 30 pages more of further references is added, including a new version of the splendid hymn of Kleanthes, of which Cadworth remarks that "it breathes throughout a spirit of true piety and just knowledge of divine things."[‡] Though not

* *J. A.* vol. III., pp. 170, 241, 333f.; vol. IV., pp. 190f, 200f.; vol. V., pp. 152f. 311f. 340f.; vol. VII., pp. 137f. 200f. 232, 292, 308; vol. VIII., pp. 368f. 522, 294f. 321, 326f.; vol. IX., pp. 22, 52, 87, 151. A notice of the first small collection of these versions was given in vol. IV., pp. 118f.

* Published by Messrs. Williams and Norgate, 1875, and noticed *Jed. Ant.* vol. IV., p. 115.

† Cadworth, *Intellectual System*, p. 432; conf. Sir A. Grant's *Arrian*, 3rd ed. vol. I., p. 327f.

so literal as Dr. Muir's, Newman's translation of this hymn is so spirited, but so little known that we give it here:—

"Almighty alway! many-named! Most glorious of the deathless!

Jave, primal spring of nature, who with Law directest all things!

Hail! far to how salute to Thee, to every man is holy.

For we from Thee an offspring are, to whom alone of mortals,

That live and move along the earth, the Minis Vulcan is granted;

Therefore to Thee I hymns will sing, and always chant thy greatness.

Subjes to Thee is yonder sky, which round the earth, for ever

Majestic rolls at Thy command, and gladly feels Thy guidance—

So mighty is the weapon, clenched within Thy hands unquenched,

The double-edged and fiery bolt of ever-living lightning.

For Nature through her every part beneath its impulse shudders,

Whereby the universal scheme Thou guidest, which, through all things

Proceeding, intermingles deep with greater light and smaller.

When Thou so vast in essence art, a King supreme for ever.

Nor upon earth is any work done without Thee, O spirit!

Nor at the ether's utmost height divine, nor in the ocean,

Save whatsoever the infinite work out from hearts of evil.

But Thou by wisdom knowest well to render odd things even;

Thou unloosest disorder, and the unlovely lovely makest;

For so hast Thou in me combined the noble with the baser,

That of the whole, a single scheme arises, everlasting,

Which men neglect and overlook, as many as are evil;

Unhappy, who good things to get are evermore desiring.

While to the common law of God nor eyes nor ears they open,—

Obedient to which, they might good life enjoy with wisdom.

But they, in guise unseemly, rush this way and that, at random;

One part, in glory's chase engaged with ill-contenting passion,

Some, scurrying every path of gain, of comeliness forgetful,

Others, on self-indulgence bent and on the body's pleasure,

While things right contrary to these their proper action hasten.

But, Jave all bounteous! who, in clouds enwrap, the lightning waldest,

Mayest Thou from hateful ignorance the race of men deliver!

Tell, Father, smatter from the soul, and grant that we the wisdom

May reach, in confidence of which Thou justly guidest all things,

That we, by Thee in honour set, with honour may repay thee,

Raising in all Thy works a hymn perpetual, as becometh

A mortal soul; since neither man nor God has higher glory,

Than rightfully to celebrate Eternal Law all-ruling."

As an introduction to this volume, Dr. Muir has given a very careful résumé of the opinions of European scholars, especially Lassen, Weber, Windisch, Böhtlingk, M. Barth, and Monier Williams, on the question whether the ideas and doctrines of the *Bhagavad Gītā* are derived from, or have been influenced by, the Christian Scriptures,—a question suggested* by the publication in this Journal (vol. II., pp. 283–296) of a translation of the Appendix to Dr. Lassen's *Bhagavad-Gītā*.

We heartily welcome the issue of these Translations, &c. in a collected form. They are the moral gems picked out of the vast and often impure stores of Sanskrit literature,[†] and indicate that, though the moral darkness of ancient India was dense, there were occasional glimpses of a light given to individuals, which may have helped some to struggle against the natural progress of corruption, and handed them on to times of purer light. They were foundations, as it were, in thought and in language for a better ethical superstructure; soil for better seed; a *parvāṇa* for the reception of the highest truth.[‡]

* Part of this introduction appeared also in this Journal, vol. IV., pp. 718.

† Dr. Muir characterizes the Hindu moral and religious ideas represented in their literature in the words of the Greek poet,—*πολλὰ καὶ ἄγλα πέφυκεν*,

πολλὰ δὲ ἄγλα. "Many good (things) and many bad mingled."

‡ Clements Alexandrinus gives much prominence to the importance of such moral ideas in the old religions: See *Strom.* i. 5, and 17; and 20; vi. 5, 15, and 17; vii. 3; &c.

prāṇastava [स्य] *apamāṇa* [ta] *examatatsaka*
va [स] *prāṇa* *pādāpurtatantavagau* *pādāpurtatantavagau*
[type] mikaṣa.

"The Yamalavāpi, covering twenty-five square feet and situated just within the precincts of Vāṭapādṛa, on the northern boundary, west of the well of Vāṇa Ghoshā, and south of the well belonging to Bala-hata and east of the well belonging to Chandrahāṇa; moreover (a field) one hundred and fifty square feet (in extent) on the western boundary, south of the road to the village of Bhadrāṇaka, west of Vitakhaṭṭā, north of the road to the village of Dinnā-ṇaka, east of the boundary of Barāṇaka; farther (a field one hundred and ninety-five square feet in extent),¹ on the southern boundary, east of the well belonging to the worshipful deity Āditya, north of the field of the shoemaker (?) Kākini (Kākinī?), south of the road to the village of Brāṇāṇaka, west of the boundary of the village of Paṇṇāṇaka; thus, including the well, these two hundred and ninety-five square feet (of land) [have been given].

The purpose for which the grant is made is the usual one, viz., to provide for the temple-worship and for the repairs of the building.

More interesting than these details are the

name of the *Dātaka*, probably the executive officer of the district in which Vāṭapādṛa lay, and the date of the grant. The *Dātaka* is called Kharagraha, and we know from the later plates that Kharagraha I. was the younger brother and successor of Śīlāditya I., who during the latter's lifetime carried on the government. I have no hesitation in identifying the *Dātaka* with the king, and to assume that his employment in this responsible position eventually led to his obtaining the real power in the State, and to "his carrying, solely intent on fulfilling his (brother's) commands, like a well-broken bullock (*enteric the yoke*), royal fortune on his shoulders, though (that fortune) might have been desired by his most respected elder brother, who resembled (indeed) the elder brother of Upendra (Viśva)."

The date of our inscription is Śaivāt 290, while all the other known inscriptions of Śīlāditya I. are Śaivāt 280. The new date reduces the gap between Śīlāditya's and the second Dharmasena's grant of Śaivāt 310 to twenty years, for which we have two more kings, Kharagraha I. and Dharmasena III. It is therefore very probable that our grant was issued towards the end of Śīlāditya's reign, and that he was shortly afterwards dethroned.

TRANSCRIPTION.

Plate I.

- [¹] ओ सखि विजयस्तथावाराहलभीप्रहारहोमवसकाप्रसभप्रणता मिवाणमैवकाणामनुलबल
 [²] संपन्नमण्डलाभोगससकप्रहारशतलदप्रतापाप्रतापोपानतदानमानाज्जोपाजितानुरा
 [³] गादनुरक्तमौलभुतश्रेणीबलावापराप्रविपः परममहेश्वरश्रीभटाकादव्यवहितभराजवैशान्मता
 [⁴] विक्रयणारविन्दप्रणतिविधौताशेषाकम्भवः शैशवप्रभुतिखड्गद्वितीयबाहुरेव समदपरगत
 [⁵] घटस्फोटनप्रकाशितसत्त्विकप्रस्तप्रभावप्रणतारतिचूडारत्नप्रभाससाकपादनखरदिमसंहतिस्तक
 [⁶] लस्त्रिविधगीतमार्गसम्पत्परिपालनप्रजाहृदयरजनान्वर्त्यराजशब्दः रूपकान्तिस्थैर्यैर्योग्यामीर्य
 [⁷] बुद्धिसम्पदिः स्मरशशाङ्गादिराजोदधिबिदशगुरुधनेशानतिशयानशरणागतभयप्रदानपरतया
 [⁸] तृणवदपास्ताशेषस्वकार्यकल पार्थिवधिकार्यप्रदानानन्दितविदःसुहृदप्रणयिहृदयः पादचरीव सकल-
 [⁹] भुवनमण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः परममहेश्वरः श्रीगुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तन्यादनखमयूखसन्तानविस्त

¹ The measurement of the second field has not been mentioned, probably in consequence of a slip of the engraver. It may, however, be ascertained by deducting the other two figures from the total given below.

² L. 1, read *सि*, 'माम'; 'पतनामिवाण'. L. 2, read 'स-

सक'; 'सम्भ'; 'पोपनत'. L. 3, read 'गि'; 'गविधौताशेष'; 'शैशकम्भ'. L. 4, read 'सैसक'. L. 5, read 'स्मृति'; 'अना'; 'शब्द'. L. 6, read 'कल'; 'पार्थिवधि'; 'वारव

[illegible]

- [¹⁴⁰] जाद्वीनलौघप्रक्षालिताशेषकान्मयः पण्यिशतसहस्रोपजीव्यमानसम्पद्रूपलोभादिवाशूतस्¹
 [¹⁴¹] रभसमाभिगामिकैगुणैस्तहजशक्तिशिक्षाविशेषविस्मापितखिलबलधनुर्दरः प्रथमनरपातिसम
 [¹⁴²] तिस्रष्टानामनुपालयित धर्मदायानामपाकर्ता प्रजोपघातकारिणानुपप्रवानां दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्व
 [¹⁴³] त्येरैकपित्रसस्य संहतरातिपक्षलक्ष्मीपारिभोगदक्षविक्रमोपसंप्राप्तविमलपार्थिवत्रीः पर
 [¹⁴⁴] ममोहेश्वरः श्रीधरतेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुदवातस्सकालाजगदनन्दनायद्रुतगुणसमुदयस्यगतिस्म
 [¹⁴⁵] यद्विमण्डलसमरसतविजयशोभासंनयमण्डलाप्रशुतिभाभूरतरान्तपीठोद्दृग्गुरुमनोरथमहा
 [¹⁴⁶] भरस्पर्वविद्यापरावरविभागापिगमविमलमतिरपि सर्वैतस्सुभाषितलेनापि सुखोपपादनीयप
 [¹⁴⁷] रितोपः समप्रलोकागाधगाभीर्यद्वयोपि सुचरितातिशयसुव्यक्तपरमकल्याणसभावः खिलीभूत
 [¹⁴⁸] कृतयुगनृपतिपयविशोभनधिगतोदयकीर्तिर्द्वर्त्मनुरोपज्जलतरीकृतार्थसुखसम्पदुपेतवा
 [¹⁴⁹] निरुदधर्मादित्याद्वितीयनामा परममहेश्वरः श्रीशीलादिद्यः कुशली सर्वानेव युक्तकविनिपुक्तकदा

Plate II.

- [¹] त्रिकशौलिकचौरोदरनिकषाटभटकुमराभाज्यादीनन्वाभ्य यथासम्बन्धमानकान्समाजाप²
 [²] यद्यस्तु वस्तुविदितं यथा मया मतापिबोः पुण्याप्यायनाय बलवर्मानकषाटपट्टस्तलनिषिद्धहरिनाय
 [³] कारितमहादेवपादानं पूजास्तपनगन्धपुष्पपुष्पाभ्यदीपैलाक्ष्यवच्छिन्नये चाद्यगीतनृयाशु
 [⁴] पयोगाय देवकुलस्य च खण्डस्फुटितप्रतिसंस्काराय पादमूलप्रजीवननिमित्तय वटपट्टस्तल एवोत्त
 [⁵] रत्नाग्नि शणिभक्तघोषसंस्काराणां अपरतः तथा बलभटसंस्काराणां दक्षिणतः तथा चन्द्रभटसंस्काराणां
 [⁶] पूर्वतः वटपट्टादिवोत्तरतः पंचविंशत्पादावर्त्तपरितरा यमलवापी तथापरसीध्रि भद्राणक
 [⁷] घासपथादक्षिणतः शीतलवृक्षापापरतः दिशानाकघासपथदुत्तरतः वरटकमर्यादपूर्वतः
 [⁸] पादावर्त्तशतं सार्द्धं तथा दक्षिणसीध्रि आदिव्यदेवपादीपवाण्या पूर्वतः काकिभिर्मुक्तकसंस्कारादु
 [⁹] त्ततः त्रिमिलनकघासपथदक्षिणतः पुष्पिलानकघाससीध्रि अपरतः एवमेतत्सह वप्या पादा
 [¹⁰] दावर्त्तशतद्वयं पंचनवव्याधिकं सौर्द्धं सौपरिकरं तत्वातभूतपथयं सवान्यहिरण्यदेवं सद
 [¹¹] घापरार्धं सौत्पशमानविष्टिकं सर्वैरासकीयानामहस्तप्रोक्षणीयं पूर्वोत्तरतः स्रग्जदेवपाद्वितं
 [¹²] भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्कोर्णवक्षितसरिष्वर्त्तसमकालीनं धर्मदेवतया प्रतिपादित यतोपरिलि
 [¹³] खितस्थित्या भुज्यमानं न कैश्चिद्व्यासेषे वर्त्तितव्यमागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरप्यस्मदंशैरप्यैवानिध्यायै
 [¹⁴] शर्प्याण्यस्थिरं मानुष्यं सामन्यं च भूमिदानकलमवगच्छद्विरयममदापोनुमन्तव्यः परिपा
 [¹⁵] लयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यसिन ॥ बहुभिर्ज्ञेयुषा भुक्ता राजविस्सगरादिभिः य
 [¹⁶] स्य यस्य यदा भूमि तस्य तस्य तदा कलं-यानीह दारिद्र्यभयान्नेन्दैर्दैनानि धर्मापतनीकृतानि
 [¹⁷] निभुक्तमव्यप्रतिमाने शानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत=पठि कसिहस्त्राणि स्वर्गो मोदति मू
 [¹⁸] मिदः आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति ॥ दूतकश्चाप श्रीस्वरग्रहः=लिखितं सन्धिभि-
 [¹⁹] द्ग्रहाधिकृतदिविरपतिचन्द्रमहिना ॥ सं. [२९०] भद्रपद व ८ स्वहस्तोयम

¹ L. 10, read 'कन्मयः', 'भाषित' L. 11, read 'कैगुणैः',
 'सागिष्ठः' dolo बल 'सरसति'. L. 12, read 'पालयिता'. L. 13,
 read 'रिकाधिवसस्य', 'संहतारति', परिभोग'. L. 14, read
 'सकलजगदान'. L. 15, read 'सिनय', 'रसि', 'सुद्धम'. L.
 16, read 'भारसस्य', 'परापर'. L. 17, read 'सौप', L. 18,
 read 'देवमोनुपरोक्षज्जलतरी'. L. 19, read 'निवायुक्त'.

² L. 1, read कुमर'. L. 2, read माता'. L. 3, read
 'विहसि', 'वाप्यगीत'. L. 4, read 'संस्काराय', 'निधिनान'
 L. 5, read 'सौप' 'सकल जगदानसंस्काराणां'. L. 7, read 'प-
 यादुत्तरतः', 'सौपूर्वतः'. L. 8, read 'पापिणिः', perhaps 'का-
 किभिर्मुक्तक'. L. 9, read 'पयाश्रि', 'वाप्या'. L. 10, dolo 'सु-
 दा' 'दापयो', 'वक्षिक', 'वस्यार्ध'. L. 12, read 'पादितः' यत
 'व्यसि'. L. 16, read 'भूमिर्ज्ञेय'. L. 17, read 'निर्मुक्तमात्र'.
 L. 19, read 'नादयद'.

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(Continued from p. 221.)

III.

Abulghazi tells us that it was the fashion among the Turks, the Tajiks,¹ and other races to ascend no higher than the 7th generation, and that in giving any one's pedigree the Turks were wont to say—"we have been smiths as far back as my seventh ancestor," or "seven of my ancestors have lived in this country," etc.² The 7th ancestor of Chinghis Khān Menen-tudun was probably the first of his line of whom we can safely affirm that he was a real personage, and was not borrowed from the traditions and history of other races. The 7th ancestor was called Dulakun by the Mongols according to Rashid and Abulghazi. This is perhaps a corruption of *delakun*, which in Mongol means seven.

The Persian writers make Kaidu Khān the son and successor of Menen-tudun, and not his grandson as the Chinese do, and they tell us that as the 6th ancestor he was called Marti.³ The word is also read *yurti*, *harkti*, *murti* and *murti*.⁴

Kaidu is a well-known Mongol name, and was borne by a grandson of Ogotai Khān, who became a rival of Kubilai Khān. The Sagas apparently assign to Kaidu the son of Menen-tudun, the foundation of an independent community. I have mentioned how his uncle Naahin carried him off to the country of Barguchin Tugun, where he became famous for his prowess and skill.

When he grew up his uncle made him the chief both of the Bargut and of the Cheges or Tsokers,⁵ by which name the people living on the Chikoi, a tributary of the Selenga, are probably meant. He then determined to revenge himself on the Jelairs. When he marched against them the latter tribe, afraid of his vengeance, agreed to surrender those who had been guilty, and it was found they were 500 in number, who were given up to Kaidu Khān with their wives and children to do what he liked with them. He then summoned a family council to decide what should be done. At this it was urged that to exact a blood penalty from them would not be

judicious, since they were of such inferior rank to those whom they had killed, and it was determined that Kaidu should make slaves of them, and that they should remain in perpetual servitude to his family. They increased largely in numbers, and as was customary took the name of their patrons, i.e. Kiat Mongol. They remained in this condition of servitude till the days of Chinghis Khān's great-grandson, and each prince of the Imperial stock had 20 or 30 Jelair families in his service.⁶

This condition of servitude is what Rashid calls *Utyukughul*.⁷ It applied only to one section of the Jelairs, the ancestors probably of the present tribe Jelaid. The greater part of the race remained free, and eventually moved westward into the Kazak steppes. Rashid tells us that Kaidu founded in the country of Barguchin a ferry for the convenience of travellers, which from him was called Kaidu Chulan.⁸

The *Yuen-shi* which refers to this fact calls it a bridge, and tells us it was built over the "little black river" in the country of Bargu.⁹ Black river is Kara-gol in Mongol, and it is probable that the Kara-gol, a well-known tributary of the Orkhon, is here meant. It is curious that one so prominent in the Mongol genealogy as Kaidu should be altogether ignored both by Saanang Seteen and in the *Atlas Topchi*. In the list given by Pallas from the *Bukhhar*, he is replaced by Gonedugon, answering no doubt to Genigey, the grandson of Kaidu as given in the *Yuen-ch'ao-pi-shi*.

Let us now proceed again. The *Yuen-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us that Kaidu had three sons, Boshinkhor Dokabin, Karakhalinkha and Janjin Ortagni. Rashid's d-din calls them Baisangkur, Jerki Lin Gun and Janjin Urdoki.¹⁰ In the *Yuen-shi* which says Kaidu left but two sons, the first of them is named P'ai-sung-khor and the other Cha-la-ka-ning-ar. The latter of whom is there said to have married his brother's widow, and by her to have had No-ku-cha-wur-tu-te-ko, who was the ancestor of the Su-chi-

¹ i.e. the Persians.² Abulghazi, 74.³ Id.⁴ Erdmann, *Fremdschén*, p. 543, note 3.⁵ *Yuen-shi*, Douglas, p. 8; *Hyacinthos*, p. 7.⁶ Abulghazi, 62 and 63.⁷ Erdmann, 543.⁸ Id.⁹ *Hyacinthos*, op. cit., p. 7.¹⁰ Erdmann, op. cit., p. 544.

hwa, i.e. the Sijiat. The *Altan Topshi* and *Ssanang Setzen* only name the first son, the former calls him Baisangkur Dokshin and the latter Shingkhör Dokshin. As I have said, both of them omit the name of Kaidu, and make Baisangkur the son of Khachi Külük. We will revert to Baisangkur presently.

The *Yuan-shi* tells us that Karakallinku, i.e. Jerki Lin Gun had a son Sankunbilge who had a son Anbakhai, who had a son Khadan Taishi. Having married the widow of his elder brother, he also had by her a son Besutai, who was the ancestor of the Besut or Baisut. According to Rashidu'd-din they were the descendants of Jadaï, whom he makes the 9th son of Tumbaghai or Tumench Khân.¹⁴ Janji Ortagai according to the *Yuan-shi* had six sons:—1, Oronar; 2, Khankhotan; 3, Arulat; 4, Sunit; 5, Khakterkhakha or Khakterkhai; 6, Genigesi. These are merely eponymous names, the father the eponymos of the Urtagans, and according to Rashidu'd-din of the Sijiat; Oronar, the stem father of the Urasut; Khankhotan of the Kungkiat; Arulat of the Arulas; Sunit of the Süid; Khakterkhakha of the Kabterans, and Genigesi of the Chinos.

Let us now contrast this story with that told by Rashid. He calls Kaidu's second son Jerki Lin Gun, and tells us Lin Gun, which was corrupted by the Mongols into Lika, was a Chinese title meaning Great prince. On his brother Bai Sangkur's death he married his widow, by whom he had two sons, Kendu-chino and Uluk-chino, i.e. the male wolf and the female wolf. Their descendants, we are farther told, were called Chinos and also Nokuz, and he distinguishes them from the Nokuz who came out of Irgench-kun.¹⁵ By another wife Rashid tells us Jerki Lin Gun had other sons, the eldest of whom was Surgudol-chino who was the father of Ambaghai Khân, of whom we shall have more to say presently. Kaidu's third son according to him was called Janjin Urguz, and he was the ancestor of the Sanjiut and Arikans or Ertigans.¹⁶ We will now revert to Bai Sangkur, the eldest son of Kaidu Khân, who in his capacity as fifth ancestor was entitled to the style of Budakur.¹⁷ Apparently no facts are recorded about him.

The *Yuan-shi* tells us he had a son,

Tunbenai Setzen. The *Yuan-shi* calls him Tunpa-khai, the *Altan Topshi* Tunbenai, *Ssanang Setzen* Tambaghai Setzen, and Rashidu'd-din Tumench Khân. As fourth ancestor he was styled Budata. Tunbenai Khân according to the *Yuan-shi* had two sons Kabal Khakan and Sinahili. The *Yuan-shi* gives him six sons, namely Ko-tai-ku, Hai-ko-lo-tai-ko-tan, Ho-chun, Ha-ta-le-tai, Ho-shi-kwan, and Ho-po-lu Han, the last of whom is of course Kabal Khân. Rashidu'd-din gives him nine sons, whom he calls respectively—Jak-an, Barin Shir-batu, Khajju, Kajuli, Sam Khajian Batkulgi, Kabul Khan, Udar Bayan, Budantur Doglan and Jiaisi. That is in the main the same eponymous ancestors of various tribes who in the *Yuan-shi* are made sons of Munen Tudun. This variation in the genealogy as given by the three principal witnesses shows we are still in the region of artificial names introduced to explain ethnographic relations, and it is probable that the only names of actual persons in the list are those constituting the main line of descent of the Khanate. Let us now turn to Kabal or Khabilai Khân, who as third ancestor was entitled Elenjik. We are indebted to Rashidu'd-din for preserving us a curious saga about him. He tells us that his prowess and that of his sons having reached the ears of the Altan Khan, i.e. of the Kin ruler of China, he sent envoys to summon him to his presence. He accordingly set out, and was received with due honours, and was given a grand feast, but afraid of treachery to which the Chinese were much addicted, and that the meat and drink might be poisoned, he withdrew for a while on the plea that he wanted repose, and then returned. Presently when the air was cooler, he again withdrew to refresh himself, and went to bathe in a neighbouring stream. He now returned again, and being satisfied of the good faith of the Chinese, began to eat and drink voraciously, and without showing any signs of suspicion. His immense appetite astonished his hosts, who declared that God had chosen him for a great ruler, since meat and drink seemed not to satisfy or make him drunk. Presently, however, the drink began to affect him. He approached the Altan Khan, and laid hold of his beard, and gave him a box on the ear. The Altan Khan's minister,

¹⁴ *Yüe infia.*

¹⁵ Erdmann, *op. cit.* p. 217-219, 545; Abulghazi, 68.

¹⁶ Erdmann, *op. cit.* p. 244; Abulghazi, 68.

¹⁷ Abulghazi, 74.

who was witness of this, was greatly angered, and was for punishing him then and there, but having become somewhat sober, Kabul apparently apologized, saying that it was his hand which was to blame and not himself, for his will had not followed his hand.¹⁸ According to D'Ohsson's reading he demanded to be punished.¹⁹ The Altan Khân who thought that if he exacted punishment he would bring the revenge of his people upon himself, dissimulated his anger, and having selected from his treasury a silken garment embroidered with gold threads, a crown, a gold decked girdle and other presents, presented them to him on his departure. His minister argued, however, that he had not done well in letting him thus go. He thereupon sent a messenger to recall him, and as he refused to go, a second messenger with a *posse* of troops was sent to compel him. When they arrived at his camp he was not at home, but one of his wives promised that on his return he, with his sons and daughters, would comply with the emperor's wish. As the messenger was returning home he encountered a man attended by some slaves whom he recognized as Kabul, and thereupon seized him and carried him off. *En route* they put up at the house of a Saljut, who was a friend of Kabul Khân's. He supplied the latter with a horse which he said was as swift as the lightning or the wind. On this he mounted and fled, and was pursued by the messenger of the Altan Khân, who did not overtake him however till he reached home. There Kabul treated his pursuer with marked hospitality, gave him a beautiful new tent to live in, where he was waited upon by his young wife Meti. Meanwhile, however, he summoned his dependents, his sons being away, and told them that he had become weary of life since he had been pursued by the Chinese messenger. He called upon them to kill him, saying that if they did not do so he would commit suicide. Thereupon they fell on the Kin messenger and slew him. Kabul Khân soon after fell ill and died.²⁰ Nothing of this appears in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*. On turning to the Chinese annals dealing with the Kin dynasty we find certain obscure notices which apparently refer to these events. In the *Ta-hia-kuechi* wo

are told that during the reign of the Emperor Tai-tsung, whose Taungus name was Ukunai, and whose reign was in the interval 1124—1137, a great number of the Mongols became subject to him, but in the next reign, i.e. 1138—1149, they became rebellious.²¹ De Maille, who translated the *Kang-ou*, states that about 1135 the Mongols began to be very powerful and a menace to the Empire. We are told they could see by night as well as by day, and that they wore cuirasses made from the hides of fish which were proof against arrows. Towards the end of that year the Kin Emperor sent his General Hushaku against them.²² Hushaku was not successful but had to retire. His retreat was the signal for the advance of the Mongols who captured many of his people, and followed him as far as the district of Hailing, where, having ventured on an engagement, his army was cut in pieces. Another and more formidable army was sent against them. This was apparently in 1139.²³ These extracts probably refer to the reign of Kabul Khân and to the feud he had with the Kin Empire. According to Rashîdû'd-dîn, Kabul Khân married Goo Khaku, meaning the Fair Khaku, who belonged to the Turkish tribe of the Konguruts, of which we shall have much to say presently. By her he says he had six sons, who were called Kiat. Abulghazi says the Mongols call a torrent which comes down from a mountain *Kian*, which word originally meant rapid or impetuous. The plural of *kian* is *kian*,²⁴ and we are told the sons of Kabul Khân were so called because of their impetuosity. The name *Kian* or *Kian*, however, was doubtless of much older date, and designated in the old legends one of the two primitive stocks of the Turks. One of the two brothers who ruled them in their primitive home in Irgonchkuu was called Kian, and his descendants Kiat. Kiat was the special name of the family of Chinghis Khân.

The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us that Kabul had seven sons, in which it is followed by the *Yuan-shi* and *Suining* *Seizen*. These agree generally with the names recorded by Rashîd, and are as follows:—Ukin Darkhakh, Bartaï Bâghadar, Khutaku Mungar, Khutula Khakan,

¹⁸ Erdmann, *op. cit.*, p. 551.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*

²⁰ Erdmann, pp. 551—553.

²¹ Schott, *Asiatische Nachrichten von Mongolen und Tataren*, 17.

²² De Maille, vol. VIII, p. 512.

²³ *Id.*, p. 529.

²⁴ Abulghazi, 71.

Khulan, Khulan²² and Tadayan Uchigen.²³ In the *Yuan-shi* the names are given as 1, Ughin-pa-la-gla-gla; 2, Par-tan; 3, Hwa-la-le-mi-nur; 4, Hwa-la-lu-kham; 5, Ho-tan Patur; 6, To-tun-wo-chi-kin; 7, Hwa-lan-pa-tur. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us that although Kubli Khân had so many sons, he did not leave his Empire to any of them, but left it to An-hu-khai, the chief of the Tajuts. This doubtless refers to the "Imperial-ship," to coin a phrase; the Mongols proper no doubt remained subject to their own royal stock.

It was about this time that the long feud commenced between the Mongols and Tartars which had such serious consequences later on.

The Tartars here mentioned, to whom the name Tartar properly belonged, were, it would seem, formerly the ancestors of the Mongols, who were in consequence sometimes referred to as Black Tartars, i. e. subject Tartars. They consisted according to Rashîd-ud-din of about 70,000 families, who lived in the neighbourhood of lake Bayar in North Eastern Mongolia. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* also places them on the river Orabir which connects the lakes of Bayar and Kulun and on the Orkai farther south, and they seem in fact to have held the northern part of the Kiugkhan empire. I have discussed the orthography of the name Tartar in a long note to the first volume of my work already cited.²⁴ They are first mentioned by the Chinese historian Ghien-yang-sien who lived 1007—1072, and who tells us they were descended from the Mo-ho of whom they were a section, and that their country was situated to the north-east of that of the Hsi and Khitans. We are told further that the Mo-ho having been attacked by the Khitans were dispersed; one portion submitted to the Khitans, another sought refuge with the Polai to the east, while the third took refuge in the In-shan mountains, and adopted the name of Tachê, which was the original form of the name Tartar in the Chinese Annals.²⁵ The Mo-ho were the Tungusic tribes of Manchuria, from whom the Kin Tartars and the modern Manchus sprang. Hence it follows that the Tartars were in fact very near relatives of the modern Manchus, but we may get even

nearer than this to their real affinity. Their name as I have argued is equivalent to nomade, and is probably derived from their dwelling in movable yurts or tents. Such a yurt is called *Tatara-ba* in Manchu, and is derived from the Tungusic word *tata* or *tatar*, meaning to drag or pull, and a tent or house shelter is still called *tata* or *tata*.²⁶ Now the Daurians, who, so far as we know, sprang from the very country of the old Tartars, and thence overspread the district east of lake Baikal called Dauria, have their name formed out of the same element. They are called *Daur* or *Tu-gori*. *Da-ar*, we are expressly told, means the square hut which prevails with the tribe, and I have small doubt that the Daurians are in fact the descendants of the Tartars proper of early Mongol history. Rashîd-ud-din tells us they were divided into six divisions, but if this statement is reliable two of the six were probably of subordinate rank, for, as we shall show farther on, the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* several times refers to *the four branches* of the Tartars.

We will now turn to the feud which arose between the Mongols and the Tartars. Gon Khanka Kubli's wife had a brother named Sain Tegin, i. e. the Good prince. The latter having fallen ill, a Tartar Shaman or Kaim named Jerkit Bulaya was summoned to treat him. The patient died notwithstanding the *locus pocus* of the Shaman. The latter was sent home, but not long after was put to death by the relatives of Sain Tegin. A struggle ensued at a place called Hevan Segdan. (?) In this fight Kulan Baghadur distinguished himself in single combat with the Tartar leader, Motor Behadur, in which the latter was badly wounded, and remained *hors de combat* for a whole year. On his recovery the struggle was again renewed at two places named Ula Ilak (?) and Ker Ilak (?) in which the Mongols had the best of it.²⁷ These struggles were renewed several times by the sons of Kubli Khân.²⁸ Meanwhile difficulties arose in another direction. As we read in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* the Khakan An-hu-khai, who was the special chief of the Tajuts, had given his daughter in marriage to a chief of the Tartars, who lived on the river

²² The Kadan Behadur of Rashîd.

²³ The Tadayan Uchigen of Rashîd.

²⁴ *Early History of the Mongols*, vol. I, p. 700.

²⁵ Yimbley, *Supplement to D'Herbelot's Bibliothèque*, p. 322.

²⁶ *History of the Mongols*, pp. 762 and 763.

²⁷ Erdmann calls these two places *Babai Atsugunt* and *Gera Bagunt*. I have adopted the orthography of *Bereale*.

²⁸ Erdmann, pp. 527 and 533-4.

Orshin. As he was escorting her himself he was seized by the Tartars, who doubtless deemed it a good opportunity for revenge, and by them was handed over to the authorities of the Kin empire, who also had a grievance against the Mongols. Rashidud-din in reporting this event makes out that An-ba-khai had gone to the Tartar country to fetch home his own bride.²⁰ The former authority says that as he was being carried off he had a man named Barakhashi of the tribe Balaut, who was returning home, go and tell Kutluq Khān and his own son Khadan Taihi to revenge him, and drawing his illustrations from the use of the bow, he told him to entreat them that even if they had to wear out all the nails on their ten fingers in the work to do so. Rashid reports this part of the story differently. He says that An-ba-khai, as he was being carried off, sent one of his slaves named Bulghachi to tell the Kin Emperor that it was a base thing to put him to death when he had been treacherously captured and surrendered by others, and that if he did so he would draw upon himself the revenge of all the Mongol tribes. The Altan Khan refusedly bade the messenger take post horses, and go and tell his people that An-ba-khai was going to be executed by being nailed down to a wooden ass. He accordingly set out, but when he came to the land of the Durbans,²¹ they refused to give him the necessary horses, and paid no heed to his reproaches, so that presently his Chinese horses having broken down, he had to go on foot. When he reached home he reported what had happened.²² The process of nailing people down to a so-called wooden ass, flaying them, and then hewing them limb from limb, was a well-known punishment of State criminals in China (see Stanislas Julien *l'Orphelin de la Chine*, pp. 127 and 128).²³

Beside An-ba-khai, Ukin Barakhashi, the eldest son of Kabul Khān, was also put to death in this fashion, and it was the execution of these two chiefs which was made his chief ground for attacking the Kin empire by Chinghis Khān. Seanning Setzen has a curious statement that in a struggle which ensued between the sons of Kabul Khān and of An-ba-khai they were all

killed save a son of each. I cannot find a confirmation of this story elsewhere, but it is singular that Kutluq Khān, the son of Kabul, and Khadan, the son of An-ba-khai, are the only two of the many sons of the two chiefs who occur in the succeeding story, and it would seem that their brothers were in fact dead, while it is very certain that there was a rivalry for supremacy between the two families. Resuming our story, we are told in the *Yen-chi'ao-pi-shi* that when An-ba-khai was carried off and put to death, the Tajik tribe met together on the banks of the river Khorkhon, and elected Kutluq as their leader, i. e. as Khakan or Imperator. Palladius by this locality understands the low ground on the river Onon, but this is doubtful, for the Onon is very frequently mentioned by its proper name in the *Yen-chi'ao-pi-shi*; but we shall hear again of this name. Kutluq Khān is so called by Rashidud-din. D'Olsson mistakenly calls him Kubilai.²⁴ It would seem that his elder brothers were now dead, especially Bardon Baghadar, and consequently according to the Mongol law of succession by which brother succeeds brother he became the heir to the throne. He was directly the ruler of the Mongols, and apparently "imperator" of the forces of other tribes, including the Tajik. Kutluq was a famous hero of Mongol romance. His voice, we are told, could be heard behind seven hills, and was compared to the thunder in the mountains. His grip was like that of a bear, and when he chose he could break a man with his brawny arms like breaking an arrow. He would haul whole trunks to make up his fire on winter nights, and would lie asleep beside it more or less unconscious with drinking, heedless of the cinders and sparks which fell on his naked body, mistaking the burns for the bites of insects, and turn over to sleep again. At his meals he could demolish a whole sheep and a huge skin of *kumis* or fermented mare's milk, and still was not satisfied.²⁵ He was in fact the heroic colossus and Hercules of Mongol legend. He headed the army which marched against China to avenge the deaths of his relatives. On this occasion he was accompanied by his nephew Yesukei, the son of Bar-

²⁰ Erdmann, p. 555.

²¹ By the Durbans I believe with Palladius the Tartars are meant. Durbans means four, and the word doubtless here refers to the four tribes of the Tartars; the Durbans have been made a separate tribe by Rashid by mistake.

²² Erdmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 555-6.

²³ Erdmann, *op. cit.*, p. 527 *note*.

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, vol. I., pp. 32-33.

²⁵ Erdmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 554-5.

dan Baghadar by Khadan Taishi, the son of Anakhsai, and by Khadan's son Tuda. Rashid-u'd-din tells us that in this struggle the Mongols won a complete victory, and returned with a great booty. As he was retiring Kutlugh with some of his warriors engaged in hunting, and got separated from his companions. When the Darbans³² heard of this they went against him, killed his companions, and compelled him and his horse, which had the speed of lightning, to take shelter in a marshy place. In this bog he sunk, but springing from his horse's back, and gaining solid ground, his pursuers, it is said, disdained to touch him, remarking "What can a Mongol do without his horse,"³³ and thereupon withdrew. He succeeded however in recovering his horse, which he dragged out of the quagmire by its mane, and went on his way homewards. His people there had made up their minds that he was lost, and Rashid-u'd-din reports how his nephew Yusukei prepared the funeral meats, and took them to Khadan Taishi and his son Tuda and to Kutlugh's wife. The two former began to wail terribly, but the brave wife on hearing what the cause of their grief was, bade them not distress themselves that he whose voice was like the thunder, and who could hug men like a bear, was not likely to be undone by the Darbans, and he did in fact shortly appear riding on a stallion which he had carried off from the Darbans, and driving a number of their fillics before him. His great boots he had filled with eggs of the wild geese which he found in the steppe, and rode barefoot. The funeral feast was now converted into another kind of festival, and Kutlugh's wife triumphed greatly in boasting that she knew her good man would not be killed by these poltroons.³⁴

On turning to the Chinese notices for confirmation of these things, we find it stated in the *Kuogwan*, under the year 1147, that the war between the Kin Empire and the Mongols still continued. The son of Talan who was a Kin general named Chinghea-ta-lang, and whose country bordered on that of China, incensed at his father's death, deserted the side of the Kin, and joined the Mongols,

and increased their power so much that the general Uchu, who on his return from Pien leung was sent against them, was compelled to make peace with them, to cede 27 forts north of the river Si-ping to them, and to undertake to pay them annually a certain number of cattle and sheep and also grain. He wished to give their chief the title of Mong-fu-kue-wang, but he refused it, and himself adopted the style of Emperor of the great Empire of the Mongols, and he was styled Ten-yuan-wang-ti.³⁵ The *Ta-king-tsu-chi* says nothing about these events, but merely reports that the Mongku, having obtained many Chinese and Khitan boys and girls either in war or otherwise, who had coalesced with them, had gradually become accustomed to the use of cooked meats, and become a great nation under the name of Ta-Mongku-kuo, i. e. the Kingdom of the great Mongols.³⁶ These extracts seem to me to clearly refer to the reign of Kutlugh Khan. The Si-ping of this notice was the Koralon which now became the frontier between the Kin Tartars and the Mongols. It would seem from the Chinese notice translated by Vasilief that the Kin ruler gave up to the Mongols the fortresses he had north of the Koralon. He says he also agreed to pay tribute. According to Vasilief the title which the emperor wished to confer on Kutlugh was Ao lo Boohielie, which he degrades a corruption of Du-Ho-shiello, meaning the great minister.³⁷

According to the above passage it would seem farther that it was about the year 1147 that the chief of the Mongols first adopted the style of 'Mongol Khan.' What then is the meaning of this name 'Mongol?' Schmidt explained it as derived from Mong, meaning 'brave, daring, bold,'³⁸ This etymology is acquiesced in by Dr. Schott,³⁹ and I adopted it in the first volume of my work on the Mongols.⁴⁰ But I am not now by any means certain of this view. In a recent number of the *China Review* there is a note by M. Deveria, which is singularly interesting. He quotes a passage from the Chinese work *Liang-pen-tai-hu-yu-kuo* in the terms following:—"The expression Mung-kurh is used in the markets to signify silver (cash).

³² I. e. the Tartars.

³³ Apparently a sentence with a singular local force when applied to this race of Centaurs.

³⁴ *Id.* pp. 556-561.

³⁵ De Maille, vol. VIII., p. 545.

³⁶ Schmidt, *op. cit.* p. 17.

³⁷ Boregian, Rashid-u'd-din, vol. II., p. 185, note 38.

³⁸ Sonang Setzen, p. 389; *Journ. Asiat.* 1st ser., tom III., p. 100.

³⁹ *Op. cit.* p. 6 note.

⁴⁰ *Fide op. cit.* page 27.



BOMBAY BEGGARS AND CRIERS.

BY K. MAGHUNATHJI.

As elsewhere, India gave birth to men of wealth and position, and numbers of these people fed, clothed, and even bore hardships on account of their beggars. The result was that he who gave most died leaving behind him the greatest number of beggars.¹ The practice of almsgiving has existed from a very early age, at least from the time of Manu. Nearly a tenth of the population have been beggars, and instead of being ashamed of this, beggary is deemed a condition worthy to be sought after and followed. There are even some among this class of people who will not go to the trouble of seeking charity, because they know they will be provided with the necessities of life by people who look upon them as having sacrificed themselves for some social end, for—

"Brother, we have become a Ghasai, and abandoned everything.

Patel build us here a chapel, bring plenty of *bhady* and tobacco,

Provide daily food for me, and send a sister to serve me."

Thus these worthless and degraded members of society are encouraged in idleness by the ready supply of their wants. What is the use of

labour, the beggars say, why work hard and get half a loaf, why not follow beggary as a profession? In Benāran, if a boy is told by his parents to go to school, his reply will sometimes be that, if again told to do so, he will join some of the many *ghas-ghas* (*unashamed*).² And when Khanderio Gokvad died, an immense number of *fagirs* sat lamenting his death; they said that the Mahārāja had induced them to beg, and now he was dead, and there was nothing left for them whereby to obtain their maintenance.

The Bombay beggars may be divided into two classes, the religious and the non-religious; they may also be subdivided into the Hindu religious and non-religious, the Mussulman religious and non-religious, and others. The Hindu religious beggars are *Vaishnavas*, *Saivas*, and the abominable *Saktas*, adorers of the goddesses. These classes may be distinguished by the kind of rosaries they sometimes carry, and by the marks on their foreheads, temples, arms, chest, and abdomen, which they either stamp with a wooden form for the purpose, or burn the skin with heated metal plates; and the *Saktas* by the application of red stuff to their foreheads between the eye-brows.

¹ Mr. Gopālak Hari's *Bhikshuk*, p. 17.

² Mr. Gopālak Hari's *Bhikshuk*, p. 17.

To give a list, says Beveridge,² of the severities practised by the beggars would be to catalogue almost all the imaginable modes of torture; keeping the palms of the hands closed till the nails grow into the flesh on one side and re-appear on the other; creeping along in twisted forms till permanent and monstrous distortion is produced; holding the arms upright till they lose their power of motion and become shrivelled; hanging over slow fires; burying in a living grave with only a small aperture to prevent suffocation; such are only a few of the modes of tormenting displayed by beggars who infest the country and extort alms either by the commiseration which their sufferings excite, or the desire to be rid of their filthy and disgusting presence. Naked bodies smeared with ashes of cowdung; hair hanging in locks matted together with filth; sometimes with living reptiles concealed in them; human skulls filled with filth; and human bones strung round the neck,—are among the devices used by those who are ambitious of the honour and greedily of the profit which it too often commands. The following statement of an account will show how some of these beggars do penance.³ "Atten years of age," says the narrator, "I gave myself up to meditation and mortification, at twenty I left my home and lived in a cell doing penance for twelve years. Vermin or worms gnawed my flesh, of which the marks still remain. When the Rājā opened the door of the cell, I said 'Either take my corpse or prepare for me a bed of spikes,' which the Rājā did, and this is the one I occupy. During the four months of winter I travel on this bed, while night and day water is let fall upon my head. For thirty-five years I travel on this bed, which is pulled by my disciples. At Serut, Collector Bahān built a house for me and provided me with something to subsist on."

Hindu non-religious beggars of all classes are found begging in Bombay—Brahmans and Śūdras, Māṅgs, Mūṭras, and Pūṭras, principally the lame, the blind, the deformed, the leper and the decrepit, who prefer street-begging because their gains are large, and they have liberty to rove about and indulge in the luxuries of life.

The Musalmān religious beggars are known as Jalāls, Madārīs, Rafāīs, Banavas, and Safiā. Of

these the last two closely resemble their Hindu congeners: they are known by the names of Tarkat, Sharikat, Mārplāt, and Hakikat, and their chief is called the Sarguro.⁴ They use rosaries of beads, practise *jap* *hup*, and apply ashes to their persons. Those of them who do not marry are held in high estimation; some marry and have families. The Musalmān non-religious beggars are like those of the Hindus, they follow the profession of mendicants because their gains from it are large. As an instance the following from the *Indian Statesman* will illustrate the fact:—"A curious instance of the life led by some of the Musalmān mendicants was revealed by the researches of the officers of the Small Cause Court, Bombay. It would appear that a bailiff executed a writ of possession against a tenant, a *Faqir*, by name Sayed Khashim Sāhib. The bailiff on entering the room was nearly stifled by the stench arising from filth in the shape of dead rats, dead fowls, a dead dog which was packed in a tin khalā-case, and heaps of dust and creaks, roaches, living and dead. Money was found, in bank notes, silver and copper to the extent of Rs. 2,000. Surrounded by all this filth, with about nine or ten dogs for company, he looked on with a sad eye at the cleaning process, and begged to have his dead dog restored to him."

The Bombay beggars generally start on their business in the mornings, and beg from early morn till one or two o'clock; and in the evenings from three till eleven at night. In the mornings they are given uncooked rice and in a few cases money, but in the evenings money and scraps of food are offered to Māng, Mūṭe, and Dīcī beggars. These, the most wretched of the class, beg only in the evenings, after people have had their meals, for the remains of food. They are not satisfied with what they get by begging, but they also rake up the spots where the dinner plates and fragments of food are thrown, and lick the plates along with dogs and cats; the dogs barking at the beggar and the beggar driving away the dog with one hand and eating with the other. This is a most pitiful sight to look at. These beggars go with baskets and pieces of cloth, in which they collect the remains, and after eating a sufficient quantity

² *History of India*, vol. II., p. 46.

³ *Asiatic Researches*, vol. V., p. 59.

⁴ Mr. Gopālak Hari's *Bāṭhāṭh*, p. 16.

sell the remainder to their more unfortunate brethren. The rice which the beggars collect they either sell to their customers at their houses or in the bazaar (*bāzār*) bazar, where they sit in rows with their goods spread on pieces of cloth in front of them for disposal.

Pārsis, says a writer in the *Bombay Quarterly Review*,* do not allow the infirm, the helpless, the indigent, or even the unfortunate of their community to loiter about the streets or to beg from door to door, but they are careful for by the Pārsis themselves. No Pārsi knows experimentally the humiliation of asking alms. None deprived of the power to work, none left destitute, has his misery aggravated by the apprehension of being reduced to beggary. However helpless, food and raiment at least, and a place to dwell in, he can always find amongst his own people.

Then there are what may be termed reformed beggars—men, women, and children of all castes and creeds, (of course with the exception of the Pārsis,) and sometimes termed '*lacks*.' There are the sick-lack, the fire-lack, and petition or *arje valla*. There is no law as to who should assume the garb of a beggar. But any one that wishes may follow the profession without restriction. There are young and old, the poor and some that are well off, the diseased and starry, impudent, stout healthy fellows who follow this miserable profession with great pride, and if one, says a writer in the *Native Opinion*, has the stamp of an arm or of a leg to parade, he does so in the most conspicuous manner, with the idea that the public is bound to feed him. Others will lash their bellies, exclaiming in English, 'Mamma no money, no *ekānā*':—showing their naked stomachs, 'look belly, mamma; two eye blind mamma; give poor man one pice papa.' And again, 'Mamma nurse *ekhala bābā*, mamma nurse blind *bābā*.' But of late much of this noisy beggary is put down by the executive police, and there are not to be seen now-a-days, as ten years ago, rows of beggars lining both the sides of the Esplanade road and other public streets. The number of these beggars, says a writer in the *Bombay Quarterly Review*,† would inundate Bombay but for the longing which they feel individually or in numbers of visiting their homes. Generally

the gains of a season are sufficient to take them to their native village, and maintain them there for some time amongst their relations. Yet for all this, Bombay has a pauper population which contributes largely to swell the number of beggars in her streets. The peculiar views and feelings which the mass of the native community entertain in reference to the virtue or goodness of alms-giving (*dharma*), leads them to the exercise of indiscriminate liberality; the prejudice in favour of such charity being so deep that it can scarcely be eradicated, and hence the attraction of many persons to Bombay from neighbouring and even remote districts. Were it not for the warmth of the climate, the simplicity and cheapness of their diet, this multitude of beggars would often feel such a want of proper clothing and food that they would soon be reduced to conditions of disease often terminating in death. The sum required to support life is so very small that it can usually be obtained with facility by even the aged and infirm. At the Musalman eating-house a wheaten cake weighing more than half a pound may be purchased for half an anna. This cake with a little meat-curry twice a day forms the diet of many a labouring man here,—his two meals thus costing him one anna and a half. The ordinary meal of a poor Hindu is about a *sir* and a half of flour, or half a *sir* of rice with a little curry, and two such meals a day cost about one anna and a quarter per day. All who seek alms generally obtain as much as this; and so long as a really destitute person can go or crawl from door to door, and make himself heard, he is sure to obtain relief.

BRĀHMAN BEGGARS.

The Brāhmins, giving up their former thirst for knowledge, lead a life of indolence, inducing as their plea that as their ancestors once begged, and thereby maintained themselves, they now make begging as a profession their birth-right. Hindus, whose great weakness is an inordinate love of praise, are easily induced by Brāhman mendicants, who are apt flatterers, to give as much as they are able; their house and almost everything they have they will give to a Brāhman, however wicked or wealthy he may be, as they think no *dān* has any other signification than

* Vol. IV, p. 207.

† Vol. IV, p. 254.

bestowing gifts on Brāhmanas, who as a class are designated charity-receiving people,—authorized to receive alms of every one willing to bestow it. Compared with the vast sums showered upon these beggars, the *śrāma* a Hindu makes to others is almost nothing. Brāhman mendicants do not, like the other Hindu beggars, go to the houses of others than Hindus for alms, for they are never patronized by them.

ŚĀSTRĪHĀVĀ.

Śāstrīhāvā—or the expounder of the Śāstras—always a Brāhman by caste, and a well-to-do person, dresses in white clothes, with a shawl over his left hand and another wrapt round his shoulders, and accompanied by one or more followers. One of his followers goes inside a Hindu house, and tells the inmates that the Śāstrīhāvā awaits and asks for a seat for him. He then says that the great man is on his way to the holy Banāras on pilgrimage, and requests to be paid to visit Kīśkīnśvar, or the lord of Banāras, and return. This gentleman assumes a grave demeanour, and seeing his pomp he is generally paid in silver.

TALANGANA.

Talangana Brāhmanas go about begging, and also offer for sale the sacred thread of the Hindus. They always roll round their waist a woollen cloth (*dādhā*), which they make use of to take dinner with, if they happen to see a dinner party at which Brāhmanas are invited to dine. They go in uninvited, and if they are not allowed to join they will depart, but not before invoking bitter curses on the heads of those who refuse them a share in the feast.

Then there are again others from Talangana, whose dress consists of a waist cloth, and pieces of coloured cloth tied to their arms with the ends hanging loose. They carry a square flat

wooden box in which is kept the image of a Hindu god, covered over with a cloth which is removed only when the bearer is to be paid, or the inmates of a house wish him to show it to them. He pretends to foretell future events. He is a very quiet beggar, and asks for alms in a low tone and humble way. He goes away quietly if nothing is given him. He generally gives persons a pinch of turmeric to be rubbed on their brows, or touches their foreheads with it himself.

A third kind of beggars from Talangana are called Kāvadyās. They carry over their shoulders a Kāvad, or a bamboo stick with slings at each end; in these slings are hung bamboo baskets covered over with ochre coloured cloth. They say that on that stick they once conveyed their aged parents to the holy city of Banāras, and as a sign of their having visited Banāras they show a small glass bottle containing water which they say they brought from the sacred Ganga. Or they say that they are going to Banāras to bury the bones of their aged parents who died only a short time ago. People believe them, and give them money to defray their expenses on the way thither.

HARIDĀSAS.

These are Hindus, mostly Brāhmanas, who deliver sermons (*kirtans*), especially during the Gaṇapati and Rāmanvami festivals. Some of these men are very eloquent preachers, and their manner of delivery is most pleasing. A *haridās* is always accompanied by a drummer, *sap-dangḍā*, a fiddler, and two or more players on metal cups. Some of these musicians are little boys, and as their voices are sweet and musical, their singing is harmonious and very enjoyable.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

6. LIGHT AND DARK PORTION.—Mr. R. A. Proctor, writing on "the Origin of the Week" in the *Contemporary Review* for June 1879, (p. 410), says with reference to the Hindu month; "Flammation. . . says, 'the clear half from new to full, and the obscure half from full to new;' but this is manifestly incorrect, the half of the month from new to full having neither

more nor less light by night than the half from full to new." Nevertheless, though Mr. Proctor is right as to the physical fact, Flammation is right as to the practice. Will more competent persons explain why this is, how the conventional *bright* and *dark* halves of the month do not correspond with the bright and dark halves of the moonlight? Or are bright and dark halves, though very commonly used both in the vernaculars and English,

as equivalents for *Sadh* and *Vadya*, only conventional mistranslations after all?

C. E. G. C.

The first half of the lunar month is called the *Sukla-paksha*—the light, bright, or white fortnight, and *Sudi* is used for 'in the clear fortnight,' while the other half is the *Kṛishna-paksha*, or 'dark fortnight,' also called *Vadya-paksha*. The first seems to be naturally enough called the bright fortnight, for the simple reason that in the moonlight evenings, especially in tropical climates, people enjoy the moonlight, sitting out of doors chatting, &c. When the evenings are dark, the moon of midnight and early morning is not so enjoyed, and the fortnight is regarded as relatively dark.

J. B.

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

THE EIGHTY-SEVENTH *Annual Report* of the Royal Asiatic Society (1880), has been prepared and published by the energetic Secretary, and is replete with information, chronicling as it does the contents of every publication and paper connected with every branch of Oriental Research that has appeared since last *Report*. We extract portions from it:—

During a tour "in the Northern districts of the Madras Presidency, His Grace the Duke of Buckingham paid a flying visit on the 20th Jan. last, to the *Toppe* at Amarāvati. Having sent a working party beforehand, they uncovered, during the Duke's stay there, what appeared to be the foundations of the southern gateway, and a considerable portion of the procession path, that surrounded the monument. During these operations they found also a considerable number of sculptured slabs." Owing to the want of all experience on the part of the excavators it is feared, however, that this rough and ready excavation may have obliterated many traces that would have been of great importance in the eyes of a skilled archaeologist:—if so, it must be deplored that the *Toppe* was meddled with under such circumstances. "Meanwhile it is to be hoped, that efficient means will be taken for the protection of the sculptures thus uncovered, as all those that have been hitherto exposed have been removed by the natives for building purposes or burnt into lime." Mr. Sewall has prepared a report 'On the Amarāvati *Toppe*,' and on his excavations there in 1877. The famous Amarāvati sculptures recovered by Capt. Colin Mackenzie and Sir Walter Elliot, and long in the India Office, have been removed to the British Museum, and are being attached to the walls of the chief staircase.

"In the *République Française* (June 29, 1879), M. Regnaud has printed 'L'Avenir des études Sanskrites';—and in the *Revue Philosophique*, 'Études de Philosophie Indienne, l'école Vādānta.' In the *Academy* of July 5, 1880, is a long and able review by Prof. F. Max Müller, of Kielhorn's '*Pytharasa Mahābhāṣya*.' In the *Berliner Monatshefte* (June, 1879) Prof. Weber has two articles, 'Ueber die Magavyakti des Kṛishṇadāsa Miśra'—important essays on Mithraic worship, with reference, too, to the Indo-Skythian coins; and in the same, Dr. Bühler has printed 'Eine Notiz über einige Sanskrit MS. aus Kadmīr in der Hof. Bibliothek zu Wien.' In *Mém. de la Soc. de Linguistique*, A. Barth has 'Purmes irrégulières dans le Bhāgavata Purāṇa.' In the *Quartier de l'Inde*, Mr. A. E. Gough has continued his study of the 'Philosophy of the Upanishads.'"

"P. Bollenhaus has brought out at Leipzig a scholarly edition of the drama *Malavikā and Agnimitra*:—Dr. Bühlingk has added to the valuable labours he carried out with Dr. Roth, some years since in what is known as the great *Si. Petersburgh Sanskrit Dictionary*,—the true *Thesaurus* of Sanskrit—a new and condensed dictionary; which is indeed, not only more than a mere abridgement, but a most important supplement to the former, in that all the addenda and corrigenda of the former are now incorporated into the new Dictionary. It is to be hoped that an English translation of this most useful work, now in contemplation, may be soon accomplished. Mr. Anandaram Battach has issued a second volume of his *Practical English and Sanskrit Dictionary*, but this does not, as was anticipated, complete the work, as it only carries it as far as the word 'oyster.' The author has added to this second volume of his Dictionary a supplementary chapter on what he calls 'Higher Sanskrit Grammar,' or gender and syntax—of nearly 300 pages. The collection of rules and illustrations he has given will be highly appreciated by those who have to teach Sanskrit; but it is to be regretted that he has not thought it necessary to give more complete authorities for his various statements. To say that a word has this or that meaning in Mānu or Pāṇini or Śaṅkara is scarcely enough, without the chapter and verse where it occurs. Professor Weber has completed the third volume of his *Indische Studien*, being reviews of current Sanskrit, Pāli and Prakrit literature, with an index of forty-six closely-printed three-column pages for reference to the three volumes and a classified bibliographical table of contents. The number of authors mentioned or criticized in this third volume is about 330." "Professor Adolf has also published the second part of his *Rigveda*, die

älteste literatur der Indier, ein Wissenschaftliche beilage zum Programm der kanton-school."

Prof. A. Weber has issued an earnest appeal for the constitution of a 'Sanskrit Text Fund' to take the place of the now moribund if not dead 'Sanskrit Text Society.' "It is to be hoped that his proposal may be successfully carried out, as no country has so large an interest as England in everything connected with Indian literature."

"Prof. R. Pischel has completed his edition of Henschandra's Pāli Grammar." He has also "edited and translated the *Asaṅgajana Sūtra*, the 53rd sūtra in the 2nd portion of the *Majjhima Nīkaya*. It describes how the Brahmins, irritated by the promulgation of Gautama's doctrine of the equality of castes, persuaded Asaṅgajana, a young and distinguished scholar, to undertake to overthrow Buddha's arguments—the result being that he was defeated and became a convert to Buddha's views. Reference is made to the state of things existing among the Yonas and Kambojas,"—and, "if, as seems probable, the Yonas of this passage are the Bactrian Greeks, the date when the *sūtra* assumed its present form cannot be earlier than the 3rd century A.D." "Dr. Oldenberg has published the *Dipavamsi*, an ancient Buddhist historical record." "Also the second volume of the *Jātaka* and its Commentary, edited by Prof. Fausbøll, has been published."

German Oriental Society.—The Society has published vol. xxxii, pts. 3 and 4, and vol. xxxiv, part I. Among the papers they contain is one by M. Vambrey, 'On the speech of the Turkomans, and on Maschdumkull's Diwan.' Professor Spiegel has a short paper on 'Adur Gushasp.' J. H. Mordtmann has one entitled 'Die Himjarischen Inschriften in Tschibit Kinackh.' Dr. A. D. Mordtmann one 'Zur Pehlvi Münzkunde. Die ältesten Muhammedanischen Münzen,' and another (vol. xxxiv)—his fourth contribution on the same subject, a very long and important paper on—'Die Münzen der Sassaniden,' which has been printed since the author's death. M. Adolf Holtzmann writes on 'Die Apsara nach dem Mahābhārata,' and Prof. Aufrecht gives a short paper on 'Eine seltene Verbalform.' J. Klatt has one on 'Dharmapala Rishabha panchaśika,' of interest as referring to Jaina worship; and Count Victor von Strauss and Torney, one on the 'Bezeichnung der Farben blau und grün in Chinesischen Alterthum.' Prof. Ethé has one on Nāgār Chueran's Rāsanāsana oder buch der Erlauchung; MM. Stœckel und Tiesenhansen write on 'Die Weltbezeichnungen auf Muhammedanische Münzen;' Dr. G. Saleman

'Ueber eine Pehlvisch-Arabishe Münze;' and Dr. Fleischer gives a notice of a find of Sassanian coins at Oberlausitz, and suggests that they may have found their way thither by trade from Trebizond.

Asiatic Society of Bengal.—No. 1 of the *Journal* for 1880 contains, first, a "Description of the Great Siva Temple of Gangai-Kondapuram and of some other places in the Trichinopoly District" by Lieut. Col. B. R. Brundell,—a paper which in another form has already appeared in this *Journal* (see pp. 117 ff.); second, an "Rule Megalithic Monuments in North Arcot" by the same, which is also, in a more extended form, already in type for the *Ind. Antiquary*. The third paper is on the coins of the Mahārājas of Kāngra, by C. J. Rodgers. Kāngra is an a tributary of the Bāla, and the ancient chiefs were called the Rājas of Trigarta—the country of the three rivers, the Bāla, Rāvi and Satlej. These Rājas claimed descent from Sūsarma Chandra, governor of Multān at the time of the Mahābhārata. Mr. Rodgers in his remarks follows closely the information collected by Gen. Cunningham (*Archæol. Rep.* vol. V, pp. 152 ff.). The coins seem to be found in great numbers in the Panjāb, and range from the middle of the 14th to the middle of the 17th century A.D. Mr. Rodgers gives a plate of twenty-four specimens.

Major H. S. Jarrett has a "Note on an inscription found upon a stone lying near the ruins of a Masjid on Lanka island, Wular Lake, Kashmir." The inscription is in Persian, and reads,—

May this edifice be as firm as the foundations of the heavens,

May it be the most renowned ornament of the universe,

As long as the monarch Zayn 'Uddīn holds festival therein,

May it be like the date of his own reign,—“happy.”

The date in the chronogram خرم is 847 A. H., equivalent to A.D. 1443–4 during the reign of Zayn-ul 'Aabidin or Zayn 'Uddīn. This inscription is mentioned in the Persian history of Kashmir by Muhammad A'zam, and thus affords Major Jarrett an opportunity to draw from that work an outline of the history of the country from A.D. 1305 to 1443.

The subject of the fifth paper is a more important one,—“Coins of the Sunga or Miera Dynasty, found near Rāmanagar in Rohilkhand”—the property of H. Rivett-Carnac, Esq. Described by A. C. Carileyle. Rāmanagar has been identified by General Cunningham with Abichhatra

¹ For references to Abichhatra, see *Jour. A. S. Ben.* vol. XXX, pp. 197, 198, *J. A. S.* vol. IV, p. 36; and

Vol. V, p. 235; Wilson's *Pūṇḍra Pur.* (4th ed.) p. 187n, and *Meybadīn* (Roos's ed.), p. 245.

the ancient capital of North Panchāla; and whatever may be the value of this identification, many coins have been found on the old site, and also at Bhūils, the supposed site of Kapilāvastu, in the Bhoj district. Mr. Carileyle assumes that "from the numerical proportion in which the coins of various kings are found in a hoard, we can generally make a pretty good guess as to who were the earliest, and who the latest of the series. Thus the king of whom the greatest number of coins are found in a hoard, may be accepted as either the latest, or the contemporary king of the dynasty at the time when the hoard was buried or lost; while the king of whom the fewest and most worn coins are found may be accepted as the earliest, in point of time of the series." This rough rule may be of some help in arranging a hoard buried all at once; but is utterly valueless for indications of coins buried at various times accidentally and otherwise, in which numerical superiority could only indicate the largeness of the mintage of any particular king, and hence, probably, of his greater length of reign. All these coins bear over the legend three symbols, which Mr. Carileyle describes as the Bodhi tree on the left, two snakes interwined to the right, and in the middle a punch-marked depression containing a symbol, which in one case he calls 'a Linga,' and in others, 'a linga guarded by two Nāgas which rise on each side of it.' Might not these be the symbols of the Buddhist creed—of Buddha, Dharmā, and Saṅgha? The symbols on the obverses are generally but poorly preserved in the examples represented, but we can hardly forget them as "Buddha standing, with right hand raised and pointing from his head," and "on a Buddhist railing between two trees."

The series of names represented by these coins are arranged by Mr. Carileyle as follows:—

Kings.	No. of coins found at Bānāsgar.
1. Bhadrabhadra	5
2. Sōryamitra	7
3. Anantamitra	1
4. Bhānumitra	10
5. Agnimitra	11
6. Phāgunamitra	28
7. Bhāmimitra	34
8. Indramitra	1 + 1?
9. Vijayamitra	
10. Satyamitra	
11. Sayamitra	
12. Ayanamitra	

Gen. Cunningham has also a coin of Dharmamitra, which belongs to the same dynasty. Of the later kings in this list, Ayanamitra's name is found on a single coin of Mr. Rivett-Carnac's, and "this king must have been one of the latest of the dynasty, as the letters of the legend belong to the later Gupta period." The coins of Vijayamitra, Satyamitra, and Sayamitra are from other localities and "are of quite a different type." The author places *Paśyāmītra* at the head of his list, though no coins have been found of his, nor do any of the names derived from his coins, except that of Agnimitra, coincide with those of the Purāṇik lists of the Śaṅga dynasty founded by *Paśyāmītra*.

The last paper is by C. R. Stulpnagel on coins of Ghāṣa-ud-dīn and Muḥa-ud-dīn bin Sām, describing eight dirhams of the two brothers whose names are joined on them, and dated in 596, 597, and 598 A. H. The paper is illustrated by a plate of three specimens.

The Society has also published as an extra part to vol. XLVII, "A Sketch of the Turki Language as spoken in Eastern Turkistan," by R. B. Shaw, a vocabulary of 220 pages.

BOOK NOTICES.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, Vol. IX. Report of a Tour in the Central Provinces in 1873-74 and 1874-75. By Alexander Cunningham, C.S.I., C.I.E., &c. Calcutta: 1875.

In this ninth volume of his *Reports*, General Cunningham takes occasion to discuss the starting point of the Gupta era. For fixing the epoch of this era he adduces the following data:—(1) the "date of Budha Gupta's pillar inscription at Erui in the year 165, Thursday 12th Ashāḍha audī"; (2) the "date of Dharmabhadra in Samvat 147, he being presumably the king of that name who was reigning at the time of Hwen Thsang's visit in A.D. 640;" (3) the "date of the Merv copperplate in the year 535

of the Gupta era, on the 5th Phālgun audī, at the time of a solar eclipse," and (4) "the name of the 12-year cycle of Jupiter in five different inscriptions added to the date of the Gupta era." These five are—Mahā-Vaiśākha in Hastin's inscription of 156; Mahā-Aśvayuja in another of 173, and Mahā-Chaitra in a third of the same king dated 191; the fourth Mahā-Māgha is on an inscription of Hastin and Saranāthra, and the fifth is Mahā-Aśvayuja on one of king Sankshobha dated in the year 229.

General Cunningham points out, as had been done before him by Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 50), that if the sixth Śuklāyā of Valabhi, who

bears also the name of D h r u v a b h i s t a n, be the king of the same name visited by Hwen Thsang, then the date on his copperplate of Saka 447 must relate to some era commencing about 100 to 200 A.D. He says—"Of course, Dharmabhadra's inscription may be some 25 or 30 years either earlier or later than the pilgrim's visit." This we cannot quite agree to, as we have a published inscription of Śīlāditya V., the father of the king in question, dated in Saka 411,—so that 6 years is the utmost limit on one side, and thus the epoch cannot be placed much lower than A.D. 200.* He then computes that 12th Ashādha sudi fell on a Thursday, on 24th June (O. S.) 359 A.D., and if this correspond with Buddha-Gupta's date is 165, the initial point of the epoch must be in 194 A. D., he also finds that there was a solar eclipse on 14th Magh vadi or 10th February 780 A. D., and considering this as the eclipse mentioned in the Morris plate (*Jed. As. Soc. vol. II, p. 258*), he arrives at A. D. 195 as the 1st year of the Gupta-kāl. We have had these computations performed, and find that in B. long. 71° and lat. 23° N.² (near the position of Meerut), there was a solar eclipse on 10th Feb. 780 A. D. (15 Magh vadi), which lasted about 2 hours 50 minutes, the greatest obscuration being at 2h. 21m. P.M. and extending to fully half the sun's diameter at the assumed locality. For the other date, we find the 15th tithi of Ashādha sudi began 50 a. m. 20 a. 35 p. after sunrise on 23rd June 359 A.D., but if we follow the rule that when a tithi begins after sunrise it is held to coincide with the following day, we find the date to be Thursday, 24th June, as the General states. Too much weight, however, should not be ascribed to this latter coincidence.

The names of the years in the Jyotish 12-year cycle do not strengthen the argument; for, if we assume any one of them to be correct, the others must fall into their places. What is wanted to render them of any value for this purpose is distinct and authoritative information as to the use of this cycle and the date from which it starts.

As to the initial date, however, an additional argument might be added. The suggestion we believe is due to Dr. Bühler that the forged grant of Dharmasena II. dated Saka 400³ is approximately correct in its date. Now Dharmasena must have died between 272 and 299 of the Valabhi era, and if we assume 284 as the date, and as coinciding with the year in which the plates are dated,

or A.D. 478-9, we obtain A.D. 104-5 as the epoch. The forgery was fabricated of course later than Saka 400, but not so late as that the date or Dharmasena was not known at least within a few years. The assumption of the round number 400 as the numeral, may itself be due to some slight uncertainty as to the exact date to be fixed upon; but otherwise, if we allow that the forgery was made within a century or so of the date it presents, this plate is corroborative of the theory as to the initial date of the Gupta era which Dr. Bühler first suggested.

General Cunningham then attempts to show that D r o n a s i t h a may have begun his reign as early, according to this reckoning, as A.D. 365 or 370 (that is 171 or 176 of the Gupta era), and so have been contemporary with B u d d h a G u p t a. Now as his elder brother reigned before Dronasitha, his father B h a t ā r k a can hardly, on this supposition, have died before 100, and D h a r a p a t i a, the fourth son of the latter, reigned for some time between 210 and 250. This makes the son survive his father by about 65 years,—which is somewhat unusual. This difficulty is in no way, however, connected with the initial epoch of the Gupta era, for the same thing must occur wherever we fix that epoch. But if we assume, as we may do without any forcing of the ages, that Bhatarika lived till 170 or 180, that Dharmasena was Śaṅkapaṭi till about 190, and that Dronasitha then acquired power, he might still be contemporary with B u d d h a G u p t a, during the last year of that king's reign (if he lived to 190⁴), and have been crowned by him. But it is more natural to suppose that he was crowned by Śā n u g a p t a,⁵ in whose reign we have the date 191 on an inscription at Kuru. This clears away the objection which arises from assuming that D r o n a s i t h a had a very long reign.

General Cunningham next assumes that the Gupta-kāl dates from the commencement of Chandragupta's reign; but as we have Chandra-gupta II. dating in 82 and 93, and his son Kumāragupta from 98 to 129, there seems no necessity for extending the four reigns over 130 years. With an average of nearly 32 years to each king, this period would include the six kings of the dynasty from its rise under Ś r i G u p t a, who would thus be placed 60 years later than General Cunningham assumes.

¹ In 1878 I was led on the same grounds "to place the initial date of the Valabhi era about A. D. 190," but not regarding the point as sufficiently proved no further use was made of it (*Descrip. Account of the Rock-Temples of W. India*, p. 11); also *Cave Temples of India*, p. 101.—J. B.

² This eclipse would be central at noon in about lat. 18° 28' N. long. 57° 26' E.

³ *Jed. As. Soc. vol. V, p. 139*; vol. VII, p. 63; vol. VIII, p. 301; and *Jour. As. Soc. vol. VIII, p. 244*.

⁴ The latest date we have connected with Śaṅkapaṭi is 182.

⁵ Mr. Newton (*Jour. R. S. As. Soc. vol. VII, p. 11*) has read the name Śaṅkapaṭi; from another very clear example, however, it appears to be plainly Śānugupta. General Cunningham regards Mr. Newton's and Sir R. C. Bayley's readings as imperfect renderings of Chandra-gupta (p. 23); the occurrence of the name Śānugupta, with the date 191, however, places this matter beyond dispute.

these have been discussed by several authors,⁴ and A. von Sallet has done a service to science by the preparation of this modest little work of 232 pages and 7 plates, on the coins known up to the present.

The historical résumé, with which the book opens, occupies about a third of the whole. Plato, who reigned towards the end of the lifetime of Eukratides (c. 165 B. C.), and of whom there is a unique inscription of the Attic character, had not begun to use Aryan inscriptions on his silver coins; whence the author assumes that the reduction of the monetary standard and the use of the Aryan alphabet in the Baktria-Indian kingdoms (of Eukratides, Helioekles, and Antialkides) must have been introduced after 165 B. C. in the last years of Eukratides, and that his reign must have terminated at latest about 150 B. C. After Helioekles, Plato and Antialkides all certain indications of dates fail us and the author at this point sums up in tabular form the numismatic results obtained thus (p. 20):—

The earliest dates of Greek rule in Baktria and India.

Alexander the Great coins square copper money in India or Baktria?

Sophytas, an Indian prince and vassal of Alexander the Great, in the neighbourhood of the modern Lahore coins Greek money about the year 335 B. C., imitating the head of Solonides I. of Syria.

Antiochos II. of Syria issues (about 250 or 250) Baktrian coins with the name of Antiochos and national Baktrian type. Diodotos, called Soter by the later kings, about 250 or 250 becomes independent king of Baktria (revolted or was acknowledged by Antiochos). His son Diodotus II. mentioned by Justin is not proved by the coins and doubtful.

The following reigns stand side by side.

Demetrius	Eukratides	Agathokles	Antimakhos	Antialkides
Euthydomos II.	Helioekles	Pantaleon	Orós	(perhaps somewhat later)
	During the later (or in inverted nominal part of the reign of Eukratides,			
	Plato 165 B. C.			

Euthydomos from Magnesia follows him or his dynasty in Baktria—as appears from the coins, peacefully; but—according to Polybios—after setting aside the “grandchild of the rebel.” War with Antiochos III. of Syria. Treaty of peace. Antiochos promises (and afterwards gives?) his daughter (Laodike?) to Demetrius the son of Euthydomos. Euthydomos dies in old age.

Demetrius, son of Euthydomos, follows him, and extends his dominions as far as India. Bilingual coins appear. Demetrius makes war with—

Eukratides, king of Baktria, who reigns in the time of one of the earliest Arsakidan kings, therefore probably about 200 B. C. A treaty of peace (according to authors the overtures of Demetrius and occupation of India) with favourable conditions for the victorious Eukratides (?); Demetrius gives his daughter Laodike to the son of Eukratides, Helioekles (?). Coins of Eukratides struck at the wedding of his son Helioekles and Laodike.

Helioekles coins as co-regent (socius regni), according to Justin) with his father.

Euthydomos II., son of Demetrius, a boy, coins (as co-regent with his father ?)

These coins of Euthydomos II. are of the same date as those of—

Pantaleon Antimakhos (*Orós*),
Agathokles.

Pantaleon and Agathokles belong to the same kingdom, possibly Pantaleon's is a short reign immediately preceding that of Agathokles. Agathokles and Antimakhos strike the coins of their predecessors; among these, as predecessors on the Baktrian throne are thus numbered:

Antiochos Nikator (II.),
Diodotus Soter,
Euthydomos Theos.

⁴ Bage, *Historia regni Bactrianæ* (Hitzig, 1798); Meunier, *Supplément*, vol. VIII. (1837); Lassen, *Der Geschichte der Griechischen und Indischen Götter Künste* (Hann., 1858); the same translated by Dr. Ross and H. Torrens in *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. IX, pp. 531, 539, 449, 627, and 738 ff.; Grotefend, *Coins of Greek, Parthian, and Indo-Scythian King of Bactria and the countries on the Indus* (Hannover, 1859); H. B. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua* (Lond., 1841), and papers in *Asiat. Res.*, vol. XVII, pp. 159 ff.; *Jour. M. As. Soc.*, vol. III, p. 381; *Numismatic Journal*, vol. I, p. 134, 224; H. Torrens in *Jour. A. S. Beng.*, vol. IX, p. 79; vol. XI, p. 127; vol. XX, p. 187; Cunningham, *J. A. S. Soc.*, vol. IX, pp. 303, 551, 847, 1005, 1217; vol. X, p. 559; vol. XI, p. 130; vol. XXIII, p. 379; *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. VIII, p. 175, also in vol. IX, X, XII, XIII;

Tod in *Trans. R. As. Soc.*, vol. I, p. 313; J. Bird, in *J. Asiat. Soc. B. As. Soc.*, vol. I, p. 236, and *Hibet, Numismat.*; M. E. Jacquet in *Jour. Asiatique*, *Séan. Soc.*, t. 3, (1850), p. 122; t. II, p. 254; t. IV, (1857), p. 401; t. V, (1859), p. 163; t. VI (1867), p. 385; Longueur, *Rev. Num.*, *Biblioth.* (1839), p. 81; M. Baud. Rochette *Jour. des Savants*, 1851, pp. 328, 329; *Supplément*, 1855, pp. 514, 577, 640, 767; *Ann. Suppl.*, 1838, pp. 329, 330; *Séan. Suppl.*, 1838, p. 730; 1839, p. 89, and 1844, p. 109; Lassen, *Asiat. Res.*, t. II, p. 38, 39 ff.; Præp. *Antiquities* (ed. Thomas), vol. II, p. 125 ff.; Thomas, in *Jour. R. A. Soc.*, vol. XX, p. 20, in *J. A. S. Soc.*, vol. XXVII, p. 251, *Nouv. Chron.*, vol. XIX, p. 18, and *N. S.*, vol. IV, p. 103; W. S. W. Vans, in *id.*, vol. XVI, p. 168, and *N. S.*, vol. XV, p. i. ff.

The reduction of the coin took place in the later years of Eukratides; the change being from the Attic standard hitherto in use.

Eukratides Antialkides
Helioekles

From this period all the princes coin according to the reduced standard.

In the later days of Eukratides: Antialkides's successor, perhaps not contemporary;

Apollodotus.

Helioekles Lysias

follows Eukratides.

Strato contemporary of

the latter part of the reign of Helioekles.

Agathokleia

Strato's wife.

Strato II., "the beloved of his father," Strato's Son.

So far all is certain, or, according to the coins, in the highest degree probable. With the death of Helioekles, or more correctly with the reduction of the coin in the later years of Eukratides, there begins suddenly large series of other Greek coins of the Indo-Baktrian kings so very like our number in style that it is quite impossible, as before, where writers still help us a little, to arrange them chronologically. Antialkides, Lysias, Apollodotus, Strato, have already been spoken of as far as they reach into earlier times, but from the pale character of their coins the greater part of their reigns, also stretch into the time of these later Greek Indo-Baktrian kings, whose names the author arranges here in alphabetical order before giving them chronologically.

Names.	Surnames.
Agathokleia (Strato I.'s wife).	Theotropos
Amyntas	Nikator
Antialkides	Nikephoros
Antimachos (II.)	Nikephoros
Apollodotus	Soter, Megas, Philopator
Apollonides	Soter
Archebius	Dikaioz, Nikephoros
Antimachos	Aniketos
Diomedes	Soter
Dionysius	Soter
Epander	Nikephoros
Hermaios	Soter
" and Kalliope	
[Sy-Hormaios	Soter]
Hippostratos	Soter, Megas
Lysias	Aniketos
Menander	Soter, Dikaioz

* Prepared by Mr. E. Behnsok.

* For this purpose I chiefly use the list of Vaux and the

Names.	Surnames.
Nikias	Soter
Philoxenos	Aniketos
Strato I.	Soter, Epiphanez, Dikaioz
Strato II., Strato's Son	Soter, in the Aryan transcript still "loving his father"
Telephus	Euergetes
Theophilos	Dikaioz
Zillos	Soter, Dikaioz

We now pass on to give a translation* of a later paragraph (p. 42) of this resumé:—

"On the occasion of the publication of the tetrachemion of Flauto, Vaux made the striking remark, that a comparatively large number of the names of the Baktrian kings occur again in the army or companions of Alexander the Great, and that we may therefore appropriately recognize in the Baktrian kings, the descendants of those companions of Alexander, who remained behind in Baktria or India as a kind of Emeriti. Although, considering our fragmentary knowledge of the statistics of ancient names, we can here prove but little, it cannot be denied that an examination of the Baktrian royal names in the sense indicated by Vaux, leads to surprising results. Following Vaux, I give the list of all the Baktrian kings, with remarks on the names which appeared in Macedonia, especially in the surroundings of Alexander and of the Diadochoi."

Diodotos is the name of the Syrian usurper, later called Tryphon after Antiochos VI. (Diodor).

Euthydemos from Magnesia.

Domeitrios, a frequent name, especially in Macedonia. One of them belonged to the Hetairoi (the mounted body-guards of the Macedonian kings were thus called) of Alexander the Great: commander of Cavalry under Alexander.

Eukratides.

Helioekles.

Laodike.—A frequent name of Syrian princesses.

Agathokles—a Thessalian flatterer of Philip; Eparch of Persia under Antiochos II. (but this is dubious. See Droysen's *Epigonen*. 361, 367).

Pantaleon—a Makedonian from Pylus (Arrian).

Antimachos—a Makedonian. (Polyb. 29. 1, c) in the time of king Perseus (Didot's edition the Index of the Latin translation has erroneously "Antimarchus").

Flauto—an Athenian, cavalry officer of Alexander (Curtius).

Agathokleia.

Notes by Pape-Benseler. I make some slight additions.—Author's note.

Amyntas—a frequent Makedonian name, also of several companions of Alexander, one of whom was Satrap of Baktria (Arrian, Justin).

Antialkides.

Antimakhos (II).

Apollodotos or perhaps **Apollodoros**, a Satrap of Babylonia, strategos of Susiana.

Apollophanes—Satrap of the Orontes or Gedrosians (Arrian).—A Pythian.

Arkhebios.

Arimidoros.

Diomedes.

Dionysios—a frequent name also in Makedonia. A friend of Ptolemaios Soter.—A Dionysios is sent to India during the reign of Ptolemaios II. Philadelphos.

Epauder.

Hermaios.

Kalliope—town in Parthia.

Hippostratos—a Makedonian (Arrian); a remainder of Antigonos in Media (Diod. and others); Governor for **Lysimakhos** in the Ionian towns. (Recently found inscription.)

Lysias—officer in Syria; officer of Seleukos (Polyan.) Guardian of Antiochos Eupator, and others.

Menander—a Menander of Magnesia (hence like Euthydemes) one of the Hetairoi and officer of Alexander and after his death in Lydia (Arrian, Justin); another companion of Alexander (Plutarch).

Nikias—one of the officials of Alexander (Arrian). A relative of king Ptolemaios, and of others; a Makedonian.

Philoxenos*—Alexander's Governor in Ionia and Susiana &c. (Arrian and others); Alexander writes to a Philoxenos (Arrian); son of Ptolemaios Alorites (Plut.).

Strato—son of the prince of Aradus; prince of Sidon; a historian who describes the war of Persens.

Telephos—a Makedonian, one of the Hetairoi of Alexander (Arrian).

Theophilos.

Zotilos—a rhetorician who lived at Amphipolis in Makedonia; a coin-engraver or official of king Persens; Zotilos from Beroia (in Makedonia?)—Arrian.

* We have 28 names in all (besides women); eleven of these are stated to have been names of companions of Alexander, natives of Makedonia and of other provinces; some to have been even satraps in Baktrian districts, whilst others occur among the Diadochoi and in Makedonia. As already observed, nothing can be proved, but nobody will

deny that an examination like the above is important, especially as rare names, such as **Telephos**, occur, which is a genuine Makedonian name, and **Herakles**, the Makedonian chief god, is the father of **Telephos**. Also the coin of **Zotilos** with Heracles' head, club and bow, resembling the copper-money of Alexander, may point to Makedonia, and perhaps even to Alexander."

Again (p. 51) he remarks:—"The close connection with the adjoining Parthian realm appears from the Parthian names of many sovereigns, such as **Vologases**, **Abdagases** (in Tacitus the name of a Parthian dynasty), **Pakoros** (*id.*), and lastly even an **Arsakes** who belonged according to the coinage also to the **Axes** kingdom. Different from this is the unique coin (a square copper coin) of the Berlin collection, with the Arsakidan typical horse, bow and quiver, used precisely in the same manner already by Maues, and which I ascribe with confidence to a Bactro-Indian **Arsakes** *éssé* who uses only Greek, not Aryan, and may in spite of the α , ϵ and ι belong to a tolerably good age.—The king **Yndophores**, also **Gandophares**, &c. is the only one of these Partho-Baktrian rulers known to us with certainty from an Aryan inscription, which is to be examined more particularly.

"This inscription is from **Takht-i-Bahinor** (a little N. E. from) Peshawar on the Indus, and begins with the words, *Mahadedjass' G... pharass*, and means—"In the 26th year of the great king *G... phars*, in the Samvat year 100." If, as is most probable, this somewhat longer royal name is identical with that on the coins, we obtain, besides the information that this king reigned at least 26 years, also the date of a year. *Samvat* means only "era," and would therefore demonstrate nothing, if the *Turushkas* had not used this identical Samvat-*era* in their inscriptions in various regions, as well as in the vicinity of the spot where the *Gandophares* inscription was found. Accordingly *Gandophares* would fall into the time of, or perhaps even after, the last *Turushka* prince **Baxodén** whose Samvat years reach as far as 98. In my opinion this is numerically scarcely possible, because **Baxodén** cannot be very far from the time of the Sasanians while *Yndophores* or *Gandophares* seems to be earlier. If therefore different *eras* were not used by *Gandophares* on the one part and the *Turushkas* on the other, and if the inscription really contains the name of the *Gandophares* of the coins, where it has 3 letters more, a difficulty presents itself here, the solution of which is referred to Indo-

instead of *es*.

* This king is thus properly called: **Philoxenos**, as the word is almost everywhere spelt, is nothing. We find in books even *Lysios* instead of *Lysios*, also transcripts such as *Menandrus*, *Alexandrus*, *Antialkidas*, *Axes* &c.

* See the inscription published by Dowson in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. vol. VII, p. 370. A photograph is in the Jager collection of the Berlin Museum.

logues. I would, however, perhaps place Gondophares after Chr. but before the Turnshikas. That this Yndophares (Gondophares &c.), the uncle of Abdagases, coined also pure Greek silver-drachms with βασιλεύς βασιλέως υγις (sic) Yndopharē aērowpēos, like those of Sanabarus, and almost exactly resembling those of the Parthian supreme king, is one of the more important results of my researches.

"Might not Sanabarus perhaps be identical with the Indian king called in the *Periplus maris Erythraei*—Μάβαρος and 'Ασιόβαρος? The marks purporting to be Seleukid numbers on his drachms (*Nouv. Chr. N. S.* vol. XI. p. 217) are not at all years, as the Berlin specimens show. The pretended $\Gamma\Gamma$ is once quite plainly $\tau\tau$ and once the signs $\tau\tau\tau\tau$ go round the throne like ornaments. If the time of the composition of the *Periplus* and the identity of the name were quite certain, we should have obtained most important data, because Sanabarus and Yndophares are certainly almost contemporaries. Abdagases is the nephew of Yndophares, &c. But so long as all this is not perfectly certain, no further combinations can be attempted. A contemporary of Yndophares is also Orthaganes (?), who places in Aryan characters the name of this his contemporary upon the coins, as king, resembling Pakores, and dressed according to the Parthian fashion. Some ephemeral dynasts, — such as Zelonises, and two which cannot yet be named with certainty, among whom is also one whose Aryan superscription I read according to clear specimens as "mahādajana mahātasa kushanashkapala, . . ." and who yet belong to the Azei series—present but little historical information; nevertheless the Greek title 'satrap' which occurs, according to the readings of Prinsep, on the coins of Zelonises, is settled and important.

"A king resembling the Arsakides in his bust, and made known by Gardner from a unique coin in the British Museum, is certainly, according to the inscription, a king of the Saka-Skythians; because the curious inscription of this tetradrachm is in later characters— $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{\eta}\kappa\lambda\epsilon\varsigma$ 'Ευαγέρης βασιλεύς. How remarkable, that just in non-Hellenic and half-Greek regions Homeric reminiscences present themselves in the popular language! Thus, in the Cyprus dialect the Homeric $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\epsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ stands for brother, and in the distant Indo-Skythian east we find the ancient $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{\eta}\kappa\lambda\epsilon\varsigma$ for ruler! The forms of the participle $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{\eta}\kappa\lambda\epsilon\varsigma$, $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{\eta}\kappa\lambda\epsilon\varsigma$ are from the oldest times (Agathokles, Antimakhos) at home in those regions."

The author concludes this part of the book (p. 65) with the series of Bactro-Indian kings who used the Greek alphabet, but whose names were

not Greek, arranged according to the order developed by him, generally current, and but little differing from it except by a few additions of years which are determined conjecturally:

1. Rarijula (Greek ΡΑΤΥ or like it).

2. Maues. At least 100 B. C.

The Azei Series.

3. Azei, successor (and son?) of Maues.

4. Azei and his strategos Aspavarnas } identical.

5. Azei and Aspapatia, his strategos. } identical.

6. Azilasa, contemporary of Azei.

7. Vonones and Azei.

8. Vonones and Spalahara.

9. Vonones and Spalagadama, son of Spalahara. This is identical with Spalyria.

10. Spalirius (a) as king's brother, (b) as king.

11. Spalirius and Azei.

12. Spalyria (or Spalyria) king's brother. His Aryan name is Spalagadama, son of Spalahara.

13. Arsakes, *Measos* (*Nouv. Chron.* vol. XIX. p. 62).

14. Arsakes, *Measos*, unique coin in Berlin.

15. Yndophares, also Gondophares, and similar.

16. Sanabarus, contemporary (successor?) of Yndophares in the same region. Identical with Μάβαρος, 'Ασιόβαρος of the *Periplus maris Erythraei*. Late Arsakides.

17. Abdagases, brother's son of Gondophares.

18. Abdagases with differing inscription on the reverse (*Nouv. Chron.* vol. XIX. p. 62): "Sub-Abdagases Samin."

19. Zelonises.

20. Undetermined with the title, — *Mahādajana Mahātasa Kushanashkapala* (Berlin).

21. Pakores.

22. Orthaganes, with the name of Gondophares on the reverse. Aryan.

23. Hornos, king of the Sakas.

24. Rotar Magna.

25. Yekodes.

The Kadphises and the Turnshika Series.

26. Kadphises (I.) with Hermaios symbols.

27. Kadphises.

28. Kadphises (II.). Time of Augustus? or later?

29. Kanerka or Kanerki. First century A.D.?

30. Ouerki.


31. Ouer Kanorosa.

32. Razodēs.

33. Barbarized.

34. Barbarized under Sassanian influence. About the time of the Sassanian Sapor I. 238–269 A.D.

"Here I must, in conclusion," he adds (p. 67), although entirely in contradiction to the current views of Indologists, "reject one class of coins from the domain of Greco-Indian moneys. It is an extremely numerous series of Indian royal coins,

mostly of silver, executed in entirely national-Indian, inartistic, chiefly barbarian, workmanship with the following symbols:—a king's head (with monstachies). Reverse generally the symbol  with waves beneath it, giving 'in beautiful uniform Devanāgarī letters' (Lassen) the names and titles of a large series of kings of the Sub-dynasty of Śiṅha-kings; *five* in number according to Thomas (*J. R. A. S.* vol. XII., pp. 1-72) and according to Newton even *twelve* (ibid. 330).

1. Iśvara Datta.

2. Rudra Śaḥ I.

3. Aśv Datta.

4. Dama Śaḥ, &c.

the last is called Śaśmi Rudra Śaḥ IV. The titles of these kings in long inscriptions contain, among other matters, the astrup designation *Kāśāpānā*.

"The heads on these coins have Greek circumscriptions, and we shall at once discuss them; one of them had been considered as the name of the Baktrian king Dionysios. According to the inscription of Thomas these kings reigned from 157 a.c., but Lassen (II. 929) is inclined to place them even as early as under Euthydemus.

"This determination is however quite disallowed to a numismatist. The coins are so bad, scarce, and late in the form of the letters, and, even in the Indian ones, so totally different from all the antique characters, that the whole series is evidently a kind of continuation of the bad silver-drachms of YPKΩΔOY; my die-coins of the Gupta-kings closely and immediately following the Śiṅhas with symbols entirely resembling these appear to me even to imitate the first-strike of the Sasanians (see Thomas's plate, *h. c.*), so that I must at once, on purely numismatic grounds, consider the whole series as having been coined very late, and long after Christ."

"And now for the 'Greek' of the principal side! The second king Rudra Śaḥ is said to have put the name of his supreme king upon his coin! Thomas gives the inscription thus, AIOAYIHTA. When we examine many copies and originals of these coins, we soon become quite certain about the character of this sort of Greek inscriptions."

"And then as to the so-called 'Greek' legends on the principal side of these coins, after giving examples, the author very sensibly remarks that "whoever practically occupies himself with coins, at once perceives what we have here to deal with, namely, *vulgaris plagiā barbarorum* not understood, and nonsensical imitations of Greek letters without any sense or meaning, owing their existence perhaps to YPKΩΔOY. The value of such inscrip-

tions is nil, and to attempt from such barbarisms and ignorant strokes to make out reasonable Greek names, is as futile as the endeavour to read and to explain the random traits of our mediæval Wendenfennigs. However familiar numismatists may be with the extremely frequent appearance of corrupted, senseless and worthless legends, the mischief caused again and again by the attempts at this kind of decipherment is nevertheless just as great. Hence I cannot include within the compass of my researches the coins of the Śaḥ kings, which, I am convinced, are very late, have senseless inscriptions with strokes derived from Greek models, but perfectly *correct Indian* circumscriptions on the reverse."

In the body of the book (p. 127) he returns to Yndophores,—

"Yndophores is a rare example of the fact that from gradually augmenting, and apparently very minute examinations and discoveries of coins, inscriptions, and notices of authors, a history securely based on official documents is at last formed, which affords a distinct insight into an important epoch in the civilisation and history of a very remote country.

"At first nothing of this king existed, but a mass of coins which were, according to their style, referred to a tolerably late date, soon after the last Aśv-coins. Then the coins of 'Abdagases the brother's son of Yndophor(us)' were added. *Abdagases* according to Tacitus was a Parthian dynasty; therefore the Parthian descent of Yndophores became probable; which, as well as the immediate contact of his boundaries with those of the Arsakidan realm, is satisfactorily proved by the pure Greek drachm of the Berlin museum, coined exactly in the type and style of the Arsakides, as discovered by me. Of the duration of Yndophores' reign we are informed by the Aryan inscription of Takht-i-Būhi near Peshawar, dated the 25th year of this king's reign, which is at the same time a sign that his sway extended over the Indian countries. After the Arsakidan drachm of Yndophores follow similar coins of *Sanatarios*, and their coarse style implies probably their *later* production; the heads of these drachms of Sanatarios are very much like those of the Arsakidan Volagases I. with the tiara worn during the years 380 and 390 of the Seleukidan era, corresponding to the years 77 and 78 a. c.] Therefore Sanatarios must have produced his coins about 80 a. c. and Yndophores had died about 80 a. c.

"But the most interesting information about

* "Determined by me; it may also be easily determined by non-Indians from the excellent representations of these coins given by Thomas.—Rudra Śaḥ was determined

by the anti-councillor Perthes."—A. R. N.

† According to the determination of Prokesch.—Prokesch's *Arsakides Tafel*, V. 45, S. 61.

Yndophores, Gondaphares, &c. and historically quite coinciding with the above was discovered by English scholars in a source, the utilization of which for the study of ancient history had probably not been noticed before. It is astonishing that this most interesting discovery has apparently scarcely been noticed (Lassen for instance passes it over entirely).

"The collection of legends, the so-called *Legenda Aurea* or *Historia Lombardica*, arranged in the 13th century by the Genoese bishop Jacobus a Voragine, mentions the Indian Mission of the apostle Thomas as follows (cap. V. p. 33 ed. Graesse, 1816):—"Thomas apostolus cum esset apud Cæsarem apparuit ei Dominus dicens: *rex Indiae Gondoforus misit proposuitum Abbanem quærerem hominem architectura arte eruditum.*"—Thomas follows the call of the Lord, goes as architect to India, and builds a palace for the king. He is to be killed because he distributes the treasures of the king among the poor, but the king's heart is softened by his brother Gud who had been resuscitated from the dead, and he humbles himself before the apostle. The apostle preaches the gospel, and then betakes himself 'in superiorem Indiam.' The very presence of the apostle Thomas in India has been doubted, but such questions do not concern me; but this medieval collector of legends gives facts, credibly and faithfully culled by him from ancient sources in his possession, not on much events as the diplomatically correct mention of the name of the king, who, as the coins at any rate appear certainly to imply, reigned during the time of the apostles, consequently in the 1st century A.D. (Inscription of Tukht-Dahi) during many years, till the middle of the second half of it, demonstrating, or at least making very probable, a remarkable connection of this Indian king with the first propagators of Christianity. How else could the name of an Indian king, who was so remote and beyond the pale of all civilisation, have become so correctly known to the first legend writers?

"Further conclusions about those matters permeated by myths, or perhaps entirely mythical, are unreliable; but monuments however and legendary reports agree so perfectly in expressing the time and the name, is distinctly to be pointed out just by those who seek to investigate the history of those regions critically, and so purify it from useless conjectures evolved from nothing."

A few of the coins he gives are:—

"Æ. 4. Bearded bust with diadem in rich dress,

resembling the Arsakides,* BACIAEON BACIAEON MEFC (sic) YNΔOΦEPHCAYTOC PATO, sitting king, resembling the type of the Arsakides, but in the raised R. a kind of short scepter (elephant god?) behind him a wingless Nike, garlanding him.

"Drachm of tolerably good silver, of the weight of *Arsakiden drachm*. Unique of the Berlin museum, from the unascertained Gothic collection. The title *Arsakiden* is first borne by Tryphon of Syria, but then also by an Arsakiden on his drachmas, according to Priskosch the VIIIth Artaban II, according to Gardner the Xth Simotrikes.

"Æ. 4-5. The king on horseback, 1, receiving a garland from the Nike who stands before him. Symbol 2 once a small cross in it.* One or two Aryan monograms. Berlin. Wilson, *Armenia*, Plate VI, 2, and Plate XXI, 14.

"The circumscription of the *obverse* of one of Wilson's specimens is totally destroyed.

"The second of Wilson's coins has plainly on the obverse above ΦΑΡΟΥ, hence the end of the name, the ΜΕΤΑΦΟΥ may be seen on the drawing (on the right) like ΜΡΑΟΥ, then ΦΟΥ. The ΦΟΥ (you not you) cannot however belong to the . . . *phous* because two or at least one line intervenes. Prinsep-Thomas (vol. II, pp. 215, 4) read BACIAEO . . . ΦΑΡΟΥ (F).

"The Berlin specimen displays only indistinct traces of a circumscription on the chief side.

"The reverse of the first of Wilson's specimens he reads *indistincta* (*indistincta*) *indistincta*; the drawing does not quite agree with this.

"The reverse of the second better specimen of Wilson has *Gondaphares* plainly. The preceding word is indistinct—Wilson: *jayadharan*, Prinsep-Thomas (p. . . .) as before *apostolus* plainly, preceded according to Wilson's text and drawing certainly by *abbanem*. Prinsep-Thomas read only: *abban* . . . *dhara* . . . *ar*.

"*Dhara* *dhara* *apostolus* *gondaphares* appears also to be certain. The Berlin specimen has below certainly the name *gudapha* . . . The circumscription begins on the right, and we perceive with tolerable distinctness *indistincta* *indistincta*.

"The round billon and copper-coins of Yndophores, with eiders and variously changing orthography of the name, as well as the often spoiled circumscription of both sides, are evidently like the similar ones of Asos, deteriorated tetradrachms.

"Bill. 6. BACIAEON BACIAEON TONΔOΦΑΡΟΥ, The king on horseback, bearded, garland in the R. R. the symbol 2. *Metaphar* *metaphar* *metaphar*

* E. Thomas, to whom we are indebted for the notice on the legend (Prinsep, *Asos*, vol. II, p. 214) places the king earlier; but I have shown why he must belong to the 1st cent. A.D.

* I scarcely need warn the reader of the fantastic explanations of this symbol which contains a garland and a cross of the ancient form T, as well as the oft recurring other cuneiform symbols on the coins of this king.

gudapharwan, almost quite distinct. Standing figure V. before, half dressed, with diadem, supporting the L. on the trident, stretching out the R. (Poseidon?) L. and r. monogram. (Wilson, *Arrian*, pl. r. 16)."

"Æ 4-7. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΕΥΘΥΠΟΤ ΕΥΔΟΚΕΥΟΥ. Bearded bust with diadem and earrings, in rich dress r. *Drautatus* (for *tradatus*, *εὐθύποτος*) *maharajah* *gudapha*, *asa* or *gudapha*, *asa*. Nike with garland and palm r. Prinsep-Thomson read *tradatus* for *drautatus*, I cannot give a satisfactory explanation of the penultimate letter; it can scarcely be *d*, it is certainly not an *r*.

"Æ. small ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΕΥΔΟΚΕΥΟΥ; bearded head r; *radadivajana* *nishahata* *gudapharwan*, Lightning-throwing Pallas, as in Menander; &c. v. monogram. Prinsep-Thomson No. 7. Remarkable, because this coin demonstrates the succession of Yndophores to the Greek kings and to Ranjihal¹⁰."

"The coins of the so-called 'Sub-Abdagases Sasan' (Prinsep-Thomson, p. 216) are probably nothing more than a variety of Yndophores. I have several originals before me; they are copper or more probably *billu*-infus (deteriorated silver drachmas).

"Æ. 5. Completely barbarian circumscriptio; &c. The bearded king on horseback r; with outstretched R. garland. Before him the symbol ☉ and an Aryan letter.

"Half-dressed figure with diadem r, stretching out the R. in the l. *asa* a *sempa* (Zens? probably not the king); l. the symbol ☉¹¹; monogram and letters in the field.

"The circumscriptio is according to Prinsep-Thomson; *maharajah* *nishahata* *tradatus*, . . . *gudapharwan* *asa*, the omitted word is read by Cunningham (see Prinsep-Thomson, vol. II, p. 216); *drautatus* "god-hearted." On the reverse of the originals before me, the following is distinct. *Maḥara* . . . (*trad*)*asa* . . . *nishahata* *gudapharwan* (*sa* *pa* or *gudapharwan*) *asa*. Therefore the lectio *drautatus* is very probable, although the first letter does not look quite like a *d*. The forms are of course somewhat careless, and therefore the lectio *drautatus* is not quite certain, but the name of Yndophores is entirely so; *gudaphara* (or *ga*, *pa*-) and *asa* in the lectio, but Abdagases is impossible; not a trace of indication of his name stands on the coins. Also the reading *Sasan* is arbitrary; *Sasan* may certainly be a name, but the founder of the Sasanians can scarcely be meant.

"Æ. 5. Like. Circumscriptio according to

Cunningham; *maharajah* *nishahata* (*maharajah*) *asa*. Zeus Nikephoros standing l. monogram.

"Of this variety I have never seen a distinct specimen. The drawing is Wilson, *Arrian*, Pl. V. 19 (*ibid*. No. 20 is not of this, but the preceding variety) and the originals before me display only traces of a superscription on the reverse.

"It is at all events certain, that this 'Godopara Sasa' has nothing at all to do with Abdagases."

"*Sanaḥarasa* is in my opinion perhaps identical with the Indian king 'Anshapur' or *Nishapur* of the *Periplus Mar. Erythr.*—of late Arsakidan times, perhaps about 80 A. D. A contemporary or successor of Yndophores. His drachms are indeed of good, perhaps of better silver than those of Yndophores, but later in fabrication.

"Æ. 3. Bearded bust with tiara, l. resembling those which first appeared among the Arsakidas of the year 611 (389 = 77 A. D.) behind it *an* which is supposed to be = *an*.

"ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΤΑΘΩ ΝΑΒΑΡΟ round the enthroned king r, with tiara, holding a bow, as on the Arsakidan coins. Around the throne ΓΥΓΗΤΑΡ. Berlin (Prokesch). Tab. v. 8."

"Hitherto the letters round the throne have been considered as designating the Seleukidan year ΓΥΓΗΤΑΡ (hence Γ. invariably Γ) 313 wherefore Sanaharus was placed much earlier than I place him (Thomson l. c. and Gardner, *Periplus Maris*, p. 40). The Berlin specimens demonstrate however the untenableness of this assumed numeral of years. The Γ and Γ &c. strokes make their appearance in great numbers as a decoration round the throne.

"The head and its tiara appear to me quite evidently copies from later Arsakidans. This tiara first appears, as already observed, on Arsakidan coins in the year 77 A. D. hence the year 77 A. D. is the earliest date for Sanaharus." (p. 167).

ΑΒΔΑΓΑΣΑΣ (p. 228). "Nephew of Yndophores. The passage communicated by Gutschmid from the *Apokryph. Evangelium Thomae de India* is important. There the apostle Thomas says of his mission to the king of India: *τοῦ εἰδὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως διώματι λαβάναι ἐν τῷ ἑσπέρῳ ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐξομαίει ἐν τῷ παύσει. Μόρονος, besides Gomphoros, his brother Gud who was converted with him, is mentioned; now Gutschmid justly compares ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΒΑΔΑ ΕΥΝΔΟΚΕΥΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΔΕΟΥ¹² with εἰδὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως. This is certainly the same person, and the notice again demonstrates how well the first legend-writers were informed about Gondophares and his family.*

¹⁰ This word occurs also on p. 47 spell "Ranjahale" as the name of a satrap, but Schell observes in a foot-note that the letter l is not settled.

¹¹ This occurs at the commencement of early Sassanid inscriptions.—Ed.

¹² This is probably a genitive, not nominative, for ἀδελφιδεύς = ἀδελφιδεύς.

But from the former erroneous lecture ΔΟΑΔΑ instead of ΑΒΔΑΔ fixed by the Berlin specimens which I copied, the erroneous suppositions of Gutschmid follow, who considers Βασιλεως to be a barbarous genitive of the name Οιδας = Ουδ, Gad,—the supposed brother of the king and perhaps = Labdaues (Abdaneus), and compares this supposed Oadas with ΟΑΔΟ, the windgod of Kanerks.

"Now the more correct lectures of these nephew-coins (Prinsep, *Essays*, vol. II, p. 216,) with the distinct name ΑΒΔΑΓΑΣΑ in Aryan, which Gutschmid has not used in this instance, demonstrate the erroneous nature of these conjectures.

"The nephew of Gondophares, as we learn from his coins, was called Abdagases, in Aryan always ΑΒΔΑΓΑΣΑ or ΑΒΔΑΓΑΣΑ, in Greek sometimes corrupted to Αβδα... Αβδαγασου, &c. The reading adduced by Gutschmid of αβδ ρα δαδαρ ρω βασιλεως βαδδαρου is certain and of great value; this nephew and his name are certainly identical with the Abdagases, Abada..... Abdagases of the coins.

"Gudaphara Sasa.—Gutschmid conjectures to be perhaps 'the father or co-regent' of Gondophares. All this is quite obscure, and the circumscriptio, supplemented in the titles by Cunningham, and pointing according to Gutschmid to Buddhism: 'Μηδωαγαν (sic) zachala-dan (scilicet) Sasa,' is, as I have shown (on pp. 165 and 166) quite uncertain. The specimen adduced in Prinsep-Thomas for this coin from Wilson's *Album*, has quite another circumscriptio, namely, the usual one of Gudaphara Sasa: *zakhala-dan zachala-dan zachala-dan gudapharasa sasa*, and as Cunningham's lecture of the decisive passage is distinctly supplemented; moreover, as this Buddhist title is altogether unheard of on the coins of Gondophares and of his dynasty, the whole title remains uncertain; I have among the numerous coins of the enigmatic 'Gudaphara Sasa' never myself discovered one with the so-called Buddhist titles, hence the whole supposed Buddhism of Gondophares and of his family evaporates, and can be demonstrated by nothing!"

Sallet's volume, from which we have here given abundant selections, will be found most useful to the student of this interesting subject.

HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS from the 9th to the 16th Century: Part II.—The so-called Tartars of Russia and Central Asia. By Henry H. Howorth, F.R.S. 2 vols. London: Longman, Green & Co. 1880.

The first part of Mr. Howorth's *History of the Mongols* was published four years ago, and has taken its place as a sterling work of reference. It was chiefly devoted to the history of the empire of Chinghis Khan. This second division may almost

be regarded as a separate work. It begins with an ethnographical chapter on the Golden Horde, and proceeds in the second to give a history of Juchi Khan the eldest son of Chinghis, of his son Batu Khan who swept down upon Eastern and Central Europe, conquering Muscovy, Poland and Hungary, and threatening the German Empire. The Muhammadans of Western Asia offered to ally themselves with the sovereigns of Western Europe to repel this terrible invader who had established his rule from the Yark to the Carpathian Mountains, and included a suzerainty over Russia. The third chapter continues the history of the Golden Horde located on the Volga, under Berke, Batu's brother and successor, who became a Muhammadan, and of his descendants till the extinction of the family, during which period the Grand Dukes of Muscovy were tributaries to the Khan who ruled at Sarai on the Volga. Then follows an account of the struggles for supremacy among the other descendants of Juchi, ending in the rise of the family of Orda, and the decay of the Horde till it shrunk into the petty Khans of Astrakhan, and that in turn was swept away after many struggles by Russia in the 15th century. The history of the Khans of Krim, which was only created and absorbed at the end of last century, is told in the seventh chapter, and the eighth is occupied with an account of the White Horde and the Khirgis Kossaks descended from tribes subject to Orda the eldest son of Juchi Khan. The Ulshees of Bukhara, Khokand, Koxrova, and the Khans in Siberia are treated of in the next three, and the Nogai branch of the Golden Horde in the last chapter.

Mr. Howorth has availed himself fully of the learned works of Von Hammer-Purgstall, Zarnof, Grigorief, Blankenagel, Vassberg, Schuyler, Lavet, Schanski, Sorez, Desmaisons, Müllner, Levechin, &c. &c. and he has produced a book which must long continue a standard one on the subject. It must have been a work of great toil to get together the materials employed in these two divisions of over 1100 large and closely printed pages: we hope Mr. Howorth may have the strength and patience to complete the third and concluding Division of his great work.

NIGYOMANI-JO JOE DAS SERPENTS: DRAME BUDDHIQUE adapte en act. CRI-HARSHA-DEVA. Traduit pour la premiere fois du sanscrit et du prakrit en francais, par Abel BEVENQUE, Maitre de conférences à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris, répétiteur à l'École pratique des hautes-études. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1880.)

This translation of the *Nigyomani* appears as one of the beautiful little volumes of M. Leroux's 'Bibliothèque orientale chrétienne,' which already includes versions of several Sanskrit dramas.

It is well known that the *Nigyomani*, like the

Ratnadanti, professes in its prologue to be the work of king Śrī Harsahadeva. Dr. Fitzedward Hall (Introd. to the *Prasastidatta*, pp. 15 ff.) long since attributed the latter to Hāna who flourished at the Court of Harsahavardhana of Kanauj, and this has since been confirmed by Dr. Bühler (Weber's *Ind. Stud.* Bd. XIV, S. 40; *Hist. Ind. Liter.* p. 204). The *Nāgāsanda* was attributed by Cowell to Dhāvaka—another poet supposed to have flourished at the Court of Harsahavardhana, but Weber doubts this and supposes that it may with equal reason be attributed to Hāna (*Ind. Stud.* Bd. III, S. 106); and M. Bergaigne, with Hall, doubts even the existence of Dhāvaka. The Buddhist character of the drama, however, agrees perfectly with what we know from Hwen Tsang of the favour shown to his religion by king Harsahavardhana of Kanauj.

In noticing Boyd's translation of the same Drama (vol. I, pp. 148 ff.) we have given some account of the contents of it. M. Bergaigne in presenting a new version has been obliged to follow the same text, and notwithstanding some differences in the renderings of certain passages, he makes no claim to any scientific novelty. The publication of it ought, however, to help in spreading among readers some knowledge of, and increase a taste for, a very interesting literature.

KING OF KANAUJA: being a translation of the Sanskrit work *Rājataranginī* of Kalhana Pandita. By Jogesh Chunder Dutt. Calcutta: 1879.

The *Rājataranginī* or Historical Chronicle of Kashmir is too well known to need description: it is principally accessible to Europeans in Prof. H. H. Wilson's abstract of the first six cantos of it, in the XVth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, and in M. A. Troyer's text and French translation of the whole. But, as is well known, all the printed texts contain corrupt passages, and before any important improvement can be made on Troyer's translation, we must have a revised Sanskrit text,—which it is understood Dr. Bühler is preparing from the valuable MSS. obtained by him for the purpose in Kashmir (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, pp. 264 ff.).

"The present work, it should be stated," says the author, "pretends to be nothing more than a faithful rendering into English of a history which already exists in the Sanskrit language." But he has "thought it necessary to omit from the text such stories as relate to superhuman agencies, and to give them in the form of an Appendix, in order

to preserve the continuity of historical narration." Then the translation extends only to the first seven books, it being "the intention of the translator to bring down the history in two more volumes to the period of the conquest of the valley by Akbar."¹

Before blaming Prof. H. H. Wilson for mixing up his abstract "with the whimsical additions and alterations which appear in the Persian translation," as this new translator does, it would have been as well if he had seen that his own version was a scholarly one. If any one will compare the specimen version of the first 107 stanzas given by Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, pp. 268—274) with the first eight pages of what Babu Jogesh Chunder Dutt calls his "faithful rendering," he will be painfully struck with the difference; and further comparison with the Sanskrit text, or even with Troyer's version, will only show more clearly that this translation has no claim to *fidelity* of rendering. Should the author pursue the translation further he might be advised either to follow the original more closely or to describe it as only a free version—a species of work fully deserving of encouragement, perhaps more so, if only well executed, than a strictly literal translation. Most Sanskrit works will bear condensation in translating, and the *Rājataranginī* among them. This version, though not a faithful one, appears, however, to give a fair representation of the general sense of the text. It is not well printed.

MODERN INDIA AND THE INDIANS, being a series of Impressions, Notes, and Essays. By Monier Williams, D.D., &c. Third edition. Revised and augmented by considerable additions. (London: Trübner and Co.)

We noticed the first edition of this very readable and instructive book soon after its appearance two years ago (vol. VII, p. 230), and we heartily welcome this third edition, which contains about a half more matter than the first. Among the additions are two Essays on the 'Progress of our Indian Empire,' originally published in the *Contemporary Review*, while the chapter on the 'Villages and Rural Population of India' and several other sections of the work are quite new. The work now appropriately appears as one of the volumes of Trübner's valuable "Oriental Series," and well deserves the attention of our readers. When another edition appears we trust it will contain others of the recent Essays of Dr. M. Williams on Indian subjects, supplemented by an Index.

¹ The text used seems to be a *History of Kashmir*, consisting of four separate compilations: viz. I. The *Rājataranginī*, by Kalhana Pandita, 1149, A.D.—II. The *Rajavalsi* by Jona Raja (defective) to 1412, A.D.—

III. Continuation of the same by Sri Varā Pandita, pupil of Jona Raja, A.D. 1477.—IV. The *Rājāvali* pāṭha, by Pradya Bhāṭa, brought up to the conquest of the Valley by the Emperor Akbar, Calcutta, 1835, in 4to dem.



ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 एतत्प्रमाणं कृतं
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
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 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

KANHERI PAHLAVI INSCRIPTION, No. 2.



DR. J. B. B. B.

SCALE— $\frac{1}{2}$ ACTUAL SIZE.

THE PAHLAVI INSCRIPTIONS AT KANHERI.

BY E. M. WEST, F.R.S., M.D., MEDICAL.

ANQUETIL DU PERRON appears to have been the first European who specially noticed the Pahlavi inscriptions in the Kanheri Caves. In the account of his visit to the caves in 1790, published eleven years afterwards in his great work on the *Zand-Avesta*,¹ he describes the cave in which they occur, and mentions inscriptions "upon two pilasters which form part of the walls." Although acquainted with the Pahlavi character he thought these inscriptions were Mongolian, probably because they are inscribed in vertical lines, and not horizontally.

No further notice of these inscriptions seems to have been taken for fully a century. They escaped observation when the Kanheri inscriptions were being systematically copied, some twenty-five to thirty years ago, because a Brahman refusee had taken up his abode in the cave which contains them, and had built a small house in front of it. This Brahman first occupied the cave some years before 1848, and remained till 1865, effectually preventing Europeans and others from examining the cave by his presence there.

The late Dr. Bhâu Dâjî, however, being a high-caste Hindu, was able to obtain admittance into the house as far as to examine the exterior of the cave, and about 1861 he found an inscription in the recess over the water-tank, which seemed to him to be in the Kufic character. He showed a copy of this inscription to the late Dr. John Wilson, who at once recognised it as Pahlavi, and referred him to the specimens of Pahlavi writing in Anquetil's *Zand-Avesta*. Dr. Bhâu Dâjî then showed his copy to Professor Haug and some Parsis who were acquainted with Pahlavi, but did not succeed in obtaining any decipherment of its contents. Subsequently he rediscovered and copied the two inscriptions on the pilasters of the cave remandah, which had been noticed by Anquetil.

Shortly afterwards, while examining the ruins of a dâgola on another part of the cave hill, I discovered a few words on one of the stones, which I believed to be in some form of the Arabic character. This short inscription was published, with other details relating to the dâgola, in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of*

The Royal Asiatic Society (vol. VI, pp. 116 ff.) and a Parsi writer soon pointed out that it was in the Pahlavi character; thus directing my attention for the first time to the Pahlavi language.

In December 1865, after the disappearance of the Brahman recluse, I had the first opportunity of seeing the Pahlavi inscription in the tank recess, discovered by Dr. Bhâu Dâjî, of which I made a tracing, and sent a reduced copy to the Bombay Asiatic Society in 1866. This copy and those prepared by Dr. Bhâu Dâjî were soon after discussed in the *Zachukti Abhidâ*, Nos. 2-4, and the greater part of the three inscriptions was correctly deciphered by Parsi priests well acquainted with Pahlavi; but, owing to the imperfection of the copies, some errors and obscurities occurred in these decipherments.

In December 1870, tracings of the two pilaster inscriptions were taken for me, and in February 1875, I examined these tracings and that taken in 1865 by comparison with the inscriptions themselves, which I was then better able to read. Mr. Burgess has also recently favoured me with prints of the two clearest inscriptions (one on the tank and the other on the left-hand pilaster) which, with the tracings before-mentioned, probably give the decipherer all the information he is ever likely to obtain with regard to the letters inscribed.

These three Pahlavi inscriptions are all dated, and consist chiefly of the names of certain Parsis who visited the Kanheri Caves early in the eleventh century. They are all three inscribed in vertical lines, to be read from the top downwards; Pahlavi writing being read from right to left. As they would be more conveniently read if the lines were horizontal, the reason for inscribing them in vertical lines is not obvious; but it may be noted that a few short Pahlavi inscriptions, in the same comparatively modern character,* are found in Persia, which are also inscribed in vertical lines.

The earliest date is that in the inscription on the remandah pilaster to the right of a person entering the cave. This inscription is so faintly cut that the greater part of it would be illegible

¹ *Zand-Avesta ouvege de Zoroaster*, &c. par Anquetil Duperron. Paris, 1771. Tome premier.

* Not the Sassanian inscriptions, which are always in horizontal lines.



PLATE II. P. 100 (101)

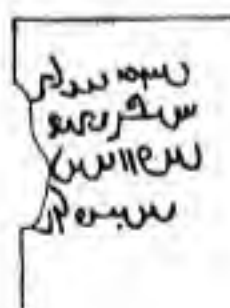
SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE.

KANHERI PAHLAVI INSCRIPTIONS.

No. 4.



No. 5.



Māh-bizās, Māh-alyār va Bandōsh¹²
 i Hīrād-fārakhō, va Māh-bandād-i
 Gōhān-khush chāsh¹³-nyōkhsh.

The following are translations of these three inscriptions, as transcribed above; the words in italics being understood, but not expressed, in the original Pahlavi:—

1. 'In the name of God.'¹⁴

'Through strong omens and the good Judge this¹⁵ year 378 of Yazdakard, on the day Aāhar-masād of the month Mitrā (10th October 1009), there have come to this place the ex-religionists Yazdān-pānak and Māh-alyār sons of Mitr-alyār, Panj-būcht and Padar-būcht sons of Māh-alyār, Mardān-shād son of Hīrād-Bāhrām and Hīrād-Bāhrām son of Mardān-shād, Mitr-alyār son of Bāhrām-panāh and Bāhrām-panāh son of Mitr-alyār, Pālān-zād and Zāl-aparham sons of Ātān-māhān, Nāk-māhān, Dīn-Bāhrām, Bajōrg-ātōr, Hīrād-masād, and Bōh-zād son of Māh¹⁶.

2. In the name of God.

'In the year 378 of Yazdakard, the month Āvān and day Mitrā (24th November 1009), there have come to this place the ex-religionists Yazdān-pānak and Māh-alyār, sons of Mitr-alyār, Panj-būcht and Padar-būcht sons of Māh-alyār, Mardān-shād son of Hīrād-Bāhrām and Hīrād-Bāhrām son of Mardān-shād, Mitr-alyār son of Bāhrām-panāh and Bāhrām-panāh son of Mitr-alyār, Pālān-zād and Zāl-aparham sons of Ātān-māhān, Nāk-māhān, Dīn-Bāhrām, Bajōrg-ātōr, Hīrād-masād, and Bōh-zād sons of Māh-bizās, and Bāhrām-panāh son of Mitr-bandād. In the month Ātūr¹⁷ Aāhar-masād son of Āvān-bandād died.'

3. In the name of God.¹⁸

'In the month Mitrā and day D'ōh of the year 390 of Yazdakard (26th October 1021) there have come from Irān¹⁹ to this place Māh-Prōlag and Māh-alyār²⁰ sons of Mitr-alyār Panj-būcht²¹ son of Māh-alyār, Mardān-shād²²

son of Hīrād-Bāhrām, Bōh-zād son of Mitr-vimād, Jāvidān-bād son of Bāhrām-Gōshmasp, Bajōrg-ātōr²³ son of Māh-bizās, Māh-alyār and Bandōsh sons of Hīrād-fārakhō, and Māh-bandād son of Gōhān-khush, the listener to instruction.'²⁴

It must have been during the visit mentioned in this third inscription that the few words were inscribed on the dāgoba, as mentioned above; for they mention the same year and one of the same names. This short inscription (No. 5 on the accompanying plate), was correctly deciphered in 1866, as published in the *Zarishki Aklāda*, No. 3, p. 104, and is as follows:—

Shant 390
 9th Yazdaka (v)
 Shatra-tyār
 Māh-Prōlag (g).

'The year 390 of Yazdakard Shatra-tyār, Māh-Prōlag.'

Besides these four Pahlavi inscriptions at Kanheri there has been a fifth (No. 4 on the plate), of which only two or three detached letters are legible on another stem of the dāgoba, which is now in the Museum of the Haringhay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. This inscription appears to have consisted of seven vertical lines on a flat space between two groups of sculpture; but the surface of the stone is so much decayed, that the letters legible are only just sufficient to show that the words have been Pahlavi.

The interest attaching to these Pahlavi inscriptions is threefold:—First, they show that Parsis visited the Kanheri Caves early in the eleventh century. Secondly, they exhibit the form of Pahlavi writing at that period, though due allowance must be made for the fact that such cursive writing is not well-adapted for inscribing on stone. Thirdly, they indicate what kind of names was commonly used by the Parsis of those times; differing very much from the kind now in use.

¹² Or, perhaps, Bōhā.

¹³ This word is doubtful, being partly broken away.

¹⁴ The Pahlavi word is here in the singular number.

¹⁵ As already stated, the reading of this first phrase is doubtful. Another guess would make it mean "on a good omened and happy state I write."

¹⁶ This word is doubtful, but *āsharān* seems to be the only intelligible reading for a word standing in No. 2.

¹⁷ Breaker off in the middle of a name.

¹⁸ Probably a son of the preceding man, who had been named after his grandfather, a custom still common among the Parsis.

¹⁹ That is, in the following month (9th Dec. to 8th Jan.). It might possibly be "on the day Māh of the month Ātūr

(29th Dec.)"; or it might be translated "Māh-Ātūr and Aāhar-masād sons of Āvān-bandād died," but the word "died" is doubtful. This last sentence seems to have been a later addition to the inscription.

²⁰ The Pahlavi word is here in the plural number.

²¹ The words "from Irān" are doubtful, being partly cut away to form a niche in the rock for attaching small vessels.

²² These four names also occur in the former list in Nos. 1 and 2.

²³ This last phrase is doubtful, and it is possible that the list of names is incomplete in this inscription, as it is in that on the other pillar.

With regard to the writing it may be noticed that it differs but little from that of the oldest MSS. extant, which were written three centuries later. The chief differences are that the letter *s* is more like the letter *d* than in the MSS., differing merely in being a deeper letter, and that in compounds of *a* and *m*, or *sh* and *m*, the upper stem of the *m* has almost disappeared, and the first letter is set close down upon the second.

With reference to the men's names we find they were very much of the same character as those borne by the old commentators on the *Avesta*, and others mentioned in the *Bendakish* and elsewhere, who lived between the sixth and ninth centuries. Thus, the names *Māh-n-yār* and *Zā-d-spārham* occur as names of the sixth century in *Bendakish* xxxiii, 7, 11;²² *Mitrā-syār* occurs in the *Vijñānā-dī Dīksh*²³ as the supposed name of a former husband of one of Zarathuštr's wives; *Adharmazd* is a man's name still in common use in a corrupted form; *Yasodpanāh* or *Yasōdpanāh*²⁴ occurs in a Syriac MS. of the twelfth or thirteenth century, containing the Acts of certain Persian martyrs; and Professor Hoffmann, in his German translation of those Acts, also quotes the names *Mihrbandād* and *Māh-bandād*.²⁵ Again, *Mardān-shād* may be compared with *Mardān-vāh* and *Vāhrām-shād*.²⁶ *Pañjbūkt* and *Padar-būkt* with *Māh-būkt* and *Vāh-būkt*.²⁷ *Bajūrg-ātūr* with *Bajūrg-Mihir*, the prime minister of Khosrō Nishirvān; *Mitr-vindād*, *Mitra-bandād*, *Āmān-bandād*, and *Māh-bandād* with *Afēbūg-vindād*; *Māh-Frōbag* with *Ātūr-Frōbag*.²⁸ *Jāvān-bād* with *Mard-bād*.²⁹

Hirād-farukhō with *Dād-farukh*.³⁰ *Bāhrām-Gūshnasp* with *Māh-Gūshnasp* (*Gūshnasp*?)³¹ and *Mihram-Gūshnasp*.³² and *Ātūr-māhān* and *Nāk-māhān* with *Dars-māhān*.³³

In the translations of these inscriptions the dates corresponding to those inscribed have been calculated on the assumption that these Parsi visitors used the calendar of the Indian Parsis. This is, of course, not quite certain; but if they used the calendar of the Persian Parsis, which makes the dates one month earlier in the year, they must have arrived at the caves in September, when the jungle is most impenetrable, whereas in October the paths are usually open, and the caves are easy of access from that month till the following August, when the jungle again becomes difficult to traverse for two months.

It is possible that the first two inscriptions refer to two separate visits to the caves by the same party, but, considering the distance those people probably came, it is more likely that they refer to two different periods of the same visit. What induced these Parsis to reside at the caves for more than six weeks it is difficult to guess. If, however, I have correctly interpreted the last line of the second inscription as implying that one of the party died at the caves, it is just possible that he may have been brought there for the benefit of his health. The water in the cave tanks is still esteemed by the natives for its curative effects, and twenty-seven years ago I found an invalid Hindu at the caves, who had been brought there during the rainy season for the benefit of drinking the water.

REPORT ON THE ANCIENT INSCRIPTIONS IN THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCE AND IN THE DISTRICTS OF MATALE AND TRINKOMALI, CEYLON.

BY DR. E. MÜLLER.

(Continued from p. 14.)³

During a second trip to the North-Western Province, and to the districts of Matale and Trinkomali, I corrected the copies of the inscriptions discovered previously, and found several new ones belonging to the first centuries

of the Christian era. I give here the transcripts of those which are well enough preserved to allow of a translation:—

(1) *Kaikāwa*, four miles from Balala, on the road to Yapahu:

²² See *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. V, p. 147.

²³ See p. 22 of *Dastūr Pahlavānī Bokramjī's* edition of the text.

²⁴ See Hoffmann's *Avesta aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer* (Leipzig, 1880), pp. 87–91.

²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 297.

²⁶ See *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. V, p. 147.

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 194.

²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 244.

²⁹ See Hoffmann's *Avesta*, &c. pp. 94–95.

³⁰ *Ibid.* note 601.

³¹ See also *ante*, vol. VIII, p. 221.

Siddham. Patama tera Warasi ametaha jita Amaryawa ameti Abaka cha danti bati
 Wadhachetahata ja bilasagaja
 ja dina.

'Hail! Amaryawa, the daughter of the chief thera minister Warasi (P), and the second brother of the minister Abhaya gave
 to the Wadhachaitya and to the priesthood.'

In the name Amaryawa we have a combination of *ry* analogous to that of *ny* in the inscription at Kirinda, see Goldschmidt's *Report* (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 321). *Wadhachetahata* and *bilasagaja* are the oldest instances I met with of the Sinhalese dative composed from the genitive in *ka* = *ya* + *ata* = *arthaya*. *Sagata* already represents the more modern form, where the *h* of the genitive is dropped; *ja* is the intermediate form between the old *cha* and the modern *da*, *d* or *i*, which is now used in Sinhalese.

(2.) Binpakanā, five miles from Galgamuwa:—

Siddham. Datanka ametaha

(2) chetahata do kariha ka kabara dāya Daraka-chetaha wawiyu cha nithala chadawawihā

(3) ka.

'Hail! Two *karihas* and four paddy fields (*shall be the property*) of the minister Dātthānāga, and the same number the property of the chaitya of king Dhavaka, at the Chandra tank.'

The character rendered by *ka* in the transcript line 2, 3, is the numeral which expresses 4 in old inscriptions, see Burnell's *South Indian Palaeography*, Pl. xxiii. The numeral 'do' for 'two' occurs also in the inscription at Habarane, line 4, 10, where however it was misunderstood by Goldschmidt. *Nithala* is most probably a mistake for 'nithila' = *nipphila*.

(3.) Periyakāḍu vihāra, four miles from Dehelgomawa on the road from Kurunegala to Dambula:—

Ganaya Aba rajaha wa

(2) ha puwadara sawanaka wana

(3) ka [pa] rama tera Tusaha ka mahawawi

(4) [para]ma tera Majjha ka ganaya Chaka (?) darika webe

(5) ruhā chetahata cha biksugahata

(6) dina Chakadarakā wehara [hi] dina.

'From king Gāmiṇi Abhaya [in order]: In the year Puwadara Sawanaka the four great tanks of the chief thera Tusa and

the 4 *gapas* of the chief thera Majjha are given to the chaitya in the Chakadharaka vihāra, and to the congregation of the priests. To the Chakadharaka vihāra they are given.'

For *puwadara* we find *puwawara* at Habarane and *paridasa* at Ingimitiya; the meaning of it is doubtful. *Sawanaka* is evidently the contrary of *sawanaka* in the Habarane inscription. *Tusa* occurs also in the name of the village Thesavattika, *Mah. I.*, 243. *Majjima* was the name of one of the theras who accompanied Mahinda to Ceylon (*Mah. I.*, 71, 74). It also occurs in an inscription at Pidurawagala near Sigrī, which runs thus:—

Kolagāmasāwopata Majjimaṣa jīyaya Tisāde-wiyu lene sagama.

'The cave of Tisāde wi, daughter of Majjima, son of Kolagāmasāwa, is given to the priesthood.'

The name of the king in this inscription Gāmiṇi Abhaya may either point to Gajabhāna Gāmiṇi (116–119 A.D.) or to Meghawaṇa Abhaya (302–320 A.D.), but to judge from the form of the character it is more probable that it belongs to the latter of the two.

(4.) Kettarakimbhiyāwa, four miles from Hiripitiya, not far from the road to Anuridhapura:—

Payati theraha lene sawayitha . . . sadhamma

(2) sagahathaya Wessawakagamsawā me lenuhi mawānikāte.

'This was called the cave of the thera Payati. The tank of the village Wessawānika at this cave has been restored for the priesthood of the *tena* religion.'

The language of this inscription resembles very closely that of the Aśoka inscriptions, although I do not believe that it can be so old. We find here the aspirates *h* in *thera*, *sawayitha*, *sagahathaya*, and *dh* in *sadhamma*, where other inscriptions have the unaspirated *t*, *d*. As far as I know, only Meghawaṇa Abhaya's inscription at Mihintala (see my *Report*) participates in the name peculiarity, as it writes *paṭhama*, *athaya*, *sadhama*, etc. *Sawayitha* is a form quite analogous to *kamayitha* of the Yōgi Mārā cave inscription (see Cunningham's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. I, p. 105). It corresponds to Sanskrit *śāśānyakha*. *Nikāte* is Sanskrit *nīkārīta*: in Pāli it would be *nīk-kāta*, but the word does not occur in the texts which are known at present. *Wessawānika* may

be derived from *Wesamena*, but this demon is generally called *Wesamena*, as for instance in the Habarana inscription, line 5.

(5.) *Eriyāwa tank*, four miles from Mediyāwa:—

Para[ma]ra Hipaha puta kaha dine.
Ima wapi Dipigala wihārahi siyāte sūgasa.

'The son of the Brahman Hipa gave this to This tank is dedicated to the priesthood of the Dipigala vihāra.'

To judge from the form and especially from the size of the letters, this inscription must be about as old as that from *Tonigala* mentioned in my last report (*Ant.*, p. 10). Unfortunately neither of the names in the inscription can be identified, and the construction of *Eriyāwa tank* is not related in the *Mahāvamsa*. A temple *Erakavilla*, though, is mentioned at *Mahāvamsa*, p. 237, which may be identical with the still existing *Eriyāwa passala*.

(6.) Of about the same date as the last mentioned is a cave inscription from *Dambulla vihāra* over the entrance of the temple:—

Devanapiya mahārājasa Gāmiṇi Tissa mahāsa
agata anagata chata dāsa agata dāsa.

'The great cave of the great king Gāmiṇi Tissa, beloved of the gods, is given to the priesthood of the four quarters present and absent.'

The title *Devanapiya* has been much discussed with regard to the edicts of *Rupnāth*, *Sahasrām* and *Bairāt*, which Dr. Bühler ascribes to *Aśoka* (*Oliver David's Ancient China and Measures of Ceylon*, p. 53). It occurs frequently in India,* but in the Ceylon books it is only given in the great *Tissa* (307—337 a.c.), who introduced the Buddhistical religion into the island. It is clear that our inscription cannot be ascribed to him; but we find the title also in two other inscriptions at *Gallena vihāra* and *Tonigala* in connexion with the name *Gāmiṇi Abhaya*. This *Gāmiṇi Abhaya* is said to be the son of *Tissa* on the *Tonigala* stone, and according to the *Gallena* inscription he again had a son of the name of *Tissa*. Now, if we look in the *Mahāvamsa*, the only king of the name of *Gāmiṇi* whose father and son were called *Tissa** was *Wattagāmiṇi*, and I think that to him all three inscriptions belong. In my former report I ascribed the *Tonigala* inscription to *Dattagāmiṇi*, whose father was *Kākā-*

wattagā Tissa, but as only a period of thirty-three years separates the two kings, it is likely that they used the same form of alphabet. There is also internal evidence for my statement, as *Wattagāmiṇi* is known to have been a great protector of the priests, and therefore may well have deserved the name *Devānapiya*. The *Mahāvamsa* says concerning him—*Pitūphāsa phitattassa pitūphādī abravum.*—'As he assumed the character of a father, they called him father king.'

There are other inscriptions of this kind, but not so well preserved, at *Ambogaṇawa* and *Diyaseta* between *Mediyāwa* and *Yapaha*, at *Niyadawana* and *Welaugolla* five miles from *Kepitiyāwa*, at *Malasue* and *Nayindana* near *Māliya*, at *Nilagāma vihāra*, three miles from *Galuwela* on the road from *Kurunegala* to *Dambulla*, three at *Dambulla vihāra*, and one at *Hanapaha vihāra* near *Yatawattna*. An inscription belonging to the 7th century I found at *Demalaṇāna*, four miles from *Hiripitiya*, but the characters are so totally different from those used in the earlier as well as in the later centuries, that I have not yet been able to make it out.

We now proceed to the pillar inscriptions of the 10th and 11th centuries. They all resemble each other very closely, as not only the names of the kings are constantly the same, but also in the text the same words and sentences recur continually. Dr. Goldschmidt, in his *Report*, has given extracts of several of these Pillars, but the only one he published and translated in its whole extent was that from *Mahākajattarawa* (now in the Colombo Museum). I published two others in my *Report*, and after much useless effort succeeded in restoring three more, viz., those from *Mayilagastota* (now in the Colombo Museum), from *Inginimitiya* and one from *Polemmanarawa* (see Goldschmidt's *Report, Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 324). I give the texts and translations here:—

I.—*Mayilagastota*.

A.	B.
(1) Siē mat apa dā	(1) yu no
(2) kintala na wā dā	(2) wadnā i
(3) n aturat wāsa	(3) aā gam
(4) n kaeta kula paṇ mī	(4) gon rada
(5) kaḷa O kāwāsa	(5) hana lili
(6) paraparaṇa beṭ	(6) hun gaḷ
(7) mī puramawanaṭ	(7) miwun wā

* It was applied to *Aśoka*, *Dakṣiṇa*, *Takṣa* and others (see *Indian Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 14).

* He adopted *Mahākajattara*, the son of his elder brother *Khālaka Nāga*.

A.	B.
(8) ag mohesu[n].	(8) riyā no
(9) wā Lak diw polo-	(9) gannā
(10) yon parapuren	(10) isā mangi
(11) himi aīti Gān	(11) wa piyagi
(12) biac raedna kus-	(12) wa no wad
(13) hi upan Abhā Sa-	(13) nā isā da
(14) lamsan maharadu	(14) waez me hi
(15) ureshi dā kaeta	(15) miyā mahā
(16) kola kot wiyat	(16) himin ao
(17) daham niyas gat	(17) tola tā sira
(18) āpā Mihindā hu	(18) sanas ao dā
(19) wasin karagā na	(19) yao tu . . .
(20) wam ucenhi mahana	(20) no munnā
(21) m uwanal	(21) isā me kana
(22) siribara mahawa-	(22) yo ne para
(23) her mahāhi	(23) dawā rada
(24) rād parapur wasun	(24) kol samdaru
(25) wawsa tamā kueru	(25) wan wisin
(26) U dā Tīsa pīwa	(26) hisamwat
(27) n āhuai has	(27) no raknā i
(28) pamaso yan ha	(28) nā nat
(29) ma dayas nakā	(29) isā
(30) was	(30) wan
(31) ta sa ha	(31) āpā Mi-
(32) was dunn	(32) his dāku . .
(33) [māḍala] mōḍā	
(34) [ōri] rad kol [āw] mi	

The āpā Mahinda, who was born in the womb of the anointed queen Gān, chief queen to his Majesty the king, descended from the unbroken line of the Ikshwāku family reigning on Lanka's ground by hereditary succession—the son of king Abhā Salame-wan—the pinnacle of the Kāhatriya caste, the sage who has comprehended the doctrine—having made the necessary repairs at the Mahāvihāra, caused priests to be ordained for the nikāyas at the U dā Tīsa monastery and ordered that the officers of the royal family shall not enter the place belonging to the priesthood; that enemies shall not take away the villages, the cattle, the royal taxes, the revenue, the cart buffaloes; that daily the priests, including the high priest, shall not destroy life; that the officers of the royal family together with the queens shall not protect (2) All this was ordered by the āpā Mahinda.

II.—*Agāsimiṭṭiya.*

A.	B.
(1) S w a s t i .	
(2) Siri Saṅga Bo	

* Can this be the year Sāvana of the Twelve year cycle? Conf. Ind. Ant. vol. VI, pp. 22, 23; vol. VII, p. 35; and

(3) ma	purmukā
(4) sawanaga	pu
(5) ridace	himā-
(6) ta	paradisa
(7) wak	dawas
(8) radol	ma
(9) hāpanan	
(10) wahanse	
(11) wadāleyi	
(12) para	āripāla
(13) parāparawen	
(14) me raṣa . .	
(15) . . . āwā	sirithi isā
(17) wasara	tan
(18) ahmayā	maha-
(19) lokā	Arak
(20) samagan	wa
(21) rae dāna koda māk	wadāḍā
(23) ak	
(24) taen	samiya

H.	G.
(1) n rado-	(1) perana su
(2) l-pere Demel	(2) sama me ga-
(3) kaha pere	(3) m no wad
(4) sirib ao	(4) nā kot i-
(5) tola was	(5) sā gael mī
(6) me tawā-	(6) wan wasiya-
(7) k demano	(7) n gānau
(8) Gīriwaha-	(8) no gannā
(9) rā Mihinden	(9) kot isā
(10)	(10) atānin
(11)	(11) nepannā
(12) Hingini-	(12) kot isā
(13) piti saṅga ae	(13) gam himin
(14) tola was acp	(14) asulata wā
(15) gam himin	(15) Sirigala ta-
(16) āsāgi pā	(16) n panjur
(17) ruc acp dā	(17) no nas
(18) Sirigala ta-	(18) nā isā . .
(19) n me gema-	(19) me
(20) i dē māḍala	(20) wa herbi
(21) n radol a-	(21) ātāgi
(22) wan mōḍa-	(22) pārasaer dē
(23) tina mang	(23) nā lādī
(24) diw pedie	

'Hail! His Majesty SiriSangaBo, in the Sawanaka* (see above No. 3) year of his reign, on the 10th day in the bright half of the month Himata the great sage declared: According to the rule made by former kings in their hereditary succession in this kingdom in three days at this temple, called after the chief Secretary Arak, a great privilege has been granted:

Agost. Res. vol. III, p. 217 ff; Burgess, *Sriya Siddhanta*, ix, 17.—Ed.

In one place the headmen shall come together and in the monastery, according to the rule formerly fixed by the Tamils, they shall divide it between themselves. All this we give to the Gīrivihāra: so it was sanctioned by Mahinda including the villages and lands that belong to the priesthood of Hingipitiya, a privilege is granted. All the villages beginning from Sirigala and the villages of the headmen of the two maṇḍalas, travellers and pilgrims shall not enter, the officers and noblemen shall not enter, enemies shall not take away their cart buffaloes, and they shall be made dependent upon themselves. In all the villages beginning from Sirigala the property shall not be destroyed. Thus a privilege is given to this temple.

III.—*Polonnaruwa.*

A.		C.	
(1) ma	permu-	(1) dara	no
(2) ku	... tun	(2) wada	i-
(3) wanno		(3) sã	...
(4) Nawaya	pu-	(4)	...
(5) ra	dasa	(5) dan	no
(6) k	dawas	(6) wada	i-
(7) wadã jen		(7) sã	gael
(8) ã	sane	(8) gon	wan-
(9) wt	rad	(9) gyan	bi-
(10) sã	(7) wara	(10) li	mnã sã-
(11)	tura	(11) l	no ga-
(12) dã	yo	(12) naã	isã
(13) turã	sã	(13) mang	diw
(14) isã	muhã	(14) [pa	diw]
B.		D.	
(1) samana-		(1) no	wa-
(2) a	wara	(2) dã	isã
(3) daniã		(3) wadã jen	
(4)		(4) ẽr	rad ko-
(5) jan	dasa	(5) l	samãda
(6) mo	ek	(6) ruwamo	
(7) sawa	Giri-	(7) Wadurag	
(8) naã	bi-	(8) bonãwa	
(9) mas	Wadura-	(9) uge	Ga-
(10) g	bonã	(10) lutiãdã	ga-
(11) wange		(11) may	me a-
(12) Galutiãdã		(12) tsãpi	
(13) gamay	de	(13) paerachner	
(14) kamãen		(14) dinnamã	

. the king, in the third year of his reign, on the 10th day in the bright half of Nawaya, ordered: In the monastery called after the general of king we give it: and

thus in the land of Girinã, belonging to the minister Wadurag at the village Galutia, two karmasbãnas that the officers of the royal family shall not enter, that enemies shall not take away the cart buffaloes, that nothing but raw rice shall be given [*as taxes*], that travellers and pilgrims shall not enter: Thus we, the royal family, order: we give a privilege to Galutia, the village of the minister Wadurag.

Another inscription of Siri Saṅg Bo [Kassapa V.] is at Mihintale, not on a pillar but on seven broken slabs lying on the ground. Although a part of it is effaced, the sense can be made out with tolerable certainty.

Mihintale Inscription—Upper Portion.

(1) Siri Siri Saṅg Bo ma pumukã dola-
swana Hibhã awagun paha dawaa natar ratãe
wel kaemi [ya]n weherat [w]e [l]
[w]e [ra]g wel kaemiã [d] [ya]n yuã] ran
ent kalandak

(2) isã me ratãe me ãleyaku diyaa yutu ran
kalandak isã sangweli upadã kaemiãku diyaa
yutu ran de kalandak isã ka
kalandak isã me ratãe me piri [w]e [ha] [nãd] ku diyaa
yutu ran pa

(3) kalandak isã me ratãe me ran lada kaebi
piriwahannã ran tun kalandak isã me ratãe me
balannaku diyaa yutu ran de kalandak isã me
ratãe isã yan lãe
diyaa dawaa wel kaemi [ya]n digaa] yutu ran dawaa
kalanda-

(4) k isã me ratãe me piriwahannãku diyaa yutu
ran de kalandak isã me ratãe me balannaku diyaa
yutu ran kalandak isã me ratãe me ãleyaku di-
[ya]n yutu diya dawaa
arãla nãl terna wel [l] kaemi [ya]n digaa] yutu ran
pamã-

(5) k kalandak isã me ratãe me ãleyaku diyaa
yutu ran de kalandak isã me ratãe me ariki leya-
[ka] diyaa yutu ran de kalandak isã me ratãe me
kalandak isã me
dian [l] [w]e [l] kaemiã diyaa

Lower Portion.

(1) yutu ran pa kalandak [isã me] ratãe me
diyaa] yutu [ra]n
kalandak isã me nãl ran pa kaemiã
arikileya [ku] diyaa yutu [ran] pa kalandak isã
kaebi piriwahannã diyaa yutu ran tun kalandak
isã [me] nãl de kaebi de tun diyaa yutu ran de ka-

(2) landak isã me nãl y yuku
diyaa yutu ra [s] kalandak isã mehi li pamanin
una no karana isã me li tãk ran,
hawuru-deputã wadã pãra keremin
si isã wanun agin gannã isã keremin si pi [ya]
keremin henua wadãran ra-

(3) *in kenekanaṭ waṇṇāma* : *im de kaṇḍak* [mā]ngal was go sang was go naḥ lulu nana p[ā]re apā : *se pamaṭ* iṣṭ iṣṭ wāḍi weḷura kaṇṇiṭṭa *daruvana* sangā kaṇṇiṭṭa māngalaṭ diyaṭ yuta ran de kaṇḍak kaḥāy de paṇḍak sū iṣṭ mūḥi

(4) *mūḥi pāca kārana tāk denaḥaṭ weberaṭ pūḥi* [mū] deka iṣṭ de kenekana kaṇḍak kaḥāy pamaṭ iṣṭ

Hail! His Majesty Sīri Saṅg Bo, in the 12th year of his reign, on the dark poya day of Hihila, ordered: the workmen in the four kingdoms for the viḥāra it is right for the viḥāra to give to the workmen: seven *kaṇḍas* of gold shall be given to the chief writer, one *kaṇḍa* of gold shall be given to a workman born on the ground of the priesthood, two *kaṇḍas* of gold to *kaṇḍas* in this kingdom to the sweeper, five *kaṇḍas* of gold in this kingdom to the man who having received this gold divides the shares, three *kaṇḍas* of gold in this kingdom to the superintendent, two *kaṇḍas* of gold in this country shall be given to the workmen for water and fuel, ten *kaṇḍas* of gold in this country shall be given to the sweeper, two *kaṇḍas* of gold in this country shall be given to the superintendent, one *kaṇḍa* of gold in this kingdom shall be given to the chief writer shall be given to labourers for water and fuel, on sluices, (7) channels and banks of a river, fifteen *kaṇḍas* of gold in this country shall be given to the accountant of this; two *kaṇḍas* of gold in this country shall be given to the chief writer of this; two *kaṇḍas* of gold in this country (shall be given) to the of this *kaṇḍas* [of gold] shall be given to the labourers on channels and banks, five *kaṇḍas* of gold in this country shall be given in two *kaṇḍas* of gold shall be given to the on the bank of this channel five *kaṇḍas* of gold shall be given to him who (divides) the shares: three *kaṇḍas* of gold to the overseers on the two banks of the channel: two *kaṇḍas* of gold shall be given to on the bank of this channel, one *kaṇḍa* of gold to him who only yearly for making a road to the tank, shall the workmen of the viḥāra and their children give

to the distributor of the priesthood, two *kaṇḍas* and two *paṇḍas* of rice to the accountant, and for two statues to the temple

It is difficult to identify the names in the inscriptions of Inginiṃṭiṭṭa and Polonnaruwa. The former bears the name of a chief Secretary Aṭak, a name which occurs several times in the *Mahāvamsa* under the form Rakkhō, Rakkhako or Rakkhazo. At *Mahāvamsa* lii, 31, we find a chief Rakkhō who built a viḥāra at Sāwāṃkagāma under the reign of Kassapa V., at *Mahāvamsa* l. 84, one Rakkhana is mentioned under the reign of Sena Sīlāmegha; at *Mahāvamsa* lii, 11, one Rakkhako under Dapula V. builds the Paṇḍarāma. The name Sīri Saṅg Bo points to Kassapa V., who always bears this title, but it is by no means impossible that some other king may have had it besides him. The title *mahākāya* or *mahā* or *mahāseṇa* seems to have been very frequent at the time of Kassapa and his successors. In the inscription of Mahāśatthapaṇṇa, mention is made of a *mahā* of King Dapula called Aṭak, like the one in our inscription, and besides of a *mahāseṇa* Sena, most probably the same who built the Mahālekhaṇḍapabbata viḥāra according to *Mahāvamsa* lii, 31. Also Mahinda I. is said to have built a Mahālekhaṇḍapariwāra at Abhayagiri, *Mahāvamsa* xlvii, 101; and at *Mahāvamsa* lxix, 12, we find the names of a *śāstrikāyaka* Sikkhāyaka and of a *jāyāśāstrikāyaka* Sikkhāyaka, where of course *mahā* is only a mechanical translation into Pāli of the Sinhalese *mahāseṇa*. There is also the name Mahinda legible, though not very clear on the stone, but this is most probably not a king of this name, but one of the two *apās* who governed Rohana under Udaya III. and Kassapa V.

On the Polonnaruwa inscription the name of the king is broken off. It was ascribed by Goldschmidt to Wajira, the minister of Sīlāmegha, *Mahāvamsa* l. 84; but the form of the name Wadurag agrees better with Wajiragga, the general of Kassapa V. mentioned *Mahāvamsa* ii, 105, 118, 126, and with Waduragga (translated back into Pāli from the Sinhalese), the general of Udaya III., *Mahāvamsa* lii, 46. There is also mentioned another Wajira, minister of Dapula III., *Mahāvamsa* xlix, 80, who built the Kachchavāla-ārāma, but he may be identical with the general of Sīlā-

mogha. The name of the village Galatia does not give us any help, as it is not known from elsewhere. However, I feel inclined to ascribe this pillar as well as that at Iugisimitiya to Kassapa V., as we have several other inscriptions of his in which the terminology is almost exactly the same as in the two in question. Especially the end—*Galatī gawayā upāpi pārukhāy divānāy*—is almost to the word the same as in the Mahākālataśva inscription in Goldschmidt's *Report*. (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 323).

The inscription of Mayilagastota belongs to Mahinda III. when he was upā in Rohas during the reign of Sena III., and it is related at Mahāsālan iv, 5, that this king repaired the shrine of the tooth relic, and that he explained the *sūtra* at the great brazen palace surrounded by the priests of the three *nikāyas*, i. e. of the Abhayagiri, Jetavana and Mahāvihāra fraternities.

The inscription at Mihintale, I also ascribed to Kassapa V., although there is no

other proof for this but the name of the king Sīri Saṅg Ba. The contents of the inscription are very much like those of the long inscription of Mahinda III. on the two tablets at Mahintale, but the form of the character is somewhat older, so that it suits very well the time of Kassapa V. An explanation of all the words occurring in the inscriptions seems out of place here.

Inscriptions of the 12th and 13th centuries are in great number at Polonnaruwa belonging to the kings Parākrama Bāhu, Nissanka Malla and Sāhasamalla. Some of them have been published by Mr. T. W. Rhys Davids in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*; of others extracts have been given by Dr. Goldschmidt, as they are too long to be published in their whole extent. At Kantalai also I found a stone seat of Nissanka Malla, the contents of which are almost exactly the same as those of the stone seats of Kiriwelaha and Jetavanapāsa at Polonnaruwa.

Columbo, 19th November, 1879.

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.R.S.

(Continued from p. 247.)

IV.

Bartan Batur, the grandfather of Chinghiz Khān, was styled Ebaken, a sobriquet applied by the Mongols to the grandfather or second ancestor of their chiefs.¹ It would seem that he did not actually reign, and either died before his brother Kutluğ, or was killed by the Tadjik as one legend reports. Nor was he in fact entitled to reign, since his elder brother Ukin Borkhukh left descendants. His wife, according to Rashīd'ud-dīn, was called Yesügel Fajin, Fajin being a Chinese title for 'princess.' She belonged to the Bargout tribe, Ssu-nang Setzen calls her Sain Maral Khoyak. Sain Maral means the 'Good Hind.' By her Bartan had four sons—Maugetu Kian, the Ming-ko-tu-ha-yas of the *Yuan-shi*, Nikun Taishi, called Ch'i-hwan-ta-shi in the *Yuan-shi*, and Beken Taishi by Abu'lghāzi, Yesügel Batur, and Daritai Uchtgen called Ta-li-chen in the *Yuan-shi*. This is the order in which the names occur in the several authorities. Although all four had sons, Yesügel

became the representative of the family, and succeeded Kutluğ not only as chief of the Mongols but as Khākan or Emperor, and we find him acting as Kutluğ's heir and supplying the funeral meats after his supposed death as we have related above, and this although Kutluğ left two sons, named Juchi Khān and Altan Khān. Yesügel was obeyed apparently by all the races, including the rival tribe of the Tadjik. Of the latter we are told that on the death of Anbakhai a discussion arose about the succession. His sons and relations collected the chiefs of the tribe who met together to elect a successor. The discussion was prolonged, as none of them wished to have the position. They first approached Tada Anbakhai's grandson, and the senior prince of the house, and asked him whom he thought worthy of the position. He suggested Terkutai Khiriltuk, who was also a grandson of Anbakhai, but he in turn suggested Mets-Gun-Sajan, who also declined saying—"How can I undertake to decide what should be done in such a weighty business. I feel

¹ Abu'lghāzi, p. 78.

like a sparrow, who either keeps hopping round a snare until he falls into it, or flies suddenly to the crest of a tree to escape falling into the trap. I as a Karaju¹ know the limits of my words, but I have not at command words befitting a king. The Karaju are like stallions who have been brought up on the milk of two mares, and have become satiated and stout. If you will assemble a council, and will agree together, then I will surrender my wishes to all, (i. e. accept the chieftainship.) If, however, you disagree, and feud and dissension arises in your *absence* I shall still be satisfied." In this wise he said many things, and began to weep and left the meeting. "Eventually," Rashid says, "according to the annals they apparently elected Terkatai Khörlök."²

Let us now return again to Yesünger Khākhan, who as Chinghiz Khān's father and the first ancestor was styled Echigü.³ Yesünger is derived from the Mongol word *yisna* or *yosin*, meaning 'nine,' a number deemed fortunate and almost sacred among the Asiatic nomads. Batur or *Bughatse* is a well known sobriquet in Mongol, meaning 'brave' or 'heroic.'⁴ It is the original of the title of *Behadur*. The *Yuan-shi-pi-shi* reports that once when Yesünger was hawking on the river Onon, — (the *Altan Tighi* and *Saunang Setzen* say he was following the tracks of a hare in the snow,) — he saw a man of the race Merki⁵ named Yoko Jiladu, who was carrying off a maiden whom he had captured from the tribe Olkhon.⁶ Having noticed that she was a beauty, he immediately galloped home, and soon returned with his brothers Nikan Taishi and Daritai Uehugen. Yoko Jiladu seeing them thus return, sped quickly over a ridge and defile, and joined his wife. She bade him haste away, as it was clear they would do him harm. "If you preserve your life," she said naively, "you will get another wife like me, and if you think of me, call your other wife by my name." She thereupon removed her nether garment, and gave it to him as a memorial of herself. Her husband spurred his horse accordingly, and fled along the Onon. Yesünger and his brothers pursued him hotly over seven ridges, but could not over-

take him. They thereupon returned again, and escorted the wife of the fugitive, Yesünger acting as postilion, Nikan Taishi riding in front, and Daritai near the traces. The woman wept and cried out—"Oh my husband, the wind never scattered the hairs on your head, nor has your stomach been pinched with hunger." Now you have fled, what troubles will you not have to bear?" Her cries disturbed the waters of the Onon and the woods in the valley. Daritai rebuked her, saying "Your husband has fled over many a hill and many a river, he will not turn his head backwards. Seek his tracks, you will not find them, cease your crying." So they took her home with them, and gave her to Yesünger as his wife. This Saga is also told in the *Altan Tighi*, which, however, calls the Merki Jiladu, the Tajut Joled, while *Saunang Setzen* calls him a Tartar. The *Yuan-shi-pi-shi* calls Yesünger's wife Khoslan—the Yahun of the *Yuan-shi*.⁷ Rashid-u'd-din styles her Ugea Fujin and also Ulan Ergesh,⁸ both of which are probably titles rather than names. The *Altan Tighi* and *Saunang Setzen* call her Ogolon Eke, which according to Schmidt means 'the mother of clouds' or the 'cloud mother.'⁹ Yesünger continued the struggle which his uncle had with the Tartars, and in one fight took prisoners Temujin Uge and Khörlökhan, the Temujin Ergesh and Kur Baka of Rashid-u'd-din. About this time Yesünger's wife Khoslan, gave birth to a son on the banks of the Onon, at Deligan Bulak, to which we have already referred, and where the chief camp of the Mongols was situated, and as a memento of the capture of the Tartar chief, they called the child Temujin. He is better known as the famous Chinghiz Khān. The *Yuan-shi-pi-shi* tells us that in his closed fist when born there was found a hard clot of blood—no bad presage of his future career. I have already mentioned that the ruling race among the Tartars was most probably of Turkish descent. This is confirmed by the name Temujin, or Temuchin, which was borrowed from their chieftains, for the great World-conqueror. In the vocabulary attached to the *Yuan-shi* we read that the name means the best iron, whence we judge that it is a derivative of *limas*, which

¹ i. e. subject.

² Erdmann, *op. cit.* p. 551.

³ Abu'lghazi, p. 78.

⁴ D'Almeida, *op. cit.* vol. I, p. 35 note.

⁵ Fide *Erjen*.

⁶ i. e. the wife of the Kengurat (Olkhon).

⁷ Meaning she had taken good care of him.

⁸ D'Almeida, p. 81.

⁹ Erdmann, p. 258.

¹⁰ *Saunang Setzen*, p. 375, note 11.

in Turkish means 'iron,' whence again the word Timurji, 'a smith.'¹² This Turkish word has apparently been adopted in Mongol, for Schmidt says that in that tongue Temurchi or Temurchin means 'a smith.'¹³ It was probably from this name that the Saga was derived which is reported by such various authorities as the Greek historian Ptolemy, the Arab Navairi, the Armenian Haithon, and the Franciscan friar Rubenquis, that Chinghiz Khân had formerly been a smith. This Saga apparently still survives in Mongolia, for we are told by M. Tinkofski that on Mt. Durkhan is still preserved the anvil of Chinghiz Khân, which is made of a particular metal called Baryn, which has the properties of iron and copper, being at once hard and flexible.¹⁴ Chinghiz Khân forged iron at its foot, and on one of its southern heights there is an *aba* of stone set up by the Mongols, who go there annually to commemorate the memory of Chinghiz Khân.¹⁵ There is also a mountain on the island of Olkhon, in the midst of Lake Baikal, on which is fixed a tripod, and on this an iron kettle. This also is traditionally connected with Chinghiz Khân. We must now consider the date of the birth of the Mongol chief. According to Rashid-u'd-din he died on the 4th of Ramanan 624, *i.e.*, the 18th of August 1227.¹⁶ This agrees with the Chinese authorities. Rashid and the Persian authors generally state that he was then 72 years old, which would put his birth in 1155 A.D. The Chinese authors, and notably the *Yuan-shi*, and also the *Altan Topchi* and Samang Setzen agree that he was but 66 years old, which would bring his birth to 1162. The *Altan Topchi* says distinctly he was born in the year of the serpent, *i.e.* 1161, and Samang Setzen in that of the horse, *i.e.* 1162. The latter is doubtless the correct date, and it is not improbable, as has been suggested by Von Hammer, that the mistake of the Persians had a certain method in it. It being calculated so that the great enemy of Islam should be born, ascend the throne, and die in a year which in the Mongol cycle was marked by the noxious beast, the swine. Rashid-u'd-din expressly says of Chinghiz that he was both born and died in a swine's year. It is certainly

curious that the years 1153, 1203, and 1227 should each of them correspond to a swine's year in the cycle.¹⁷ Yessages apparently won for himself an important position among the nomadic frontagers of China. Not only did he receive the allegiance of the various Mongol tribes and defeat the Tartars, but his assistance was also sought by the chief of the Kirais, a Turkish race descended, as I believe, from the Uighurs, who occupied the central and western parts of the steppes of the Gobi, and about whom I shall have more to say presently. We are told by Rashid-u'd-din that the chief of the Tartars, who lived about Lake Bayur, having captured the ruler of the Kirais named Mergius Bayuruk Khân¹⁸ sent him as a prisoner to the Kiu Emperor, who put him to death by nailing him on a wooden ass. His widow, Khatakti Haryeji (meaning bright and lively), took a characteristic revenge. She went word to the Tartar chief that she wished to give him a feast. He accepted the invitation, when she sent him 10 oxen, 100 sheep, and 100 sacks of kumis. The host of these however, instead of containing drink, concealed a body of armed men, who cut their way out during the feast and killed the Tartar chief.

Mergius left two sons, Kurjakhus Bayuruk, (called Khurja-khosh-bila, in the *Yuan-shi*, as translated by Hsincinthe, and Khurjakhu Selutsira Khân in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*), and secondly Gurkhân, equivalent to Khakhân or Great Khân. The sons of Kurjakhus were Taghrii, Kogol Kuru, Tagimur Tai-li, Baka Timur, and Ilka Sengun (Ilka is a proper name, and Sengun means 'born in the purple'). He was also called Jagombo Kositai. Jagombo is probably the Tibetan Damba, which enters into the composition of many Tibetan regal names, quoted by Samang Setzen as Degum Damba, Dinglhi Damba, Mithi Damba, Mani Damba, Muruk Damba.¹⁹ The whole name probably means the powerful Kirai prince, and was doubtless given him by the Tibetans who on one occasion made him prisoner.²⁰ Taghrii is the name the eldest son bears in Rashid-u'd-din's pages; and in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, where the name is written To-n-ril; in the *Yuan-shi* he is called To-li. He

¹² D'Oleson, vol. I., p. 26, *infra*.

¹³ Samang Setzen, p. 376.

¹⁴ Tinkofski, vol. I., p. 173.

¹⁵ D'Oleson, *op. cit.* p. 37, *note*.

¹⁶ Erdmann, *op. cit.* pp. 445 and 574.

¹⁷ Von Hammer's *Golden Horde*, pp. 56 and 92.

¹⁸ Mergius was his name; Bayuruk is a Turkish title and means Emperor. D'Oleson, *op. cit.* vol. I., p. 30, *note*.

¹⁹ Quatremere, *Hist. des Mongols de la Perse*, p. 91, *note* 8.

²⁰ Erdmann, *op. cit.* p. 233, *note* 6.

was afterwards given the Chinese title of Wang, and was known as Wang Kharin. He was away from home on his father's death, whereupon his brothers Taimur and Baka Timur seized the throne. He speedily returned, however, killed them both, and seized the succession.²¹ According to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shih*, when Tughral killed his brothers, his uncle, the Garkhan, attacked him, followed him into the mountain Karan, called Khalagan in the *Yuan-shi*, and Hala-vuen by De Mailla. Tughral had but 100 men with him, and repaired to Yessugei, who having conquered the Tartars, was now the dominant chief in those parts. The latter attacked the Garkhan, and drove him into the district of Hachin. (This is a Mongol corruption of Hsi, i. e., the district "West of the River," and so called because it lay west of the principal bend of the Yellow River, and was otherwise known as Si-Sia or Western Sia and Tangut. Palladius says that in the *Si-Sia-shu-shi*, this flight of Garkhan is dated in 1171.) He thereupon reinstated Taghrul, and the two allies swore the close friendship called *anda*. Erdmann and others, including also the old western chroniclers of the first invasions of Europe by the Mongols, have minimised too much the extent of the power and influence of Yessugei. The former would have us believe that his subjects only equalled in number the inhabitants of Saxo-Wolase-Bismarck, and gauged accordingly his power and authority. The latter, apparently overwhelmed by the suddenness of the apparition, exaggerated the unimportance of its beginning. Thus it was with Rubroquis, who speaks of the Moals (or Mongols) as a very poor people, without a leader, and as being very subordinate to the Kirais, whom he calls Crit; while he speaks of Chinghiz himself as "a certain blacksmith."

But this is great exaggeration. Yessugei was undoubtedly the most powerful chieftain among the Nomads who bordered upon China. He was obeyed by all the Mongols, by the Kughir or Kouguruts, and other Turkish tribes about Lake Bayur, had defeated the Tartars; and, as we have seen, was also the patron of the ruler of the Kirais, who then held the central Gobi.

We will now turn to the concluding scenes in his life.

The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shih* tells us that when Temujin was nine years old, his father set out with him to get him a wife among the boy's relatives on his mother's side, the Olkhonut. He went to a place situated between the mountains of Jekhar and Jikhurgu (the former, no doubt, the Jajarala of the *Yuan-shi* referred to by D'Olsson as Checher-ondur.²² Erdmann gives the name as Jagachar²³). There he met a man named Dai Setzen, of the tribe of Kughir (i. e. of the Kouguruts), the son of Bosikhur. Bosikhur'd-din calls him Dai Noyan.²⁴ When Yessugei met him he accosted him, asking him whether he was bound. He replied he was on his way to the Olkhonut to find his son a wife. Dai Setzen then remarked that Temujin had bright eyes and a clear face. He added that the night before he had dreamed, that a white hawk, holding in its claws the sun and moon, flew down and settled on his hand, and added that Yessugei had opportunely arrived as the interpreter of the dream. "Surely," he said, "it foretells good luck to you, Kian." "Our house of Kughir never had disputes with others about land and people. We had beautiful daughters, whom we gave to your Royal house, and you made them princesses." He then quoted a Chinese proverb that people expect rank and wealth in a husband, but beauty in a wife. He then told him he had a daughter at home, who was a beauty, and whom he would show him. She was ten years old, a year older than Temujin, and was named Burté, which is the same word apparently as the first part of the name Bartecheino. That night they passed with Dai Setzen. The next day Yessugei began to negotiate for the hand of the girl, and her father, again quoting a Chinese proverb to himself, judged it would add to his importance if he prolonged the negotiations. He asked that Temujin might stay with him awhile. To this Yessugei consented, and having presented his host with one of his best horses, he went homeward. The Saga is told, no doubt, from the same source both in the *Altan Topchi* and *Sasanang Setzen*, the former of which preserves some further details. According to the former author, when Yessugei met him, Dai Setzen was watering his horses at the river Tsorgin. He says the white hawk was the blazon or symbol of the Borjigs.

²¹ Erdmann, *op. cit.* p. 254 and 225. ²² *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 81.

²³ *Op. cit.* p. 279, and note 104.

²⁴ Erdmann, *op. cit.* p. 129.

²⁵ i. e. the Kist of Sasanang Setzen, *vide supra*.

or Imperial Mongol house, and in apostrophising the future greatness of his daughter, he makes Dai Setzen say "we must make the beautiful maiden the Empress of the whole nation when we have placed her in the one-horsed cart drawn by a black camel; we must make the beautiful maiden who has ascended the chariot with a white-haired camel in the shafts the Governor of a strong nation."¹

Reverting to the main authority, the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, we read that as Yessugai went homewards, and when he reached the wood Jhekast, he came upon some Tatars, who were feasting. Feeling hungry and thirsty he joined them. Unfortunately they recognised him, and in revenge for what he had done to their people, they mixed some poison with his food. He mounted his horse, and in three days reached his house, and feeling that the illness was a serious one, he summoned a descendant of the old man Jarakha Munlik, previously mentioned; he told him what his last wishes were, and bade him communicate them to his relatives. On the Khân's death

Munlik set off for the camp of Dai Setzen, and took Temujin home again. In the *Altai Topsis* the Khân's confidante is called Maikalikh,² while Sanung Setzen calls him Menggulik of the Khongkhotan tribe.³ The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* calls Burtë's mother Solan. When Khubilai Khân raised his ancestors to the honorary rank of Wangti, or emperor, he commenced the line with Yessugai, who was given the style of Le-tu. By his wife Khoitun he had four sons, Temujin, Juchi Khamar, i.e. Juchi, the Lion; Khajikin or Khajians, and Temugn Uchugen, also called Utji Noyun, and a daughter Tumulai. He also had two other sons by another wife. These sons were respectively named Bekter and Belgatei. Their mother is called Ghankichin in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*. Sanung Setzen makes each of the latter have a separate mother, and calls them respectively Osa Abaghai and Daghashi. He adds that Daghashi followed her husband to the grave, and that the six boys were brought up by Ogulen Kke.⁴

(To be continued.)

BOMBAY BEGGARS AND CRIERS.

BY K. RAGHUNATHJI.

(Continued from p. 266.)

NĀGAS.

The Nāgās, as their name implies, go naked. Having eradicated the sense of shame they give free indulgence to all the vices which it might have helped them to cover, and are unquestionably the most worthless and profligate members of their respective religions. They are either Śaivas or Vaiṣṇavas, and the hatred they bear towards one another has often led to sanguinary conflicts, in one of which at Haridwar eighteen thousand of the Vaiṣṇava Nāgas were left dead on the field.¹ In 1778 Goddard was attacked by a band of Śaiva Nāgas. They are sometimes to be found seated on the verandas of temples and edges of tanks where they are sumptuously fed.

AGHORIS.

Aghoris propitiate Śiva by horrible and revolting austerities, and once offered human victims. Hence they assumed a corresponding appearance, and carried about for a wand and water pot, a staff not with bones and the upper half of a human skull. This worship has long been sup-

pressed, but traces of it still exist among those who go about extorting alms. They drink wine and eat carrion and ordure, and hence the practice among Hindus of not returning from the burning ground till the corpse is wholly burnt, and keeping a watch on the burning of little children. The Aghoris smear their body with ordure, and carry it about with them in a wooden cup or skull, either to swallow it, if by so doing they can gain a few pice, or to throw it on the persons or into the houses of those who refuse to comply with their demands. They also inflict gashes on their limbs, that the crime of blood may rest on those who deny them charity, and by this and similar devices work upon the timid and credulous Hindus.² These beggars are rare, but when they do come, they generally beg at noon, and visit houses the doors of which they find open; they frighten women, and walk away with clothes they see hanging on pegs.

LANGATAT BEGGARS.

These are Śaivas, they wear a *linga* on some part of their dress or person. Their priests are

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 325.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 63 and 65.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 65.

⁴ Beveridge's *History of India*, vol. II, p. 69.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 70.

Jangams. They celebrate a festival in honour of the dead, but do not mourn or perform funeral rites. Their women also wear a *liaga*, and apply ashes to their foreheads. They deem their food polluted if seen by a stranger. They blow a shell and beg, singing in praise of Śiva. The Jangam dresses in ochre-coloured clothes. On his shoulder rests a conch shell, and in his hands he carries metal cups. He begs singing hymns, and when paid blows the shell for a few minutes. The Jangams also carry a bell in their hands, which begins to strike when the beggar turns a short stick round its edge. He holds the bell in a slanting position. He is satisfied with a handful of rice.

GOPICHANDAR.

Gopichandars carry bhilas and sing in praise of Gopichand. They dress in ochre-coloured clothes, and sing both in Hindustāni and Marāṭhi.

CHITRĀKĀTHIS.

Chitrākāthis are Hindus, Marāṭhis by caste. They carry with them a few coloured plates or pictures of their gods, rolled up and slung on their backs. The companion carries a drum, and goes about beating it now and then, and enquiring if people would like to hear of the exploits of the gods. If consent is given, the Chitrākāthi opens his book, and shows to the spectators such plays, sings and preaches. This beggar frequents only the Śūdra quarters, as no high caste Hindu would think of hearing a sermon preached by a Śūdra.

VAIDYAS.

The Vaidya is both a beggar and a hawker. He dresses in ochre-coloured clothes, and carries a bamba provided either with one or two bags of like coloured cloth, containing medicinal roots, herbs, lilies, porcupine quills, tigers' claws, bears' hair, and deadly poisons. They pretend to heal any and every disease, from simple cough to severe maladies, giving some article from their bag as a cure for the untidy. These are jungle people inhabiting forests and hills. They generally go once a year to the principal stations, and after disposing of their goods disappear.

BLIND BEGGARS.

These are both Hindus and Mussulmans, men and women. The former frequent Hindu localities, especially on Mondays and holidays, in gangs of two, four and six. With their hands

on each other's shoulders, they are led by one or more guides who receive the alms. Some of them take musical instruments with them on which they play and sing. In localities occupied by Pārsis, they do not use their instruments, and the Marāṭhi singing is exchanged for Gujarāṭi and Hindustāni. The beggars stop at every house, and will not move until they either receive alms or are driven away. The money they collect is divided equally amongst them at the end of their performances for the day. If however they are not successful, they break their gangs, and such as have their wives or children with them take a different route from their other partners, and others by the help of their sticks steer on by the side of the road. Some of these beggars have bells attached to their legs, and they jump and dance for the amusement of those from whom they exact charity. Others, again, beat their stomachs with their hands, and cry out in a peculiar way so as to excite the compassion of those who are looking at them. Some of these beggars are placed by the sides of much-frequented thoroughfares by their guides, but not before furnishing them with pieces of bread, betelnut, and leaves and tobacco and a match-box. Some go about leading a cow behind them, and asking Hindus and Pārsis to give them a trifling fee for the *gāthā*, which is held to be sacred. Some go about in the evening pretending to be blind, with either a stick in their hand, or led by others, whilst others go about asking for firewood only, and which they afterwards convert into money. Among all the beggars excepting the shawl-wearing Śāstrīkāvā and a few others, the blind beggars are the best off.

ANJANIS.

Ājānis are a class of beggars who cover the upper portion of their bodies with sea shells (*kaṇḍīs*), all strung together, and go about with a thick torch well soaked in oil, and lighted. This they do in honour of the goddess Ambābāi. They wear a long coat all besmeared with oil, and on their heads they wear a cap covered over with *kaṇḍīs*. The Ājānis are sometimes accompanied by a man who carries a musical instrument (*saṇḍ*) and another called *ṭandav*. These are all men. They sing both in praise of the goddess, and obscene songs, *lāṇīs*, for the entertainment of the people who wish to hear them.

TĒLĪRĀJĀ.

The Tēlīrājā is a worshipper of the goddess Hīnglāj. He is accompanied by one or more servants when moving about. He wears a piece of cloth round his waist and another round his head, puts on a long robe which hangs from his shoulders down to his feet. He pretends to be a fortune-teller, and tells events which have happened or will happen. He also pretends to tell of the number of children one already has and how many more his wife will yet have, together with their sexes. He tells what a person wants and what he should do to obtain it. As soon as he approaches the house of a Hindu, his servant orders some oil to be brought and poured upon his master, and when this is done, the business of foretelling commences. Having got a few pice he, the king, goes to another place. This king, the oily vījā, is so copiously smeared with oil that it keeps dropping as he goes along. Hindus think that the pouring of oil is pleasing to the king and his mistress—the goddess Hīnglāj. He is not to be met with daily, but whenever he does appear there are those who prostrate themselves before him and worship him.

WĀSUDĒVĀ OR DHUKOTĀ.

The Wāsudevā wears a long hat or crown on his head adorned with peacock's feathers. He also wears a long coat and clothes which hang from his waist, arms and shoulders. In one hand he has two metal cups, and in the other wooden *chīpāḍā*, and tied to the string round his neck is a wooden whistle; he wears trousers and a long coat, having ample folds, and to his feet are attached brass bells and jingling rings. He is a noisy beggar, dances round and round, and whilst so doing tells the lookers on what a man's duties are as regards the giving of charity. He says:—"Alms were given by Rājā Karṇa; alms were given by Dharmarāja; alms were given by the god Rāma; by Gopikālā; Chāṅgdeva; Dāmājipant; Paṇḍalika; Janākāl; &c. &c. and names some dozens of other Hindu gods, kings, and saints. It is indeed a pleasing sight to see these beggars, when two, four or more paradeance together, striking their instruments against each other's with precision and regularity. These beggars mostly frequent the houses of Marḍhās, by whom they are much liked. They are also known by the name of Dhukotā. (To be continued).

FOLKLORE IN THE PANJAB.

NOTES COLLECTED BY MR. F. A. STEEL, WITH ANNOTATIONS BY LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE.

B.S.O., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

(Continued from p. 276.)

No. 4.—Folk-Tale.

*The King of the Crocodiles.*¹

A common story among all Panjāb women:—

Once upon a time a farmer² went out to look at his fields along the side of the river, and behold! all his young green wheat was trodden down by the crocodiles which were lying about in the crops like great logs of wood.³ He was very angry and bid them go away, but they refused.

Now every day when he went down to the riverside to look at his young wheat, he found the crocodiles lying in the fields. At last he got very angry and threw stones at them. Then when they all rushed at him he was frightened, and begged them not to hurt him.

¹ باد شاو گهریاں Bādshāw Ghariān—a common story.—R. C. T.

² زمیندار Zamindar—properly in the Panjāb a peasant proprietor; in common parlance any agriculturist or cultivator.—R. C. T.

³ It is a common idea in the Panjāb that crocodiles go

"We will not hurt you, or your fields if you will promise to give your daughter in marriage to us," said the crocodiles.

The farmer in a great fright promised he would do so, and the crocodiles disappeared into the river. But when he told his wife what he had done, she was very much vexed, for their daughter was beautiful as the moon, and her betrothal to a rich house had already taken place. So she persuaded her husband not to think anything more about his promise. But when the time of the wedding came, the bridegroom died. However, the farmer's daughter was so beautiful she soon had another asking,⁴ but this time her suitor fell sick of a lingering illness. So

into riverside fields, but I do not know that there is any real foundation for it.—R. C. T.

⁴ مانگنی Mangani—Panj. Betrothal or offer of marriage; ordinary Hindi expression is سگایي Sagai. In the Panjāb *Mangani* is the universal usage, *Sagai* is restricted to the Sikh castes, who are principally those Pārvāz or North-West Province men.—R. C. T.

it was whenever she was sought in betrothal, till the farmer's wife acknowledged that the crocodiles were determined her daughter should fulfil the promise made to them.

By her advice, the farmer went down to the river to try and persuade the crocodiles to release him from his promise. They would hear no excuses, but threatened him with fearful punishments if he did not at once fulfil it. He went home sorrowful but determined not to yield.

The very next day his daughter broke her leg. Then his wife cried: "These demons of crocodiles will kill us all; better let us give up our dear daughter."

So the farmer went to the river bank, and told the crocodiles they might send the bridal procession as soon as they chose. The very next day a number of female crocodiles arrived with *makaddi*, etc. for the *sacchi*; they brought beautiful clothes and behaved with the utmost politeness. But the beautiful bride wept, and wailed "Are you marrying me to the river?" she said, "I shall be drowned."

Soon after the bridal procession arrived, and such a *baad* never was seen. In the middle sat the King of the Crocodiles covered with jewels. Some crocodiles played instruments of music, some danced, some carried on their heads baskets full of food, sweets, garments and jewels.

At the sight of these magnificent things the bride's heart was comforted, but when they put her into the *gold* to carry her away, she wept bitterly. When they arrived at the river they took her out of the *gold*, and dragged her into the river. She screamed fearfully, but behold, no sooner had they touched the water, than the stream divided, and the whole party disappeared down a path which seemed

to lead to the bottom of the river. The girl's father returned home very much astonished at what he had seen.

Some months passed by: the mother wept because she had no news of her daughter, and said "She is drowned, I know she is, and your story about the stream dividing is not true."

Now when the King of the Crocodiles was leaving with his bride he gave a brick to her father, saying "If ever you want to see your daughter, go to the river, throw this brick as far as you can into the current, and you will see what you will see." So the farmer said to his wife, "I will go and find out for myself if my daughter be alive or dead." So he went to the river, whirled the stone round his head, and threw it far into the stream. Immediately the water rolled back, and there was a dry path leading down to the bottom. It was bordered by flowers and looked so inviting, that the farmer never hesitated, but hastened along it. By and by he came to a magnificent palace, with golden roof, and shining diamond walls with gardens and trees all round them, and a sentinel was pacing up and down before the door.

"Whose palace is this, sentry?" asked the farmer. "The King of the Crocodiles," answered the sentry. Then the farmer was overjoyed. "My daughter is surely here," thought he, "and what a splendid house she has got: I only wish her bridegroom were half as handsome." Then he said to the sentry, "My daughter married the King of the Crocodiles. Is she within? I want to see her." The sentry laughed; "A likely story indeed! What! my master married your daughter! Ha! Ha! Ha!"

Now the queen was sitting inside by the open window. She was as happy as the day was long, with her handsome husband, for you must

* *جین* Jin—Arabic, a spirit, a genius—now in common use by Hindus and Mohammedans in the Panjab.—R. C. T.

* *براد* Baad—Hindi—a marriage procession,—used in the Panjab among the Banias. Panj. expression is *جہاز* Jaj.—R. C. T.

* *مہندی* Mahendi—Lawsonia alba, used for staining the hands and feet; henna.—R. C. T.

* *ساجت* Sajat, Panj. the ceremony of staining with henna.—There are two kinds *آجی* Ajji, open cere-

mony; *گجی* Gaji, stolen or secret ceremony. *Sacchi* is *sach* and *chi* from Sansk. root *चि* chi, an assembly.

The custom is to send a body of friends from the bridegroom's house to the bride's with heans, etc.—R. C. T.

* *گولڈ* Gold is a large palanquin, used for bridal processions; a smaller and better known kind is the *دولی* Doli in common use. This is the Dandy of the English. It should be remarked here that among all classes in the Panjab the distinction between the Mussulmān and Hindu religions is not broadly marked in matter of ceremony; and, especially among the Jat Zamindars, the marriage ceremonies now observed by Mussulmans and Hindus are almost identical and mostly of Hindu origin. This is to be observed in all their tales introducing marriages. Hindus also frequently have Mussulmān wives, who remain such all their lives without social degradation. The custom of Mussulmān kings taking Hindu wives is of course historical; witness Akbar.—R. C. T.

know he only took the form of a crocodile when he went on shore. In his river kingdom he was a handsome young prince. So the young queen was so happy she had never once thought of her home; but now she heard a voice speaking in the sentry, and said: "It is my father's voice." She went to the window, and looked out, and lo! there was her father standing in his poor clothes in the splendid court. She longed to run and meet him, but she dared not, for her husband had bidden her never to go out of, or let any one into, the palace without his permission. So she cried—"Oh my dear father, only wait till the King of Crocodiles returns, and I will let you in."

The farmer didn't wonder his daughter was afraid of her terrible husband, so he waited patiently. Very soon a crowd of horsemen trooped into the court, and in the midst of them, the handsomest young prince you ever set eyes upon, dressed from head to foot in golden armour. They all wore armour, only while he wore gold, the rest wore silver. Then the

farmer fell down before the prince, and said:—"Cherish me, oh King, for I am a poor man, whose daughter was carried off by the terrible King of the Crocodiles." Then the prince smiled, and said: "I am the King of the Crocodiles, and your daughter is a good obedient wife." Then there were great rejoicings, and the farmer after a few days' feasting begged that he might take his daughter home, to convince her mother that she was well and happy. But the Crocodile King said, "Not so; if you like I will give you a house and land here, and you can dwell with us."

So the farmer said he would ask his wife, and returned home, taking with him several bricks to throw into the water and make the stream divide. Next time he travelled to the Crocodile Kingdom, he brought his wife with him, and by degrees they became so fond of the beautiful river country, that at last they went to live there altogether with their son and daughter, the King and Queen of the Crocodiles.

(To be continued.)

M. SENART ON THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

From the French.

M. Émile Senart has published, in the *Journal Asiatique*, a very careful Étude on the Inscriptions of Piyadasi or Aśoka¹ which deserves the attention of all Indian scholars: we give an outline translation of parts of it:—

He first notices the discovery of the various inscriptions and the progress made in their interpretation from the days of Prinsep till the present, when the publication of General Cunningham's *Corpus Inscriptionum* has supplied to scholars new copies of these inscriptions. These copies, however, he does not regard as of final authority, seeing there are several passages as presented in them in which the text still resists translation, and others in which the earlier copies have an advantage over them of which the grammar and the sense leave no doubt. We find examples not only in the variants of Burgois's facsimiles for Girnar,² but even in the comparison of the facsimile of Wilson for the Kapur-di-giri version. Even now, as Barnouf said thirty years ago, "no one can flatter himself that he has attained to the complete under-

standing of these difficult monuments." But much progress has been made which may well justify new attempts; and more than ever may we join with Barnouf in adding that "there is no one who may not flatter himself that he may help towards the interpretation of these precious witnesses to the home and foreign history, religious and linguistic of ancient India."

To group and condense the results attained up to the present, especially by exact and methodic commentators, by Barnouf, Kern, and Bühler; occasionally to correct them; to attempt the analysis of parts which they have not translated; to extend to all the parallel versions, where there are several, the examination hitherto restricted to one or two of them; to prepare in this way, and present in a complete form the conclusions which, from the grammatical and historical aspects, are premised by documents so authentic, and their relation to other literary monuments:—such are the various features which invite a new study.

He reviews in succession the different groups

¹ *J. As. VIIlème Sér.* tom. XV, pp. 287-347, 479-609; referred to ante, p. 232.

² *Archæol. Sur. of West. Ind.* 1874-75, pl. X, and fig.

of inscriptions: the *Fourteen Edicts* of Girnar, Kapurdi-giri, Khalsi, Dhauli, Jaugada, to which the *Detached Edicts* of Dhauli and Jaugada form a natural pendant; the *Pillar Edicts* at Dehli, Allahābād, Māthra and Rādhia; the *Detached Rock Edicts* at Bhābra, Sāhasrām, Rūpnāth and Bairat. The commentary will be followed by a grammatical study and some historical remarks; an index of the words contained in the inscriptions will close the paper.

In all our texts, M. Senart points out,² there appear examples, too numerous to be regarded as mistakes, of the equivalence of the long vowel and the vowel nasalized. It may suffice to give some examples from the first of the *xiv* edicts:—

I. Kh. 1. 2: *dard* for *dardā*.—K. 1. 1: *kidān-laka* (at Khalsi *kāda*); *nashuś* for *na*, like *chā* for *chā*; 1. 3: *papaś* for *pāpaś-prāpāś*.—Dh. 1. 4: *tikāś* for *tīkāś-tīkā*; *paśchāś* for *pāśchāś*, an equivalent form of *pāśchāś* for *pāśchāś*.—J. 1. 4: *tikāś-tīkāś*.

II. Dh. *naś* for *naśāś*.—K. 1. 3: *śavāś* for *śavāśāś*.

III. Kh. 1. 7: *nikkamāś* for *nikkamāśāś*; 1. 8: *chāś* for *chāśāś*.

IV. G. 1. 1: *atikāś* for *atikāśāś*; 1. 6: *vikāś* for *vikāśāś*.—Kh. 1. 9: *bādhāś* for *bādhāśāś*; 1. 12: *tikāś* for *tikāśāś*.—Dh. 1. 12 and 15: *bādhāś* for *bādhāśāś*; 1. 17: *tikāś* for *tikāśāś*.—K. 1. 8: *dharmāśāś* representing *dharmāśāś* for *dharmāśāś*; 1. 9: *naś* for *naśāś*.

V. G. 1. 3: *atikāś*, as above; 1. 4: *dhāś* for *dhāśāś*; 1. 5: *dhāśāś* for *dhāśāśāś*.—K. 1. 13: *pāśchāśāś* for *pāśchāśāś*; 1. 22, Kh. 1. 15, and K. 1. 13, we have *bādhāśāś* for *bādhāśāśāś*; in the same 1. 17 is also found: *śavāśāś* for *śavāśāśāś*.—Dh. 1. 22, Kh. 1. 15, and K. 1. 13, we have *bādhāśāś* for *bādhāśāśāś*; in the same 1. 17 is also found: *śavāśāś* for *śavāśāśāś*.—K. ix, 9: *śavāśāś* for *śavāśāśāś*.—K. x, 21: *dharmāśāś* for *dharmāśāśāś*.—K. x, 22: *dharmāśāś* for *dharmāśāśāś*.—K. xi, 30: we read *naś* for *naśāś*, that is to say *naśāś* = *naśāśāś*.—G. xii, 7, has *śavāśāśāś* which is the 3rd pers. plur. of the optative for *śavāśāśāś*.—Kh. xiv, 17, has *śavāśāśāś*, corresponding to *śavāśāśāś* of the other versions, *śavāśāśāśāś*.

VI. G. 1. 1: *atikāśāś*.—Dh. 1. 31 and J. 1. 4, we read *śavāśāśāś* and *śavāśāśāśāś* for *śavāśāśāś*, *śavāśāśāśāś*.—Dh. 1. 32: *śavāśāśāś* for *śavāśāśāśāś*; 1. 33: *pāśchāśāś* for *pāśchāśāśāś*; 1. 33: *pāśchāśāśāś* = *pāśchāśāśāśāś*.—J. 1. 5: *śavāśāśāś* corresponding to *śavāśāśāśāś* of the other versions. —Kh. 1. 17: *śavāśāśāś* for *śavāśāśāśāś*; 1. 20: *śavāśāśāś* and *pāśchāśāś* as at Dhauli. —K. 1. 15: *śavāśāś*; 1. 16: *śavāśāś* for the nasal *śavāśāśāśāś*.

VII. G. 1. 3: *śavāśāś* for *śavāśāśāś*.—Dh. 1. 1: *śavāśāśāś* = *śavāśāśāśāś*.

It is needless to extend this enumeration; these are enough to justify, without special proof, the equivalence of *naś* and *naśāś*, &c., whenever the grammar or the sense require it. It is not necessary to dwell here on the grammatical interest of this fact. It is to be compared with certain well known phenomena of the Prakrit; the instrumental *śavāśāś*, for example, of the Jains, in this light, is only a particular instance of a fact quite common in the cognate dialects—the indifference of the final vowel. The same thing explains those examples in which it was thought that the sign of the masculine might serve equally in the Aśoka alphabet to mark the redoubling of the following consonant; *kāśāś* ought not to be read *kāśāś* but rather *kāśāś*; only this form is equivalent to *kāśāś*, which itself, following the constant law of Prakrit phonetics, is equivalent to *kāśāśāś*.

We have just had *pāśchāśāś* for *pāśchāśāś*; we find also (K. vi. 16) the reading *pāśchāśāś*, and we have no right to deny the possibility of it; in a certain number of words *naś* and *naśāś* are interchanged and consequently equivalent. Here are the principal instances:—

K. i, 1: *śavāśāśāś* which can only be explained as *śavāśāśāśāś*.—J. iv, 16: *śavāśāśāś* for *śavāśāśāśāś*.—Kh. v, 14, Dh. v, 23 and J. v, 24: *śavāśāśāś* = *śavāśāśāśāś*.—K. v, 13, without insisting on *śavāśāśāś*, but *śavāśāśāśāś* (or *śavāśāśāśāśāś* according to Wilson's facsimile) represents *śavāśāśāśāś*.—Kh. vi, 10, *śavāśāśāś* is to be explained as representing *śavāśāśāśāś*.—K. viii, 17: we have *nikkamāśāśāś* which can only be *nikkamāśāśāśāś*, as in 1. 22: *śavāśāśāś* = *śavāśāśāśāś* for *śavāśāśāśāś*; in the same 1. 17 is also found: *śavāśāśāś* for *śavāśāśāśāś*.—K. ix, 9: *śavāśāśāś* for *śavāśāśāśāś*.—K. x, 21: *dharmāśāśāś* = *dharmāśāśāśāś*.—K. x, 22: *dharmāśāśāś* corresponding to *dharmāśāśāś* of Khalsi. —Kh. xi, 30: we read *naśāś* for *naśāśāś*, that is to say *naśāśāś* = *naśāśāśāś*.—G. xii, 7, has *śavāśāśāśāś* which is the 3rd pers. plur. of the optative for *śavāśāśāśāś*.—Kh. xiv, 17, has *śavāśāśāśāś*, corresponding to *śavāśāśāśāś* of the other versions, *śavāśāśāśāśāś*.

This fact is important for the interpretation of many details; it is sufficiently established even if we admit that part of the instances given might arise from a material confusion

between *aa* and *a*, so easy in the alphabet of the north-west. It would be still further confirmed if the presence of a *u* were not always subject to some doubt in the Kapurdi-giri version, by the future *kasali* (K. v, 1) = *kakashi* for *kasali* for *kur[?]shyati*.*

We know that at Kapurdi-giri the long *d* is not ordinarily written or distinguished from *a* short, any more than *i* or *e* long from their corresponding short sounds. We now see, however, that it is sometimes indirectly expressed by an equivalent—the nasal. This leads us to recognize in the same inscription another indication, equally accidental, and different from the first, though perhaps graphically derived from it. The foot of the line, less or more vertical, which enters into the forms of most of the letters very often bears a short turn towards the left, affecting the form of the *a* in some cases where there is no question of admitting that vowel.* I do not think there is ground for attaching any significance to this mark; it is easy to see in it the natural movement of the chisel in a writing round towards the left and in a character so cursive. The more remarkable are the converse examples, where the additional mark turns to the right and affects the form of the *r* group, only that the premises of an *r* is quite unjustifiable; we see by the following list that in most of these cases the reading *d* is, on the other hand, perfectly natural. We thus find:—

1st face, l. 6: *dharmasambhitiya* (*asambhiti*), *sambhiti*; l. 7: *gaidai*, *chd* (*aka*); l. 9: *adara* (see above); l. 12: *gambhadrana*; l. 13: *dama*, *ayud* (*dama* *ayud*); l. 14: *adya*, *tdya*; l. 15: *asatirandya*; l. 17: *jiva* (= *giva*); l. 23: *dharmadana*; l. 24: *vadava* for *vadava* = *vaktavya*.

2nd face, l. 1: *vijid* corresponding to *vijid* at Kh., *isid* corresponding to *isid* of Kh.; l. 2: *tda* for *tda* of Kh. l. 4: *vihitasha* = *vihitasha*; l. 5: *ambhiti* (*ambhiti*); *chd* for *chd* (*chd*); *chd* by mistake for *chd*; l. 8: *chd*, that is *chd*; l. 9: *turamaya*, the transcription of the name of Ptolemy.

With these examples, only subject to the previous remarks, are connected:—

* On *cha* compare the next note.

* There are also other cases where a positive decision is impossible; especially in the form *cha*, the equivalent of *cha* (probably through the intermediation of *cha* = *cha* = *cha*) the carelessness of the engraver at Kapur-di-giri does not permit us to decide whether we ought to read *cha* or *cha* in many instances. But in every case the legitimacy of the word *cha* is assured (notwithstanding the opinion

I. L. 1: *agā*, i. e. *agā*; l. 19: *svamaya*, *svamaya*, for *svamaya*; l. 20: *anata* = *ananta*; l. 21: *adadai*, locative for *adadai* (= *adadai*).

II. L. 1: *kalikā* in face of *kalikā* at Kh.; l. 10: *jadhā* which I take as = *[na]radhā*.

Another remains doubtful from the uncertainty and the obscurity of the surrounding characters, and of the whole passage: *kanudape* (P) xiii. l. 7.

Only a few examples are found opposed to the transcription here proposed: *adapokai*, l. 1, 5, where it is necessary, following all analogy, to replace *adapokai*; *ldha* for *ldha* l. 1, and *garadadara* for *garadadara*, l. 7. As for *asambhitiya*, l. 15, which it is necessary to read *asambhitiya*, the whole sign for *ya* is so badly formed and the two facsimiles differ too much in appearance to allow any serious objection to it. Twice (ii. l. 5 and 6) we find *adgha* in place of *adgha*, but besides having here an accidental inversion, in the second case Kh. has also *adgha*. From the preceding we are authorised to regard the sign in question as a sporadic notation for *d* long. It is however distinguished in the transcriptions by using *d* for it.

In the legends of the coins a dot or stroke, and below or a little to the left of certain letters, has been regarded¹ as a sign of *d*, but this M. Senart considers a mistake. A somewhat analogous fact he finds in the Kapur-di-giri inscription. Certain words of the eighth and ninth edicts have a line slanting up to the left below the *m*: these are,—l. 8: *ayama*, corresponding to *ayama* of Khalsi; l. 9 and 10: in *nama* after the proper names *sambhitiya*, *turamaya*, *ambhiti*, *maka*, and *alibadara*; then in *dharm* in composition in lines 10 (twice), 11, and 12, finally l. 13 in *adhalaka*. None of these indicate any character different from the usual *m*. The horizontal strokes at one or both edges of the sign *u* which stands for *m* similarly have no significance (p. 310).

The sign *u* has hitherto been always read *ai*: it ought to be read *thi*, which answers the requirements in every case (p. 311).

Elsewhere² M. Senart has remarked on the sign

of M. Kern, *Über die Inschriften der südlichen Ind.* (Hasten, pp. 32–33) by its so frequent use in the inscriptions in Indian characters.

¹ Von Sallet's *Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen in Bactrien*, pp. 104, 106, 109, 111, 113, 114, 116, 120, 131, 132, 133, 154, 156, 174.

² Notice sur le 1er volume du *Corpus Inschrift. Ind.* in *J. As.* VII, 1ère Ser. t. XIII, p. 122 ff.

found in the Girnār inscriptions, and which has usually been transcribed as a simple variant of *p*. Collating all the instances where the facsimiles present the sign with sufficient clearness, and without insisting on the altogether special value of the photographic reproduction⁸ given by Mr. Burgess, they prove, what the form itself indicates, that the character really represents the compound *pr*, the *p* being completed by the wavy line for *r* carried upwards. The corrected analysis of the *pr* group throws light on others formed similarly by the curvation of the vertical line; these are *vr*, *sv*, *tv*. In xiv, 2, the copy (*Corp. Ind.*) has *pra* a mistaken alteration from *era*; the word is *sarvata*, i.e. *sarvata*, the *r* is attached to the *s*, exactly as the alphabet of the N. West inscribes for *dhar*, *dharava* for *dharma*, *dha* for *dhā* (*pragadharma*), *ava* for *ava* in *avastara*. In both the alphabets of Kāpur-di-giri and of Girnār all interpreters seem to have overlooked in these two last as in other cases, the presence of the *r*, marked nevertheless usually, by a horizontal stroke below and to the right of the consonant which it accompanies. By a license less singular we find the compound *era* expressed by a sign which on the analogy of the preceding we should transcribe *era*, in *avanta*, ii, 1, 4, and also ii, 6, 7 at least very probably; in *sarva* vi, 9; 11. There remain to be noted the traces of a more curious *r* group. In ii, 8, is distinctly read *vachhā*, corresponding to the Sanskrit *vachā* (Dhātū *vachā*); here *r* represents the vowel *ṛ*, and in reality we ought to read *vachhā*. This suggests that we should read also in v, 4 and 6, *pra* (for *pr*) in *yāpā*, written in the following line *yāpā*; perhaps, however, we should retain simply the reading *epāpā*.⁹

"A new and careful revision of Mr. Burgess's facsimiles, our authority most worthy of confidence, enables me," says M. Senart,¹⁰ "to complete the proof of the above. One or two instances, which appeared to imply a serious mistake of the engraver's, disappear; many others appear to confirm my proof, and even a new group *bra* is twice employed in *parākrāmāni* and *parākrāmāna*. Here is a complete table of the groups:—

bra, vi, 11, 14.

tra, ii, 4, 7; vi, 4, 5; ix, 2; xiv, 5.

trā, iv, 8 (thrice); vi, 12, 13; xiii, 1.

tra, ix, 6, 7.

pra, i, 3; iv, 2 (twice), 6, 8; vi, 15; viii, 4; ix, 2, 4; xi, 2; xiii, 1, 4 (twice).

prā, i, 9, 10, 12; ii, 1; iii, 2, 5; iv, 3, 6; xiii, 4.

prī, i, 1, 2, 5 (twice), 7 (twice), 8 (twice); ii, 1, 4 (twice); iv, 2 (twice), 5 (twice), 7, 8 (thrice), 12 (twice); v, 1; viii, 2 (twice), 5; ix, 1 (twice), x, 1, 3; xi, 1; xiv, 1 (twice).

era, ii, 1, 4, 6, 7, 8; iii, 2; v, 4; vi, 5; vii, 1; xiv, 2 (twice).

era, iv, 2; xiii, 1.

sra, i, 9; vi, 6.

sri, v, 8.

sva, iv, 7 (twice); x, 2; xii, 7 (twice).

Another compound $\frac{1}{2}$ at Girnār, composed of *p* and *t*, was read by Wilson *pta*; Lassen¹¹ simply admits that *ta* becomes *pt* in the Girnār dialect; and Haracof,¹² on the analogy of other groups, read *pta*. Keen¹³ transcribes it *pta*, but says its pronunciation is uncertain. It is found in i, 1, 3; *drabhitā*; iv, 4; *dasatā*; vi, 11; *hitatā*; x, 1; *tasatā*; x, 4; *paritā*; xii, 1; *paritā*; xii, 8; *abhitā*; xiv, 4; *abhitā*. In short, this group appears in the termination of the absolutive where it is *-ta*, in the numeral *śatā* where it has the same value, as well as in the suffixes *ta* and *ta*; lastly in *pta* it corresponds to *ta* in *pta*. The form is ordinary Prakrit to which it corresponds in all these examples, which alone explains its graphic formation, is *pta*,—compare *apa*, the suffix *pa* in Sanskrit, the absolutes in *pta*, *pta* of the Apabhraṃśa (p. 311-313). The letter $\frac{1}{2}$ then is a historical form and not simply representative; it is the result of a kind of compromise between actual pronunciation (probably *pt*) and the etymological form (*ta* and *ta*) (p. 314).

Next we have in the form $\frac{1}{2}$ composed of *s* and *t*—the dental *s* with the curvilinear mute, and corresponding in turn to *st*, *st*, *st* (*st*), *st* (*st*), and even *st* (*st*) of the Sanskrit. Hemachandra (iv, 209) says that in Māgadh—*st* and *st* ought to be written *st*; but he adds, in discord from the Girnār practice, that *st* and *st* are to be written *st*. The presence of the dental *s* is explained by the poverty of the alphabet, in which one sign

⁸ *Archaeol. Surv. of West. Ind.* 1874-75, pl. X, and fig. and *Ind. Arch.*, vol. V, plates at pp. 257 to 275.

⁹ *J. As. Soc.*, vol. XIII, pp. 538, 539.

¹⁰ *Ann.*, XV, p. 211 B.

¹¹ *Ind. Arch.* 11, 227, n. 4.

¹² *Notes de la Société Ind.*, p. 604.

¹³ *Journal Ind.*, p. 46 and note.

¹⁴ *Lassen, Fest. L. Pakt.*, pp. 463, 468.

stands for the sibilants in general. The real pronunciation of the group was doubtless *śā* or *śh*.

In the Khālai inscription, the sign 𑀓 ought, where the etymology requires it, to be regarded simply as another form of 𑀔 , and the form 𑀕 , which Cunningham regards as the *palatal*¹² is nothing else than a form parallel and simply equivalent to the 𑀌 (pp. 317-323).

L. *The Fourteen edicts and the Separate edicts of Dhauḥi.*

Of the five versions, Dhauḥi and Jaugada only include the first ten and the fourteenth, but they have in common two edicts,—the *Separate Edict of Dhauḥi*. The text of Girnār is by far the most correct; it is on the whole the best preserved, except for part from the Vth, and some very important and greatly-to-be-regretted losses from the XIIIth edicts; it is also that of which we have the most and best revisions, the only one indeed of which our knowledge may now be regarded as complete. It is therefore made the basis of the translations (pp. 327-330).

M. Senart produces the text of Girnār in Pāli type with a transliteration from the fac-similes in the *Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India*, vol. II, followed, first by transliterations side by side, of the Dhauḥi and Jaugada, and then of the Khālai and Kapur-di-giri versions,—the inexactitude of the transcriptions in the *Corpus Inscriptionum* rendering it necessary to give them anew.

On each version of each edict there is a full commentary, that on the Girnār one coming first, and embracing all remarks that bear on the other versions in common with it, and those on the others dealing with the details more specially belonging to each.

We can afford space only for the Girnār versions and the translations:—

1st Edict.¹³

- (1) Iyāṁ dharmālipi devānāmpriyā
(2) Priyadasinā rāṇā lekṣhāpātā[.] idha na kim.

¹² *Corpus Ins.* vol. I, p. 14; conf. Bühler, *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 130, s. v. *śaṅkha*.

¹³ Prinsep, *J. A. S. Soc.* vol. VII, (1838), p. 249; Wilson, *J. R. As. Soc.* vol. XII, p. 157 f.; Lassen, *Ind. Ant.* vol. II, p. 220, n. 1; also *Jour. Asiat.* VII. S. t. XIII, pp. 540-545.

¹⁴ Cunningham's fac-simile, plate v. (C) has "kaśchā".
¹⁵ According to Dh. J. and Kh. *prajāśāntayā* is an error for *prajāśāntā*, fut. part. pass. of *prajāśānti*, which ought to be given up, *ascribed*. (p. 335).

¹⁶ Fac-simile C. *edje ka*.

¹⁷ Fac-simile C. *yaśi prā*.

¹⁸ The stone is so injured here that the first syllable of this word is very doubtful. The parser, separate in the

(3) *chi*¹⁷ jīvaś ārabhitā prajāśāntayā¹⁸

(4) na cha samājo¹⁹ katavyo [.] bahukaṁ hi dosaṁ

(5) samājamhi pasatī devānāmpriyo Priyadasirijā [.]

(6) asti pi tu ekachā samajā sādhumatā devānām

(7) priyasa²⁰ Priyadasino rāṇo parā mahānasa jamā²¹

(8) devānāmpriyasa²² Priyadasino rāṇo anudivasam²³ ha-

(9) hūni prāpasatasaṁsārāni²⁴ ārabhisa sūpāthāya [.]

(10) so aja yadā anyāś dharmālipi likhitā ti eva prā-

(11) na ārabhase sūpāthāya dṛṣṭa morā eka mago²⁵ so pi

(12) mago na dhavo²⁶ [.] ete pi²⁷ ti prajā pachā na ārabhisāhre [.]

Translation.

"This edict has been engraved by order of the king Priyadasi, beloved of the Dēvas (on Mount Khupisgala,—Dh. J.). It is disallowed here below to destroy [willfully] any life in slaughter, and also to make convivial assemblies (*festivals*). For the king Priyadasi, beloved of the Dēvas, was much evil in convivial assemblies (F) There have indeed been, approved [by him], more than one convivial assembly (F) formerly in the kitchens of the king Priyadasi, beloved of the Dēvas, when (the word for 'when' occurs only in G.), for the table of the king Priyadasi, beloved of the Dēvas, were slain daily hundreds of thousands of living creatures. But at the time when this edict is engraved, three animals only are slain for his table, two peacocks and a deer, and even the deer not regularly. Those three animals even will no more be killed henceforth." (p. 347).

Second Edict.²⁸

- (1) Sarvata vijitamhi devānāmpriyasa piyadasino²⁹ rāṇo.

other versions, is here joined with the following by the conjunction *pi* for *śānta* or *śānta* = *śānta* (Hemachandra, ed. Pischel, iv, 406), 'when' (p. 337).

¹⁹ Fac-simile C. *saṁjaya*.

²⁰ Fac-simile C. *saṁjaya*.

²¹ Fac-simile C. *saṁjaya*.

²² C. *saṁjaya*.

²³ C. *saṁjaya*.

²⁴ C. *saṁjaya*.

²⁵ C. *saṁjaya*.

²⁶ C. *saṁjaya*.

²⁷ C. *saṁjaya*.

²⁸ This and the Third edict from M. Senart's second article in tom. XV, pp. 479-509. On the Second edict, see Prinsep, n. s. p. 156 f.; Wilson, n. s. p. 163 f.; Kern, *Jour. Asiat.* d. *royal. Asiat.* p. 29, f.

²⁹ C. *saṁjaya* de *piyasa*.

(2) *evamapi*²⁰ *prāchamtesu*²¹ *yathā* Choḍi
Pīdā Satiyaputo Ketalaputo ā²² Tāmha-

(3) *paṇṇi* Aṁtiyako Yonarijā ye vāpi tass
Aṁtiyakassa sāmipam²³

(4) *rājāno sarvatra*²⁴ *devānampriyasa* Priya-
dasino rāḥo dve chikichhā katā

(5) *manusachikichhā*²⁵ *cha* *pasachikichhā*
cha [...] *osadhāni* *cha* *yāni* *manusopagāni* *cha*

(6) *pasopagāni*²⁶ *cha* *yata* *yata* *nāsi* *sarvatā*²⁷
hārāpitāni *cha* *ropāpitāni* *cha* [...]

(7) *mālāni* *cha* *phalāni* *cha* *yata* *yatra* *nāsi*
*sarvatā*²⁸ *hārāpitāni* *cha* *ropāpitāni* *cha* [...]

(8) *paṁthaso* *kūpā* *cha* *khānāpitā* *vraclā* *cha*
ropāpitā *paribhogiya* *pasumanusānāni* [...]

Translation.

"Everywhere in the territory of the king Piyadasi, beloved of the Dēvas, and also of the peoples who are on his borders, such as the Choḍas, the Pāṇḍiyas, the country of Satiyaputra, of Ketalaputra as far as (K. and Kh. omit this word) Tambapaṇṇi, [in the territory of] Antiochos, king of the Greeks, and also of the kings who are near to him (K. Kh. : in Aetiana), everywhere the king Piyadasi, beloved of the Dēvas, has distributed remedies of two sorts, remedies for men, remedies for animals. Everywhere, where useful plants are wanting, whether for men, whether for animals, they have been imported and planted (K. : everywhere they have been imported, and the same of trees). Wherever there was a want of (Kh. : all the roots or fruits, they have been imported and planted (the phrase is wanting in K.). And upon the roads (upon the roads is wanting in K.), wells have been dug (Kh. : in the ground) for the use of animals and of men" (p. 491).

Third Edict.²⁹

(1) *Devānampriyo* Piyadasi³⁰ *rāja* *evam* āha [...] *dvādasavāsābhixitena*³¹ *mayā* *idam* ākāpi-
tam³² [...]

(2) *Sarvato*³³ *vijite* *mama* *yutā*³⁴ *cha* *rājāke*
cha *prādesiko*³⁵ *cha* *paṁchasa* *paṁchasa* *vāsesu*
anumāṇe

(3) *yānam*³⁶ *niyāsa* *etāye* *va* *athāya* *imāya*
dhammānusanatiya *yathā* *āhi*

(4) *ya* *pi*³⁷ *kaṁmāya* [...] *sādhū*³⁸ *mātari* *cha*
pitari *cha* *vasāsa*³⁹ *mitāsa* *mitāsa* *āhāṇaṁ*⁴⁰
baṁhaṇa

(5) *samaṇānaṁ* *sādhū* *dīnaṁ* *prāṇaṇaṁ* *sādhū*
*anārāmbho*⁴¹ *apavasyatā* *apabhiṇḍatā* *sā-*
hu [...]

(6) *pariā* *pi* *yato*⁴² *āhāpasiṇti* *gaṇanāyaṁ*
hetato *cha* *vyājanato*⁴³ *cha* [...]

Translation.

"Thus saith the king Piyadasi, beloved of the Dēvas: in the third year of my consecration, I have ordained as follows. That everywhere in my empire, the faithful, the Rājaka and the district governor repair every five years to the assembly [called *anussangāna*] as to their other duties (K. : besides their other duties) in order there to make known the following religious precepts:—It is good to manifest docility to one's father and mother, to friends, acquaintances and relations; it is good to give alms to Brāhmins and Śramanas, good to respect the life of living beings, good to abstain from prodigality and violence of language. It is for the clergy further to instruct the faithful in detail as to principles and in the terms⁴⁴ (dans le fond et dans les termes) (p. 500).

(To be continued.)

²⁰ E has been cut away by the lithographer in fac-simile B.

²¹ Fac-simile B. "prachin."

²² Fac-simile C. "pīdā a ta."

²³ C. "chāni" ed.

²⁴ C. "rājāno sarvato."

²⁵ C. "pasachhā."

²⁶ Fac-simile C. "pasopā."

²⁷ C. "sarvato."

²⁸ C. "sarvato."

²⁹ *Prinsen's Jour. A. S. Beug.*, vol. VII, (1883), p. 250; *Wilson, J. R. A. S.*, vol. XIII, p. 170ff. (Burnouf, on the two last sentences, *Lofus*, pp. 721, 722ff.; *Lasson, Ind. Alt. Ind.*, vol. II (1st ed.) p. 228, 229 notes).

³⁰ Fac-simile C. "piyadasi" jō.

³¹ Fac-simile C. "sarvato."

³² Fac-simile C. "mayā i āpā."

³³ C. "sarvato."

³⁴ See Burnouf, p. 738; *yutā* here and elsewhere means 'the faithful,' *prādesiko* is applied to employés or rather local or provincial governors; *anussangāna*, is a conference or assembly (pp. 496-497).

³⁵ Fac-simile C. "prādesiko."

³⁶ Fac-simile C. "anussangāna."

³⁷ Fac-simile C. "yutā i ta."

³⁸ Fac-simile C. "sarvato sarvato."

³⁹ Fac-simile C. "sarvato."

⁴⁰ Fac-simile C. "sarvato sarvato."

⁴¹ See Burnouf, *Lofus*, p. 721ff (p. 300).

⁴² Fac-simile C. "pariāpi yutā āpā."

⁴³ Conf. *Glunberg, Mémoires*, 46, l. 24 (p. 502).

⁴⁴ This may be expressed with a slight paraphrase thus:—"To the clergy (if falls) then to teach in detail the basis (of morality, its various rules), and the form i.e. according to the formulas, and in the appointed order."

MISCELLANEA.

DIVISION OF THE BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES.¹

I

Lordship Lodge, Wood Green, Aug. 12th, 1886.

In the *Saṃyutta Pīṭaka* (the *affiliated* or commentary on the *Dīgha Nikāya*, the long collection of the *sutta-pitaka*) Buddhagosa (A. n. 450) mentions the division of the Buddhist scriptures into nine classes (*angulā*). This nine-fold classification was known at least a century earlier, and is alluded to in the *Dīgha Nikāya* (IV. 1-4, 15, ed. Oldenberg) as the division of the *Theravāda*—the sacred text as opposed to the *śālisthāna*, it is mentioned, too, in the *Mūlaka-pāṇḍita* (p. 208).

Mr. Rhys Davids (*Buddhism*, p. 215) thinks that Buddhagosa is not very successful in his endeavours to bring all the *pitaka* books under these subdivisions. That, however, is a question that cannot be settled off-hand, but can only be solved when all the *pitakas* have been thoroughly examined by competent scholars.

This classification was not unknown to the northern Buddhists. *Le Lotus de la Loi*, *Lai* (Sōma, II, p. 46) speaks of "cette loi formée de neuf parties," &c. Bourouf, commenting on this passage, says:—"Les neuf parties . . . sont d'après les Buddhistes du Ceylon, les neuf divisions dont se compose l'ensemble des écritures sacrées attribuées à Śākyamuni."

In the *Introduction à l'étude de l'Inde* (2nd ed., pp. 45-46) Barouf treats of this matter more at large, and shows that the northern Buddhists recognised a twelve-fold division, made up of the older nine *angulā* (*Sutta*, *Geyya*, *Vaggā-kāya*, *Gāthā*, *Vāṇa*, *Itthāna*, *Sūtra*, *Abhaya*, *Paṭṭha*), to which they had added, at a later period, *Nidāna*, *Arachāna*, and *Uparāya*.

Of course these points are familiar to Pāli scholars, but it is not perhaps known that we have earlier authorities for this *angulā*-division than those already mentioned. Curiously enough, the *Pitakas* themselves refer to this classification! In the third section of the *Anguttara Nikāya* (a huge collection of 9,757 *suttas*) we find a chapter entitled *Puggala-vagga*, in the first part of which men are compared to four kinds of clouds:—

1. Thunder-clouds and rainless.
2. Rain-clouds and thunderless.
3. Rainless and thunderous clouds.
4. Thunder and rain clouds.

Each of these four classes is treated separately, but it will suffice to say that the first kind represent "great talkers and little doers" (*Jāla, cūḍāva, śālisthāna puggala bhāṣitaṃ kati na katta*).

The writer goes on to ask how a man is a thun-

derer and not a rainer, and his answer to the question contains a list of the sacred books which exactly corresponds to that given by Buddhagosa and the author of the *Dīgha Nikāya*.

The thunderer, or man of words, has learnt the *āṅgasa*, and can repeat glibly enough the contents of the nine parts of his holy books, but he is no doer, for he has not taken the first step in the eightfold noble path, and has, therefore, no right views as to the origin of sorrow, its extinction, or the steps leading to its extinction.

But not only does the *Sutta-pitaka* recognise this classification, but also the *Abhidhamma-pitaka*. On turning to the *saṅkha* or contents of the *Puggala-pāṇḍita*, one of the *Abhidhamma* or metaphysical books as yet unedited, we find the words "cattāro sūlakkā-upasāda Puggala," which bears a striking resemblance to the *cattāro puggala* in the *Puggala-vagga* of the *Anguttara*. On a further examination of the *cattāro puggala* section of the *Puggala-pāṇḍita*, we find the very words of the *Puggala-vagga* with respect to the "cloud-resembling men," together with the nine divisions of the *angulā* books.

It would be difficult, from any internal evidence, to say whether the *Puggala-pāṇḍita* is based on the *Puggala-vagga* or vice versa. The *Puggala-pāṇḍita* is not, as Mr. Davids describes it, a book of "regulations for those who have entered the path," for it contains no regulations whatever, but is a declaration or designation of the different kinds of persons spoken of in the Buddhist scriptures (cf. *Abhidhamma-pāṇḍita*, *Anguttara-pāṇḍita*, p. 12 of Dr. Trenckner's excellent edition of the *Mūlaka-pāṇḍita*, just published; see also p. 27, l. 30).

The *cattāro puggala* section of the *Puggala-pāṇḍita* according to the *saṅkha* begins thus:—*Asappurisa, asappurisa, asappurisa, asappurisa, asappurisa, asappurisa, asappurisa, asappurisa, asappurisa*. These words occur as parts of a question in the *Anguttara Nikāya*, and they are also found in the third *vagga* of the second part of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*:—"Asappurisa, asappurisa, asappurisa, asappurisa, asappurisa, asappurisa, asappurisa, asappurisa, asappurisa," &c. Taking into account the fact that the *Puggala-pāṇḍita* deals with the explanation of well-known Buddhist terms, it must, I think, be considered as much later than the *Sutta-pitaka*, and is, perhaps, the latest of the *Abhidhamma* books.

It must be evident too, that the *suttas* and treatises that contain a list of the Buddhist books must have found their way among the sacred writings after their order had been finally settled. Strictly speaking, they cannot claim a right to be considered as a part of the Buddhist scriptures.

¹ From *The Academy*, Aug. 21, 1886, p. 136.

The *Sutta-piṭaka* books need a thorough examination, many of the longer *suttas* are, comparatively, of late origin. I have elsewhere pointed out the *Mahāparinibbāna* and *Mahāsatipatṭhāna suttas*.

RICHARD MORRIS.

II.*

Oxford: Aug. 23rd, 1880.

The division of the sacred literature of the Southern and Northern Buddhists according to the *Angas*, on which Dr Morris has given some important information in the last number of the *Academy*, has always reminded me of a singular division applied by the Brāhmanas to their own sacred literature. That division may be found in my *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 40, and it is fully discussed by Śāyana in the Introduction to his commentary on the *Rig-Veda*, vol. I, p. 23. One of the divisions, the *Gāthā*, is actually the same in Vedic and Buddhist literature; another, the Brāhmanic *Āhīna*, is very like the Buddhist *Itivuttaka*, *Ityūta Itivuttaka*. But, as Śāyana has shown that these titles, such as *Brāhmanya Āhīna* Perden, &c., express subjects treated here and there in the *Mantras* and *Brāhmaṇas* rather than separate works or divisions of works, so in the Buddhist literature, too, these titles refer to subjects treated here and there in the *Tripiṭaka* rather than to separate books. Thus it is said by Buddhagoṣa that *Sutta*, for instance, comprehends *Itivuttaka*, but not vice versa; that *gāthā* may contain *gāyā*, while *gāyā*, again, is defined as a prose *sutta* mixed with *gāthā*, or verse.

This being the case, we need not be surprised to find this classification mentioned in the sacred canon itself to which it applies, as there can be no doubt that, like the Vedic literature, the sacred literature of the Buddhists also arose and was preserved for a long time by means of oral tradition, we can perfectly understand that allusions to the principal subjects treated in the *Mantras* and *Brāhmaṇas* should be found in these works themselves, and that even so elaborate a classification of the Dharma and Vinaya as that into nine or twelve *angas* should occur in the *Tripiṭaka* itself. Dr. Morris has rendered good service by pointing out the passages in the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* (*Puggala-paṭṭaṇṭi*), and even in the *sutta-piṭaka* (*anguttara-nikāya*), where the classification of the Pāli sacred books into nine *angas* occurs. We may in future consider it as older at all events than Buddhagoṣa and the *Dīpaṇṣī*. The classification under twelve categories, adopted by the Mahāyāna, may likewise be traced in one of the recognised books of that school, the *Qṣa-karaṇḍa-vyākha*, and need

not be looked upon as a late importation from the south. In a MS. of that work (MS. E. I. H. 22 E. p. 95, 5) we find the following list:—(1) *Sūtra*; (2) *Geya*; (3) *Vyākaraṇa*; (4) *Gāthā*; (5) *Udāna*; (6) *Nidāna*; (7) *Avadāna*; (8) *Itivuttaka*; (9) *Gāthaka*; (10) *Vaipulya*; (11) *Adbhuta*; (12) *Upadāna*.

The meaning of these twelve classes has been fully discussed by Burnouf in his *Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme*, pp. 51 et seqq. Whether this division was first started by the followers of the Hinayāna and then adopted and amplified by the followers of the Mahāyāna is a question which I should like to see answered by more competent judges. Wasmiljer's remarks on the subject (*Buddhismus*, p. 118, note) do not help us much, nor Vasubandhu's commentary on the *Gāthā-sūtra* (*Mūl. Sū.* vol. VIII, p. 570). *Itivuttaka*, however, looks suspiciously like a false translation of *Itivuttaka*. The *Itivuttaka* refers in Pāli to 110 *Suttas*, beginning with an appeal to Buddha's words (*vuttasā h'evaṃ Bhagavato*). In *Itivuttaka*, on the contrary, it seems as if the euphonia of *Dāruṇika* had suggested the Sanskrit *Itivuttaka*.

When looking at Burnouf's *Introduction* for his opinion on the division of the Buddhist canon, my eye was arrested by some remarks of his on the absence of the name of Kṛishṇa, as a god known to the Buddhists, which have never been corrected. On the contrary, the remarks which he made "under all reserves" have been repeated without any reserve, and the conclusions which he based on them conditionally have been accepted unconditionally. Burnouf was quite right in saying that if the name of Kṛishṇa should really prove to be altogether absent from the early Buddhist books, while the names of other Brāhmanic deities are frequently mentioned, it would follow either that the Buddhists had some reason for intentionally ignoring it, or that their books were anterior to the rise of the worship of Kṛishṇa as a god. M. Foucaux, in his translation of the *Reges Tch'ou Bo*, p. 127, had pointed out one passage in which Kṛishṇa must be taken as the name of a god, but he added the somewhat puzzling remark:—"M.E. Burnouf, dans son *Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme*, prouve que le culte de Kṛishṇa était nouveau dans l'Inde quand le Bouddhisme commença." This is hardly the case. Kṛishṇa occurs in Buddhist literature as a name of the black demon (*Lal. Viat.* p. 435, l. 10, and elsewhere), but no one would think of identifying this old, and even Vedic, Asura Kṛishṇa, with Kṛishṇa, the god, as little as from the fact that Buddha had very dark hair (*varukḍḍakasa*) we should look upon him as in any way connected

* *The Academy*, Aug. 28, 1880, p. 154.

with Krishna. But if we examine the original passage in the *Lalitavistara* to which M. Foucaux referred, we can hardly doubt that Krishna is there intended as a god, and as an equal of Vaisravana, Kuvera, Indra, Chandra, Surya, Kama, and Rudra. It occurs in a Gāthā (p. 149, l. 3.) which may be looked upon as older than the prose text; and though we might possibly argue that Krishna should be taken as an epithet of Rudra, it is quite clear that in the prose text, which may serve as the oldest commentary on the Gāthā, Krishna was taken as a separate deity by the side of Vaisravana, Māra, Mahoragendra, Indra, Rudra, Chandra, and Surya. He is called *Mahoteśha*, capable of great efforts, an epithet which agrees better with the hero of the *Mahābhārata* than with that of the *Gopāyavallabha*. The name of Krishna, as a god, should therefore no longer be treated as unknown to the authors of the nine *Dharmas*, nor should it be maintained that Sanskrit works in which Krishna appears as a god, such as the *Mahābhārata*, and particularly the *Bhagavadgītā*, must on that account be classed as post-Buddhist, or as later, at least, than the Third Council.

F. MAX MÜLLER.

FOLKLORE PARALLEL.

I find the following in Bernhard Schmidt's *Griechische Märchen, Sagen, und Volksteden*, p. 24:—

"An old legend resembling the myths of Admetus and Alkestis is reproduced in a popular ballad of Trebizond. Jannis, so runs the story, the only son of his parents, is just making preparations for his wedding, when Charon appears at the door with threatening mien to bear away his soul. The young man proposes to him to have a wrestling match on a brazen threshing-floor; if Charon wins, he will surrender his soul, but if he remains conqueror, the wedding is to take place. But Charon will not agree to this proposal: he says that God has sent him to fetch souls, not to waste his time in games and wrestling matches. Then Jannis begs St. George to entreat God that his life may be lengthened. God makes him this promise that if his father, who has still 30 years of life before him, will give half of this time to his son, he shall live to celebrate his marriage. But his

father will not spare him even one day. Then again the saint intercedes for him, and God consents that if his mother will spare him the half of her 30 remaining years, he shall live. But even his mother refuses to give up one span of her allotted time. At last God permits Jannis to entreat the same favour from his betrothed, and she agrees with the greatest readiness to her lover's request, remarking that the years appointed to her are enough for them both. So Jannis' wedding takes place."

I should prefer to connect this story with that of Ruru in the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, which Bouffey compares with that of Yayāti and his son Ruru.

The story of Ruru runs as follows: "Once on a time a hermit's son of the name of Ruru, wandering about at will, saw a maiden of wonderful beauty, the daughter of a heavenly nymph named Menaka by a Vidyādharma, and brought up by a hermit of the name of Śhūlakṛṣṇa in his hermitage. That lady, whose name was Prihadēvā, so captivated the mind of that Ruru when he saw her, that he went and begged the hermit to give her to him in marriage. Śhūlakṛṣṇa intended the maiden to him, and when the wedding was nigh at hand, suddenly an odder bit her. Then the heart of Ruru was full of despair, but he heard this voice in the heaven: 'O Brahman, raise to life with the gift of half thy own life, this maiden whose allotted term is at an end.' When Ruru heard that, he gave her the half of his own life, as he had been directed; by means of that she revived, and Ruru married her."

The same agency as carried the story of Buddha to the west, and caused it to be reproduced in the romance of *Barlaam and Josaphat*, may very well have carried the story of Ruru to Trebizond.

C. H. T.

NOTE.

A Hindu idol, copper, representing a woman with four arms, has recently been unearthed near Orenburg. Archaeologists believe it to have been the prize, several centuries ago, of some of the Mongols who invaded India, and to have been conveyed in course of nomad wanderings to the spot where it was discovered in the Orenburg district.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE ZEND-AVESTA, PART I, THE VENDIDAD.—Translated by James Darmesteter. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1880.

In this translation, which forms the fourth volume of the *Sacred Books of the East*, M.

Darmesteter has made great progress in clearing away the obscurities and inaccuracies which encumber all previous translations of these remains of the ancient Pārsī code of religious laws, and

¹ Compare also the story of Skettr and Sotysvat, *Mañjuśrī*, iii, § 212 ff.—Ed.

thus presents the English reader, for the first time, with a really trustworthy version of the entire *Vendidad*, although the translation may not be quite so literal as might be wished by Avesta scholars.

It is hardly creditable to English Orientalists that it has been necessary to intrust this work to a foreigner, in consequence of no Englishman being capable of undertaking a translation of the *Avesta*; but the chief cause of their neglect of so important a branch of Oriental studies is not far to seek. When the *Avesta* was first introduced to the learned world, in a French translation, by Anquetil Duperron in 1771, its authenticity was violently attacked by a young English scholar, who afterwards became the celebrated Orientalist, Sir William Jones. This attack was unscientific and dogmatic in the extreme, but, backed by the subsequent fame of its author, and by the national prejudices afterwards excited by the Napoleonic wars, it has hitherto succeeded in deterring Englishmen from examining the *Avesta* for themselves. Time, however, has now brought about its revenge, and little more than a century after Sir W. Jones's endeavour to discredit a Freischmänner's account of the *Avesta*, and chiefly owing to his endeavour, his own University has found it necessary to apply to a French scholar for an English translation of the same Oriental texts.

The method adopted by M. Darmesteter, in translating the difficult and doubtful passages which abound in the *Vendidad*, is to accept the traditional interpretation wherever it is not at variance with the results of comparative philology and mythology. There can be no doubt that this method is, theoretically, the best that can be adopted, but it is frequently attended with practical difficulties. The only tradition of any value, as regards anything beyond religious practices in daily use, is contained in the Pahlavi translations and commentaries, which seem to have originated at a time when the Avesta language, though already dead, was still nearly as well understood by the Parsi priesthood as the language of the ancient Greeks was by Christian divines two centuries ago. But the Pahlavi version of the *Vendidad* has not yet been fully translated, and abounds with passages that can be easily misunderstood, so that it is often difficult to ascertain its meaning with certainty. And to this practical difficulty must be added the further difficulty of forming a correct opinion when testing this tradition by the less definite results of comparative philology and mythology.

As an illustration of the possible effect of the first kind of difficulty, arising from the want of trustworthy translations of Pahlavi texts, may be

taken the mode of identifying the "good river Daitya" (Ferd. I, 3) with the Araxes, by reading "it flows through the mountains of Gūrjistān (Georgia)," instead of "it goes out through the hill-country," in *Benafshish*, XX, 13. The original name in this passage is Gōpōstān, a reasonable Pāzand reading of the Pahlavi word *khlēds*, "hill-country," but a very unlikely reading of *Gōrjēlds*. The adoption of this doubtful emendation is to be regretted, as it is hardly requisite for the identification proposed.

An instance of the second practical difficulty occurs with regard to the title *Spitamā*, usually applied to Zoroastrians, and which it is safest to leave untranslated, as Darmesteter generally does; but he evidently considers it a mere epithet, and translates it by "holy" in Ferd. II, 42. This is a departure from tradition, for this title is always expressed by the patronymical form *Spitāmān*, "the Spitāmān," in Pahlavi, and is supposed to refer to an ancestor of Zoroastrian in the ninth generation, whose name was *Spitāmā* according to a genealogy given in several Pahlavi works. If the title *Spitamā* be a mere epithet, and not a family name, it is very singular that it should be applied, in the *Avesta*, only to Zoroastrian and two or three of his relations, male and female. As Darmesteter, however, considers Zoroastrian merely as a mythological being, void of historical reality, he can hardly admit the reality of his ancestry, without weakening the arguments in favour of his mythological origin.

In a very able introduction the translator first treats of the discovery of the *Avesta*, dwelling especially upon the details of the old dispute as to its authenticity, already referred to. He then deals with its interpretation, merely alluding to the labours of the generation of Avesta scholars now passing away, without describing them. But he dwells longer upon the formation of the *Avesta* and the origin of the religion it teaches, before concluding with a brief and appropriate analysis of the contents of the *Vendidad*.

His view of the origin of the Avesta religion rejects the hypothesis of former scholars that it was a reform of the old Indo-Iranian faith, arising at a time when the latter was lapsing into a more materialistic system of idolatry, and indicative of an ancient schism which led eventually to the widely divergent principles of Zoroastrianism and Hinduism. In place of this hypothesis he supposes that these two religions are merely two separate developments of Indo-Iranianism, not originating in any schism, but in the gradual effect of different circumstances upon dissimilar minds. And, as this supposition is inconsistent with the idea of the Avesta religion originating in

the personal influence of any individual reformer, he dispenses with the historical reality of Zarathustra, and converts him into a mere mythological conception, a view which has also been advocated by Professor Kern.

The essential difference between this hypothesis and the old one does not lie in the idea of development, which is an indispensable element in the history of every religious system, but in the rejection of all idea of a schism or sudden reform. No doubt the advocates of the schism hypothesis have been inclined to lay rather too much stress on the arguments in its favour, and have put aside all difficulties for future elucidation; but it may well be questioned whether the new hypothesis is not being discussed in the same one-sided manner. It is difficult for a cautious reader to peruse Darmesteter's arguments, especially as more fully detailed in his previous work *Orsoud et Ahriman* (Paris, 1877), without an uneasy feeling that the same amount of learning and ingenuity could easily find much to say, both for the reformation hypothesis, and for the historical reality of Zarathustra himself, apart from the unhistorical legends which have gathered about his memory. Until some such well-considered attempt be made to defend the old hypothesis, it will be safest for most readers to suspend their judgment about matters so difficult to prove. In the meantime they will find much of novelty and interest in this new translation of the *Vendidad*, which may be accepted with far greater confidence than mere speculative theories.

E. W. WEST.

DAS ALTINDISCHE NEU-UND VOLLKOMMENES IN SEINER KURZGEFASSTEN FORM: von A. Hillebrandt, Dr. P. 8vo. pp. xvi, 199. Jena, 1889.

Dr. Hillebrandt is already favourably known to Sanskritists by his *Essays on Vedic mythology*; he now has taken up a new line—the elucidation of the sacrifices of the Vedic religion, and with no less success; in fact, this work constitutes (as Darmesteter would say) a new epoch in Sanskrit studies in Europe.

The existence of *sâtras* treating of the sacrifices

had long been known, but it was only about 25 years ago that Prof. A. Weber¹ first made possible the study of one of these works by his splendid edition of that which passes under the name of *Kâtyâyana Śrauta Sâtra*. Much, however, necessarily remained obscure in the details of the rites, and it was not till the late Prof. M. Haug got some of the sacrifices performed in his presence at Poona, and that he printed some of the information thus gained in the notes to his translation of the *Ātharva Brâhmana*, that further progress was possible. But Haug did not anywhere give a full description of any of the numerous Vedic sacrifices, he merely elucidated some obscure points, and Prof. Thibaut's excellent labours refer to the construction of altars; thus, the present work is, strictly speaking, the first of its kind.

Dr. Hillebrandt has based his work on MSS. of the different *Śrauta sâtras* as well as of *Pragyaṇa*, and for these he has had recourse to the India-Office and Munich Libraries.

The body of the work consists of two parts: (I), introductory ceremonies, and (II), the details of the sacrifice.

The fullest possible information on these matters is given; and any one could, with this book in hand, perform the rites of which it treats. These rites are childish and silly, but are, unlike many of the *krânti* rites, quite unobjectionable in themselves. We find here some of the detestable acts, which, e.g., forms part of the horse-sacrifice, and which are such an appalling feature of the Vedic religious system, to which even human sacrifices were well-known.

To understand the past of India, it is necessary to understand these complicated rites, and it is to be hoped that the learned author will aid students by treatises on one or two more of the more important sacrifices. Such labours will be valuable in many ways, and will, e.g., help us to understand much in the Vedas which, as they now exist, are entirely arranged for sacrificial purposes.

Dr. Hillebrandt is to be congratulated on having discovered not only a new line of research, but also on having, adequately, occupied it.²

A. B.

¹ Prof. Weber, in his *Indische Studien*, vols. X, and XIII, also gave a useful general view of the various kinds of Vedic sacrifices.—E.

² We mention a few slips noticed during a superficial perusal of the book. The form *arivata* is twice (pp. 17, 90) translated by 'be chosen', instead of by 'they choose'. In the formula *aha daddisharya*, *ah* after *daddisharya* is taken as 'separate *daddisharya*' (Kâty. II, 1, 22). Dr. H. separates *daddisharya* and *arivata* and translates (pp. 17, 91) "O Ahi daddisharya [ah] is taken as an interjection by the St. Petersburg Diet. I will step up (or get up) from here; sit down on the seat of him who is stiller than we!" Should we not rather separate *daddisharya* and *arivata*: "O. D., get up from here and sit down on the seat of some one else who is less wise than we!"—At p. 35 for 'atro-winning,' read 'kahota-winning' and add 'kinnama-winning' (*ajjinnama*).—P. 28

for "he gives it (the *veda*) the shape of a plaited basket (*vidhi*)," translate "he makes it by plaiting in the same way as basket-work (*vidhi*)."—P. 40 for "on the conclusion of this sacrifice the Agnidhra pours out," translate "the A. pours out the water so as to finish with the conclusion of the sacrifice."—P. 43, instead of "do not split! do not break down!" read *ahar ma samvibhadda!* Vâ. S. I. 23; translate: "do not be afraid! do not shrink!"—*vidhigrahana* is not "undergoing" (burnt down) but "burnt out" (p. 67). Before "alle *Sâtras* enthaltende" (p. 23) *darogya* has been left out. At p. 120 *śāśāśa* is translated by 'Gemeine (common)'; should it not be 'Gemeine (delight in food)'? and at the same page *brâhmadâkṣhina*, which Dr. H. does not know how to explain, should be separated between *daddisharya*, see *Illeg.* VII, 97, 3; *Yast.* S. II, 6, 7, 4.—E.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Esq. C.S., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from p. 125.)

No. LXXX.

THE present inscription is from the original plates, which belong to 'Nawaji Wahid Ukhaji Jiri' of Pimpalner in the Pimpalner Taluk of the Khândesh District. They were produced by him before the authorities to substantiate his claim to a Pāṇi's Watan!

The plates are five in number; the size of them is somewhat irregular, the largest being about 8½" long by 3½" broad. Here and there the edges are slightly raised, as if to protect the writing; but this is probably accidental, and owing to the thinness of the plates and their consequent liability to be bent up. The plates themselves weigh 1 lb. 10½ oz.; and the two rings and the seal, 7½ oz. The ring on which they are strung is a plain copper ring about ⅜" thick and 2½" in diameter; it had been cut before the grant came into my hands. On this ring there fits very tightly another ring about ¼" thick and ½" in diameter; the seal on this smaller ring is circular, about two inches in diameter, and has, in high relief on a counter-sunk surface,—a standing figure of the god Hanumān, facing to the proper right, and balancing a peak of the mountain Gaṇihamādana on his left arm; in the lower part, behind him, a *chakra*; and in front of him, a sword or lamp-stand, with a *śaśāṅka*-shell below it.

The writing is very thin and shallow, and the component parts of the letters are frequently very much detached; it is, therefore, occasionally very difficult to decipher it with certainty. On the whole, however, it is fairly well preserved and is legible enough. On the second side of the third plate there is the figure 3, between the edge of the plate and the ring-hole; the other plates are not numbered. The ring-holes were made after the inscription was engraved, as some of the letters have been destroyed in making them. It was probably intended originally to make these holes at the top and bottom of each plate in succession, instead of at the sides; for, here and there, there are blank spaces in the writing, which can only have been left with this object.

The inscription purports to record that, in Śaka 310 (A.D. 388-9), the king Satyāśraya

bestowed the village of Pippalanagara upon Nāgasvāmidikshita and other Brāhmins.

With the exception that Satyāśraya is said to be of the lineage of the god Viṣṇu and to belong to those who were of the Mānavya *gṛha*, there is nothing in this inscription to specify precisely who he was. But there can be no doubt that the person intended is the Western Chalukya king Satyāśraya I, or Palikōḍi II, and that the word omitted in line 8 after *parivāhara-dānaṁ* was *Chalukya-dāna*, followed by some such expression as *avayaj jitaḥ*, or *balasambhāritakṛt*.

The grant is of course a forgery, for the following reasons:—1, If it is admitted that the king intended is Palikōḍi II, the date given is earlier by more than two hundred years than his real date.—2, Whether this be admitted or not, it cannot be disputed that this grant purports to be a Chalukya grant; and no member of that dynasty, anterior to Palikōḍi II, had the title of Satyāśraya.—3, The characters are so totally unlike in detail those of the Western Chalukya alphabet or of the Old-Canarese alphabet, that I cannot place them, even as a corrupt specimen, in the same class with either of those two alphabets. I am not quite certain how to classify them; but I am inclined to concur in an opinion expressed to me by Mr. Venkāt Raṅgō Katti, that they are a medieval form of some Beṅgālī alphabet, which must have been derived originally from the same source as the Chalukya alphabet.—4, In all the early inscriptions which follow the regular established style, the date comes at the end of the genealogy and immediately after the words introducing the details of the grant, and is expressed by *śatābda Śaka-saṁvatsara-atkāṣa*. There are a few special exceptions to the use of those particular words, which it is not necessary to give here. But the earliest instance in which the date is expressed by *Śaka-uripa-kāl-ātita-samvatsara-kāṣa*, (as is here the case, in the first line); or by *Śaka-uripa-kāl-ātita-samvatsara*, (the word *śata* being omitted as superfluous), are respectively the Rāshtrakūṭa tablet at Nandwāḍige dated Śaka 722, and the Rāshtrakūṭa grant of Gōvinda III. dated Śaka

726, both of which I have had occasion to notice for another purpose at *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII, p. 210.—5, Though the text runs in line 2 as if the month, the bright or dark fortnight, the lunar *tithi*, and the day of the week, were specified, yet these details are not mentioned, but only the year is given.—6, The figure 3, as given on the third plate, is not made up of three lines one above the other, as it would be if it were a genuine early numeral; but it is the modern form of 3, which cannot have been introduced earlier than the eleventh or twelfth century A.D.—7, None of the Chalukya grants repeat the king's name at the end, by way of a signature, as is done in

the last line of this grant.—8, The emblems on the seal are not the Chalukya emblems, and they occur on the seal of no Chalukya grant.—And finally, 9, No early grant that I know of has, as this grant has, the seal sliding by a small ring of its own on the large ring on which the plates are strung. The only other instances of this known to me are some comparatively very modern Vijayanagara grants in Sir Walter Elliot's possession. In all the early grants, of whatever dynasty, "these seals," as Dr. Barnell writes¹, "are cast on the ring by which the plates are held together, and which thus has the form of a huge signet ring."

Transcription.

First plate.

[¹] Svasti	Śaka-sṛipa-kāl-ātita-samvatsara-śatēsha	trī(tri)śhu	śaś-śītaś
[²] śhv-ayā[ṁ*]	samvatsara-māna-pakṣa-divasa-pūrēvāyā-tithau		paramāha-
[³] śāraka-mahārāj-ādhirāja-paramādivara-Vishnuya[ṁ*]śādbhava-pa-			
[⁴] [rama*]bhāṣavata-paramābrahmayā[ṁ*]			Mān aya-sagōtrēśū
[⁵] Mātrī[ṁ*]gav-śābhāṣitānā[ṁ*]			Sahāsaka-sa-mara-samū(ma)rji-
[⁶] ta-yaśō[ṁ*]rāśi-sampiddhānā[ṁ*]			rājasya-śāvaśādhā-paṇḍarī-
[⁷] ka-labhasavaropā-vāṇpāy-śādi-mahākṛta-mann-āva-			

Second plate: first side.

[¹] bhṛīcha-pavītrī(tri)kṛta-śiraśāśm*				Nṛiga-Nahusha-Di-
[²] lpa-Sagara-Bhagīrāth-ādī-chirantana-bhūbhṛīch-chaṛi-				
[³] t-ā ¹⁰ nukṛti-prakāśit-śāduha-viśva[ṁ*]bhārā-bhār-śāduha-				
[⁴] an ¹⁰ marthā]		Tēn-śārestarjūm	vilōkya	sakāśm
[⁵] ra-chakra-śhīlām	+	jāmā(tū)nām	karī-karṇya-tāla-chapalā[ṁ]m-a[ṁ]	
[⁶] lū(lō)ka(kya)		bhākshy-āyashām		śāktāni

Second plate: second side.

[¹] cha	vachāmay-ākarṇa(rṇya)	lōka ¹¹ -dvayā		dharmaś	dāma-phā-
[²] la[ṁ*]	cha śāvatam-ih-śty-ō(ā)varā	kṛtō	niśchayaś		Yathā kada-
[³] li-peskāṇḍa-vad-a-śārā	an[ṁ*]śārā		śarī-tīr-a[ṁ]vathita-tara(ru)-		
[⁴] [dha ¹²]rmmāpī	śarīrāni		kusuma-ramanjyāni		yanva-
[⁵] nāni		taḍit-tarūlā	anūpadā[ṁ]dab		daśd(d)-ō(ā)hata-bhūjaṅga-
[⁶] bhāṅgi-kuṣilā	khalu	vidhi-vyāpārā[ṁ]rah		Tathā	cha

¹ South-Indian Palaeography, Second Edition, p. 107.

² The *māna*, *pakṣa*, *divasa*, and *tithi*, however, are not specified.

³ These two letters, *rama*, were completely cut out in making the ring-hole.

⁴ Here, and in some other places, the *Arusula* is a clearly made circle. In *śāśā*, 1, 3, and other places, it is denoted sometimes by a round dot, and sometimes by an elongated dot.

⁵ The upper parts of these two letters, *śātri*, were cut out in making the ring-hole.

⁶ These plates have also been examined by Pandit Bhanu-prasād Indrajit. His reading here is *Sahāsaka-samara-samū(ma)rjī*; but he only suggests the letters *śātri* as "probable," the passage being very indistinct. I think the original really has *samrjī*, for *samrjī*, though

the word is not a common one.

⁷ A blank space, equal to three letters, intervenes between *ra* and *śātri*.

⁸ The context is imperfect, through the omission of the name of the dynasty. We must supply *Chalukya*, followed by *anūp* *jitā*, or *śāśā*-*śāśā*, or some such expression,—or *śāśā* *śāśā*, as the Pandit suggests.

⁹ The lower part of this letter, *śā*, was cut out in making the ring-hole.

¹⁰ The upper part of this letter, *śā*, was cut out at the same time.

¹¹ A blank space, equal to two letters, intervenes between *ka* and *śā*.

¹² This letter, *dā*, was almost entirely cut out in making the ring-hole.

Third plate; first side.

[⁹⁵] Śātmall-tūla-vipākā ⁹⁵ -kalpāh					paramārtha-vi-
[⁹⁶] rasī(h*)	prī(pri)ti-dharmē(rmāh)		Ēvaṁ	sarvvaṁ=ani(hi)samākalayya	
[⁹⁷] ma ⁹⁷ hārāj-ādhirāja-śrīmat-Satyāśrayaśāraḥ					satvarī(ram=i)-
[⁹⁸] h=al ⁹⁸ va	sāmanta-vishayaparikāṇ=astu		vidita[m*]	yathā	
[⁹⁹] Āyāsa-śa[ta*]-labdhāya	prāpēbhya=pi		gari(rī)yaṁ		gati-
[¹⁰⁰] r-ōk=aiṣa	vittāya	dānam=anyā	vipattayaḥ		Atō mayā

Third plate; second side.

[¹⁰¹] nija-bhuj-ārjitarḥ		chata ¹⁰¹ r-īghātā(ta)-viśuddhim		yajana-yā-
[¹⁰²] jan-ādi-śat-karma-niratā[y=ā*]gnihōra(trā)-chaṣa-parbhat-ā-ti-				
[¹⁰³] tñi-pūjāya		vēda-vēdānga-pāragāya		Yajuh-ākhinā
[¹⁰⁴] [ya ¹⁰⁴]ya	Valabhi-mahāsthānā		mahājānana	Brahm-ā-
[¹⁰⁵] thō(rthō)	labdhāh		tōna	mah-ūtsan-ātiśayita-sarva-
[¹⁰⁶] janāna	An ¹⁰⁶ ūchā ¹⁰⁶ a-ūsvayōna		dvijātina	

Fourth plate; first side.

[¹⁰⁷]	Kātyāyana-gōteya	Nāga[svā*]mī ¹⁰⁷ -dīkahi(ahi)ta		Śrīdharm-dī(dī)kahi-
[¹⁰⁸]	ta Vāmanasvāmī ¹⁰⁸	Nāriyaya		Dōvāya(?) () Gōvi-
[¹⁰⁹]	ndasvāmī ē(?)tā(tēbhya)	Duriyābhajyā ¹⁰⁹	/ ¹¹⁰	-Payabhi-asthagand
[¹¹⁰]	sū ¹¹⁰ rya-grahana-parvvaṣi	uvaya[m*]		pāḍau prakahā-
[¹¹¹]	lya astilōdakēna	vidhinā		Pippala-nagaraḥ
[¹¹²]	ā-chaṇḍr-ārka[m*]	yāvat-pratipāditā[m*]		Ma(ya)ya=īghātāh

Fourth plate; second side.

[¹¹³]	Pārsvataḥ	Kapḍakupḍa(?)	Ilhimadī=madhī ¹¹³ (udhi)-vātah		Dakubhatō(tah)
[¹¹⁴]	Kattarā-parevataḥ		Sōtaladī-nadī		Sa(?)ksha(?)rā-dī(vi)taḥ
[¹¹⁵]	mad Gadhā ¹¹⁵ -hru(?)dab(?)		Va(?)yāśchobhi(?)=madhīśa(madhīśa=cha?)		Uttaratō
[¹¹⁶]	Dha(?) ¹¹⁶ chchha(chchha)vābhī-parvvaṣi		Japya(?)yākhō(?)=nadī(dī)		Sa(?)gōhalā-
[¹¹⁷]	tadāgnā		Tach=āy-ānyayō		Lōhasagar-ādi(dī)ni
[¹¹⁸]	m ¹¹⁸ ni	śhaḍ-viśi(?)śa(ā)ḍi		tach=āgrahārāyī	śhatur-ā(n)āḍi
[¹¹⁹]	tau(tā)ni		Atō	mad-vya(vān)kyair-ayair=vvā	pratipālaniyāni

Fifth plate.

[¹²⁰] Mā(ā)gāmi-rāja-dāyā=shata-śata ¹²⁰		niryū(?) ¹²⁰ pakūpām		matōnyasāhi-
[¹²¹] ya ¹²¹ hala-mathana-tā(?)pya(?)		Tach-āra	bal-āyatani(nō?)	Vasantādityah
[¹²²] dha(dhi)kṛita-Vi(vi)rōdvārā(rah)		pratipālaniya		Vyāśa=chā-āt(r)a
		āṭavi(vi)-		Vi(vi)dhya-

⁹⁵ A blank space, equal to two letters, intervenes between this ā and the ā of kalpāh.

⁹⁶ The lower part of this letter, ma, was cut out in making the ring-hole.

⁹⁷ The upper part of this letter, hā, was cut out at the same time.

⁹⁸ This letter, va, was at first omitted, and then was inserted above the line; it is very small and faint.

⁹⁹ This letter, pi, was entirely cut out in making the ring-hole.

¹⁰⁰ The Pandit considers that the reading may be either Anagāhā or Anagāhā. The first letter is an nondescript that it may be anything whatever. The second letter is certainly ad. The third syllable, chā, is a mistake for cā, if the first letter is a.

¹⁰¹ A blank space, equal to two letters, intervenes between chā and ā.

¹⁰² The Pandit reads Nāgavira, but I do not agree with him here. There is a blank space, apparently from a flaw in the copper, between ga and ni, where I supply ad.

¹⁰³ The Pandit reads Rāmāyana.

¹⁰⁴ The yā is clear; but the upper part of the letter is partially effaced and is very doubtful. The Pandit reads Dōvāyā.

¹⁰⁵ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

¹⁰⁶ Part of the s was cut out in making the ring-hole.

¹⁰⁷ This letter, which I read as udhi for udhi, is a very nondescript one. The Pandit suggests either Udhā or Udhā or Udhā.

¹⁰⁸ The Pandit reads Gadhā.

¹⁰⁹ Part of this letter, dhā, and perhaps the whole of another letter before it, was cut out in making the ring-hole. The Pandit reads Pa(?) chāhāśaśaśaśa.

¹¹⁰ This repetition of the letter ad is superfluous.

¹¹¹ A blank space, equal to one letter, intervenes between dhā and ni.

¹¹² The Pandit reads nyū, or vi. But there is no r over the letter, and it certainly is not vi.

¹¹³ This word is unintelligible; but I cannot suggest anything else.

¹¹⁴ This mark of punctuation should be before tachāh.

[¹⁰] śhrv-a¹⁰-tōyāsa śushka-kōtara-vāsināḥ | Kṛishṇa-sarppā hi(?) jāyantē bhū-
 [¹¹] [mā¹¹]-dān-āpāhārakāḥ | (|) ¹⁰ + yatnād-rukṣa-
 Yuddhiśthi-
 [¹²] ra | mahā[ū¹²] mahimāṇā śrīśat[ha] dānā(nāch-) śrī(-chhrē)yd-mupālana[ū¹²] || Likhī-
 [¹³] tam-ātan-mayā sīndhivigrahaika-pa(?)mā¹³ . . . d-Divākara-sutā-
 [¹⁴] na Nāgāśvārāp-āci || Śrī-Satyāśrayadēvaya ||

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, LATE M.C.S.

(Continued from p. 153.)

No. XXVI.—*Irīhi-Pāda*.

It is not uncommon in Sanskrit literature, especially when the lives and virtues of renowned sages or ascetics are recounted, to find it told of such personages that they could transport themselves from place to place in some mysterious magical way in a moment. That large section of Hindu literature which deals with magic and the occult arts, such as the *Tantras*, the *Black Yogi*, &c., too much neglected by European scholars, often refers to this secret power. The *Kalai-pāda* system for example is copious on the subject.¹ The easily complicated scheme of Buddhist rites and asceticism holds forth this power as the crown and goal possibly arrived at by the continuous observance of prescribed ceremonies and an inflexibly followed course of moral action. The entrance to this course was through the rite called *kaśina*, of which there were ten kinds,² consisting principally of modes of persisting in rigid unbroken meditation till the state called *śamādhi* was attained. *Samādhi* is described as that which keeps the thoughts together, like the moisture which causes grains of sand to adhere and form a ball; through this the illumination termed *śamānta* could be reached; fourteen excessively complicated modes of exercising the ten *kaśinas* with this end are specified, and after all had been successfully accomplished, the power of *Irīhi* might be acquired, though not infallibly. *Irīhi*³ is a miraculous power distinguishing a Rāhī, one who has passed the Four Paths, and will

at death attain *Nirvāṇa*. Its special characteristic is the power of instant locomotion and flight through the air from place to place, hence it is called *Irīhi-pāda*, i. e. the Divine Foot, on account of the assistance it renders to those possessing it. Both Heshmanical and Buddhist books, when alluding to this power, always speak of it as something familiar and well-known. Fah Hian, the Chinese pilgrim to India in the 4th century, observes in a matter-of-course way as though it were nothing unusual that "Rahāts continually fly," and again, "the men of that country frequently are persons come flying to the temple, (some rock-temple,) the religious men occupying the upper chambers are constantly on the wing."—(*Beal's Travels of Fah Hian*.) People to-day are staggered at the accounts of "mediums" floating out of windows or being transported in a moment from one quarter of London to another, but flights of holy men fluttering, like pigeons, about the high chamber-cells of rock-temple would make even a sturdy spiritualist pause. Cells high up on sheer rocky faces have provoked speculation as to how they were tenanted. Fah Hian's statement may suggest some hint. The same pilgrim at Darin in Northern India saw an image of wood, 94 feet high, representing Maitreya Bodhisattwa, "the Buddha that is yet to be," to obtain the size and appearance of which a sculptor was "by the power of Irīhi," three times transported up to the Tashita heaven, the Fourth Sphere, wherein rest all births yet to come; a strange and weird idea!

¹⁰ The lower part of this letter, then, was cut out in making the ring-hole.

¹¹ This letter, too, was entirely cut out at the same time.

¹² It is almost impossible to say what these eight letters are. The Pāṇini suggests *dvīṣṇīḥ dvīṣṇīḥ dvīṣṇīḥ dvīṣṇīḥ*. The usual reading is *dvīṣṇīḥ dvīṣṇīḥ dvīṣṇīḥ dvīṣṇīḥ*.

¹³ One letter is altogether unintelligible here. The Pāṇini reads *dvīṣṇīḥ dvīṣṇīḥ dvīṣṇīḥ dvīṣṇīḥ*.

¹⁴ "Flying through the air" is expressly enumerated

amongst the wonderful acts which could be performed by means of *śamādhi*, or occult Indian charms. It was also one of the secretaries ascribed to Simon Magus.

¹⁵ See Spence Hardy's *East. Monach.* pp. 252 fig.

¹⁶ *Irīhi* (or *Irīhi*), property, power, majesty, supernatural power, miraculous faculty. There are 10 *irīhis*, such as the power of passing through the air, of taking any form, of creating or causing to appear anything required. *Irīhi* is the peculiar attribute of the Amhas. Prof. Childers's *Pali Dictionary*.

Love becomes apparent as he whirls and sings
the song of Sayyid Nisat-ullah of Kuchistan:—

"Spin the ball! I reel, I barm,
Nor head from foot can I discern,
Nor my heart from love of mine,
Nor the wine-cup from the wine.
All my doing, all my leaving,
Reaches not to my perceiving,
I'm all-knowing, yet unknowing,
Stand not, pause not, in my going!
Ask me not, as Muftis can,
Still to ponder the Koran.
Well I love the meaning sweet—
I tread the book beneath my feet.
Higher bliss and yet more high
Till all differences die!
What are Moslems? What are Giasurs?
All are Love's and all are ours.
Firm to Heaven my bosom clings,
Headless of inferior things;
Down on earth there underfoot
What men chatter know I not."

It is not only in the East, however, that holy men and founders of religious orders have claimed to show that spiritual exaltation can dissolve the inertia and resistance of matter. The annals of the Roman Catholic Church contain the evidence of eye-witnesses that SS. Philip Neri, Ignatius Loyola, Dominic, Teresa, and several others, when in prayer and ecstatic adoration, were at times lifted up from the ground and suspended in air without support for longer or shorter periods. Protestants at once laugh such accounts to scorn, or satisfy themselves with suggesting explanations more or less ingenious, but others declare that there is the same evidence for them as that which is ordinarily held sufficient for occurrences in the lives of historical personages generally.* This *vidhi* power, on which we have been discoursing, is not confined to the civilized nations of the East or West. Forms of it are reported to exist amongst widely separated barbarous tribes. The Abbé Morillot affirms of the Esquimaux in Greenland that their *angakoks*, or priests, sometimes rise from the ground and pass through the roofs above them. Similar powers are reported of the Tokanga, or New Zealand priests, and said to exist in the Sandwich Islands and amongst the natives in Australia. I have

also heard of forms of it in South Canaan. What is to be thought of this strange belief so contrary to the laws of inertia and gravity, and scientifically so incomprehensible and, abstractedly, impossible, but which is yet said to have prevailed so widely in countries far separated in space and time? The only reply can be that people have related what they believed to be facts. Even now in this most practical and sceptical age, in London, Paris, and New York, men have been started to hear in spiritualist circles assertions of "levitation," or an *vidhi*-power, by which certain persons are floated up to ceilings, or even transported instantaneously from one room to another in a distant quarter of the town. Persons who assert they have witnessed such things are pelted with stories of 'trickery,' 'imposture,' 'incapacity to observe,' victims of 'unconscious cerebration,' and the like, and leaders of science and people of enlightened minds do not conceal their contempt. Into this contest we do not desire to enter.

In connection with the foregoing subject a few closing remarks may perhaps be ventured here. Immense advances have been made in the study and knowledge of ancient and modern Hindu literature. We know more of the mythologies, religions, histories, genealogies, arts, and architecture of India than the natives themselves. Languages long obsolete, and inscriptions graven in forgotten characters, have been unlocked. But there is one wide region of Hindu thought and literature in which we have hardly set foot, and that is their astrological and occult sciences and rites. We complain that we are out of sympathy with the Hindu mind, that we know it only externally and externally, and cannot reach the inner life and thought of the people. One reason is the supercilious contempt with which the English, more than others, regard that astrological and mystical lore before which the entire native mind, throughout the length and breadth of India, crouches in absolute subjection. The educated official, versed in Mill and Macnulty, no less than the simple ryot; but the former whilst perhaps discussing questions of European science and philosophy with his English Master, will never allude to those beliefs and practices by which

* One of the lately recovered fragments of the apocryphal Gospel according to the Hebrews runs, "just now my

mother the Holy Spirit took me by one of my hairs and bore me up on to the great mountain Tabor."

his daily life is regulated, for he instinctively feels that he would meet with nothing but derision for such follies and absurdities. None the less his everyday conduct and domestic concerns are directed by the astrological Brahman, without whose permission he dares take no step or undertake anything of moment. It is unfortunate that the prepossessions of Englishmen in general so completely deter them from seeking any acquaintance with the occult sciences and customs of the Hindus,

for in them rests one of the keys which unlock the popular mind and disclose its controlling influences. These are so despotic, varied, and intricate, so entwined with every act and relation of life, that some adequate knowledge of and insight into them are most needful alike for legislators and administrators, teachers and missionaries, who too often work in the dark without suspecting the hidden cause of much of their difficulties and want of success.¹⁰

THE EIGHTEEN SCHOOLS OF BUDDHISM.

BY REV. S. DEAL, B.A.

One of the most interesting but intricate questions that can occupy the attention of the Buddhist student is the history of the eighteen sects into which the Buddhist Church was at an early date separated. A clear account of the causes that led to the schisms and the several tenets held by the separatists was, in the opinion of the late Mr. Spence Hardy, one of the great desiderata in the history of this religion. The Chinese and Tibetan books contain much valuable information on these points. Among other works in the northern copy of the *Tripitaka*, common in the monasteries of China and Japan, is one which contains three translations from Sanskrit of the treatise, written by Vasumitra, on the eighteen schools. This Vasumitra¹ was one of the Buddhist patriarchs who lived probably about the time of Kanishka, that is, as far as we know at present with any certainty, about 42 a.v.² His aim was evidently to reconcile the differences that existed in traditions, customs, and acknowledged scriptures; and it was probably under his auspices, or by his influence, that the Great Council was held that rearranged and revised the Buddhist Canon as it is known in the North. There are three translations of this treatise into Chinese; the first is anonymous, and is most obscure. The second is by Chin-ti, of the Tsin dynasty. The third is by Hiwen Tsaang, of the Tang dynasty. It would be rash to attempt a translation

of these tracts into English without aid or direction—nor would the present writer have undertaken such a task—but, unfortunately, there is a parallel translation from the Tibetan in Vassilief's *History of Buddhism* (Second Supplement, p. 222). This translation by the learned writer named above was prepared after careful comparison of the Tibetan text with the three Chinese versions. The result is no doubt an accurate, though most obscure, reproduction of the work by Vasumitra. It may perhaps be useful to attempt an independent version of the three Chinese translations. Not that we can hope to render all plain, but with the purpose of inducing scholars in China to look into this matter, and endeavor to throw some light on the subject by comparing these translations and working independently in the production of others. The matter may appear of little consequence in sum, and needless labor to others, but in the presence of facts, which are daily coming to our knowledge, it becomes almost the duty of those who are interested in the religious development of the Eastern mind, not only in India, but in other countries more or less affected by Indian speculations, to search out the causes and the character of that development, and so connect it with the religious movements which occurred elsewhere about the same time. We proceed to give part of the translation by the anonymous Chinese writer, and which stands first in the Buddhist Canon.³

¹⁰ I have reason to think that the late Prof. H. H. Wilson, a scholar of profound learning, and also of great caution and reserve, had some doubts on these subjects than perhaps any other European Orientalist.

¹ Ind. Ant. vol. IV, p. 363.

² By some he is placed rather later.—Ed. E. A.

³ This translation is devoted as C by Vassilief.

An Account of the Eighteen Principal Schools of Buddhism, from the original Treatise of Vasumitra, translated into Chinese by three separate authors.

I. A treatise on the eighteen schools (translator's name unknown).

In the Lith section of the latter volume of the work known as the *Queries of Manjuśrī* (*Manjuśrīpariṣiṣhekkā*), the subject being "The division into schools," [It is thus written:]

At this time Mañjuśrī questioned Buddha thus: "World-honoured! Explain, I pray you, what will be the different schools into which your followers will be separated in the future after your Nirvāṇa, and from what original division these schools will be formed?"

Buddha answered Manjuśrī thus: "There will be twelve schools among my followers hereafter, in which (the separate interpretation of) my law will be preserved in the world. These schools will be the repositories of the diversified fruits of my Scriptures (*pīṭakas*), without priority or inferiority—just as the taste of sea-water is everywhere the same—or as the twelve arms of one man all honest and true, so will be the exposition of my doctrine advocated by these schools. Manjuśrī! the two original germs of these separate schools will be found in the rendering of my doctrine by the *Mahāyāna* and the *Prajñāpāramitā* systems. The *Srāvakas*, *Pratyeka-Buddhas*, and different *Buddhas* (i.e., the doctrine which touches these three degrees of religious advancement) will come from the *Prajñāpāramitā*. Manjuśrī! as earth, water, fire, wind and space compose the material and visible universe, so the *Mahāyāna* and the *Prajñāpāramitā* compose the material of the system in which these different degrees of *Srāvakas*, *Pratyeka-Buddhas*, and *Buddhas* are entertained."

Manjuśrī asked Buddha this question:

"World-honoured! and by what names will these schools be known?"

Buddha replied: "The two schools first formed will be the *Mahāśāṅghikā** and the *Pi-Ṭi*† (Sthaviras). Within a hundred years after my Nirvāṇa a school will be formed called 'Yeh-wu-lin'‡ (Kūṣṭhīyāśāṅghikā (Barnon, *trans.* l.p. 357), or *Kūṣṭhīyāśāṅghikā* (according to Vasumitra's *Buddhism*, p. 227, n.)). Again, within a hundred years from the formation of this school, another will be formed called 'Ko-lin-li'§ (Kāṣṭhīkī). Within a hundred years from this another school will arise called 'To-man'¶ (Tāmasīyās). Within a hundred years from this there will be another school formed, called 'Cho-tai-ho'‡ (Chaitīyavādīs). Within another hundred years a school will arise called 'Eastern Mountain'‡ (Pūrvāśāṅghikā). Within a hundred years another school will arise from this called 'Northern Mountain'‡ (Uttarāśāṅghikā). These seven schools come from the *Mahāśāṅghikā*, and including the original *Sāṅghika*, or congregation, they are classified as eight schools.

From the *Sthavira*s were formed eleven schools. Within a hundred years from the origin of the above school, there arose another, called 'Yeh-tai-wu-lin'‡ (Sarvāstivādīs). Within a hundred years from this school proceeded another, called 'Yan-shan'‡ (Haimavātīs). Within a hundred years from this school another will arise, called 'Vāṭi-pu-tri-ya'‡ (sons of the calf). Within a hundred years after this another school called 'Dharmatīriya'‡. Within a hundred years from this another called 'Bhadraṇīriya'‡. Within a hundred years from this school will come another called 'Yeh-tai-shu-kwei'‡ (Sammattīyās). Within a hundred years another school will arise from this, called 'Jing-shan'‡ (Jungle-dell, i.e., *Shakyagurika*). Within a hundred years after this arose another school called 'Tai-puh-ho-ki'‡

* This word means the great congregation, composed of young and old alike, the same as the school of "various and miscellaneous Moral Rules."—[Ch. Ed.]

† This word means the congregation of old men only, it is the same as that which acknowledges the authority of the (original) Vinaya only.

‡ So called because they agreed in the main with the *Mahāśāṅghikas*.—[Ch. Ed.]

§ From the name of the master who formed it.—[Ch. Ed.]

¶ So called from the "famous wisdom" of its founder.—[Ch. Ed.]

‡ So called from the locality in which the founder lived.

‡ So called from the locality in which the founder lived.

‡ Likewise from the abode of the founder.

‡ So called because the founder of the school held the

positive existence of all things in the three worlds.—[Ch. Ed.]

‡ So called from the abode of the founder.

‡ From the name of the founder.

‡ From the name of the founder.

‡ From the name of the founder.

‡ So called from the great wisdom in which the master was held among men.

‡ So called from the character of the place where the founder lived. The name in Sanskrit however means "of six towns," and so in Tibetan; see Vasumitra, p. 231.—J. B.

‡ So called because the founder of this school was, when a child, cast into a well by his mother, and when his father went to recover his body he was found uninjured.

(Mahāsāsaka). Within a hundred years from this arose the school called 'Paṇ²²' (Dharmaguptās). Within a hundred years another school arose called 'Ka-lī-pi²³' (Kāśyapīyas). Within a hundred years from this another school arose named 'Śāśā-to-lo-ku'²⁴ (Śāstrikās or Sautvāntikās). The above are the eleven schools derived from the Śthāviras, and including their mother-school, comprise twelve distinct branches."

Buddha spoke the following *gāthas* :—

"The school of the Mahāsāṅghika
Will divide into seven parts,
The Śthāviras into eleven,
This is what we term the twelve schools;²⁵
The eighteen including the two original,
All these will arise from the Mahāyāna,
Which admits of neither affirmation or contra-
diction.

Now I say that in future time will appear,
The miscellaneous writings of the Master Kumā-
rāja.

After the cessation (*nirvāṇa*) of the true Law,
Just one hundred years :

And by these various productions
The true Law will be gradually destroyed,
Everyone forming his own views,
Founding their opinions on heterodox sects,
Despising that which ought to be honored.
A rebellious and discontented tone will arise
But now the *Sūtras* alone are the ground
On which to build the doctrine of Buddha,
Relying on the former truths.

Seeking a foundation on this solid basis,
Is like in the multitude of sand particles
Seeking for the true gold.

Thus have I heard former ages,
Who appear like snare among men."

"One hundred and sixteen years after the *Nirvāṇa* of Buddha (*in a*) city called 'Lo-pu,' (*the Pa*, therefore equivalent to Pataliputra, i.e., Pataliputra) there shall be a king called 'A-yu' (*Māka*) who shall gather (under a square) the whole of Jambudvīpa as his empire. In his time the division of the great congregation into schools shall begin. There shall arise a Bhikkhu called 'Nag' (*able*), and another called 'Yu-an' (*Nidāna*), and another called 'To-man' (*Ekhoṇṇiya*?)—these shall assert the necessity

of teaching five propositions as a basis for religious instruction. The five points are these:—

- Profit and increase from others.
- Ignorance.
- Doubt.
- Words according to the religious formula.
- To obtain reason.

"It was from a consideration of these questions that the first two schools arose, to wit, the Mahāsāṅghikās and the Śthāviras."

"In the middle of the century (*following*) the Mahāsāṅghikās other schools arose as follows:—(1) 'Yi-shwa' (*Ekavyavahārikās*), (2) 'Chū-shan-kun-shwa' (*Lokottaravādins*), (3) 'Kū-sha' (*Gokulikas* or *Kukentikas*). Again, in the middle of a century or so after the Mahāsāṅghikās will originate other schools, called 'Shi-chi-lun.'

"Again, in the middle of the two hundred years, the heretical followers of the Mahādāva, taking on themselves the vows of religiousness, fixed their abode in Mount Chaitiya. Again, from the Mahāsāṅghikās arose three other schools, viz. Chū-sha, 'Hui-pi-lo' (*Apara*), and Uṭṭarāśā. Thus from the Mahāsāṅghikās arose nine schools, viz. (1) Mahāsāṅghikās, (2) *Ekavyavahārikās*, (3) *Lokottaravādins*, (4) *Gokulikas*, (5) *Uṭṭarāśā*, (6) *Shi-chi-lun*, (7) *Yan-ku*, (8) *Hui-sha*, (9) *Uṭṭarāśā*.

"In the middle of the three hundred years from the Śthāvira school, arose from various causes connected with the Canon of the *Aśokādharmas*, different schools, as follows: (1) *Sa-pa-ha-ti-yā-dā*, also called *Hetsavāda*, (2) *Haimavatas*. In the middle of the three hundred years again there arose another school called *Vāṣṭiputrīyā*, from this school sprang another called *Dharmagupṭa* (or *Dharmatūras*), another called *Hu-drāyānīyā*, and again, another called *Mi-lī* (where *li* is evidently a mistake for *ti*), otherwise named *Sa-mi-ti* (*Saṃmatīyas*), another school called the school of the six cities (*Shannagarikas*). Again, in the three hundredth year, the *Sarvāstivādins* produced another school, viz. *Ma-hā-dā-va*, from which sprang the *Dharmagupṭa* (or *Dharmatūras*) called from the Master of the school, whose name

²² The founder's name.

²³ The founder's name.

²⁴ The founder took his designation of the *Sūtras*.

²⁵ That is the twelve schools that sprang from the Mahāsāṅghikās.

²⁶ In Chinese, "East-west."

²⁷ I cannot explain this title at present.—S. B.

was In-chi-lin).²² Again, in this three hundredth year, another school sprang from the Sarvāstivādins, called Yan-li-sha (Yarsha), likewise named Kāśyapīyas. In the four hundredth year from the Sarvāstivādins sprang another school called Seng-kai-lin-ta (Sāṅkhrīti), so called from the name of its founder Yoon-to-lo (Ditara); this school was also known as Sautrāntika.

"Thus, from the school of the Mahāsthibhīras branched off twelve schools, viz, (1) Mahāsthibhīras, (2) Haimavatas, (3) Sarvāstivādins, (4) Vātsīputrīyās, (5) Dharmottarīyās, (6) Bhadrīyanīyās, (7) Sammatīyās, (8) The school of six Cities, (9) Mahāāsīkas, (10) Dharmaguptās, (11) Kāśyapīyas; (12) Sautrāntikas."

We will now proceed to speak of the distinguishing tenets of these various schools, both to their radical differences and also those held²³ in common.

The following schools, Mahāśāṅghikas, Ekavyāvahārikas, Lokottarās, Kukkutikas, hold the views we are about to mention. They all say that the traditions respecting the Bhaddhās having been born into the world (as men) are incorrect—that the law is Tathāgata, and the only one in the world. They all say that the (system of religion known as) "turning the Wheel of the Law" is at an end. They say that "things exist," "relationships exist," "truth exists." They say that Tathāgata is infinitely extended, immeasurably glorious, eternal in duration, that to his power of recollection (*vim, smṛiti*), his power of faith (*śraddhābala*), his experience of joy, and his life, there is no end; he sleeps not, he speaks, asks, reflects not; they say that his existence is ever one and uniform (*one heart*), that all things born may obtain deliverance by having his instruction, that in his essential existence (*one heart, ekachitta*) Tathāgata comprehends all subjects (*law*) in a moment by his own wisdom.

FOLKLORE IN THE PANJAB.

NOTES COLLECTED BY MRS. F. A. STEEL. WITH ANNOTATIONS BY LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE,
B.S.O., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.
(Continued from p. 292.)

No. 5.—Folk-Tale.

Baingan Bāddākhaddi.—Princess Aubergine.¹

Once upon a time there lived a poor Brahman and his wife, so poor that they very often did not know where to turn for a meal.

One day in the jungle he saw a Baingan plant. He dug it up, planted it by his cottage door, and watered it. It grew wonderfully, and by and bye bore one large baingan fruit.

At last a day came when there was absolutely nothing in the house to eat. So the Brahman said—Wife, pick the baingan, and get it ready for dinner. Then the Brahmani took a knife and cut the baingan fruit off: as she did so she thought she heard a sort of moan come from the tree. However she sat down, and began to peel the baingan, when she heard a tiny voice, say quite distinctly "Take care please! oh do take care! peel more gently, or the knife will run into me." The Brahmani was terribly perplexed, but she peeled as gently as she could, and when she got through the

kind, let out stepped the most beautiful little princess you ever saw.

The poor couple had no children, so they were delighted, and cherished her as their own, giving her the name of Princess Aubergine.

Now a king lived close by who had a beautiful wife and seven young sons. By chance a slave girl from the palace went into the Brahman's hut to ask for fire, and saw the beautiful Aubergine. So she went home, and said to her mistress, "Oh, in a hovel yonder, lives a princess so beautiful that if my lord the king clapped eyes on her for a moment, you would soon be forgotten." This put the queen, who was a sorceress, into a fearful rage, and she set about in her mind, to lay a trap for the beautiful Princess Aubergine. If she could only get her into the palace, she felt sure she could manage to destroy her. So she sent a message to say she had heard much of Princess Aubergine's beauty, and would like to see it for herself.

Now the princess was vain of her beauty, so

²² Vide Vamśāvalī, p. 232 n. 5.

²³ So I would translate "Chung-kan."

بينگن بادشاہ خدی Princess Aubergine. Baingan, also Baigan and Bagan, and

Bhaṅg is the egg-plant, in French *aubergine*: scientific name—*Solanum melongena*. It is usually called *Brinjal* by Europeans in India. This story abounds in various forms in the Panjab; the version here given was taken from an old woman at Kasūr near Lāhōr, of Pūrbīā origin.—R. C. T.

she, nothing loth, went to the palace. The queen pretended to be wonder-struck, and said, "Now you must never leave me. You are only fit to live in a palace. You are my sister henceforth." So the Princess Aubergine, nothing loth, stayed, and they exchanged veils and became sisters.*

But the queen saw at a glance that Princess Aubergine was no human being[†] but a fairy. Therefore she laid strong spells upon her while she slept, and asked "Now tell me true, in what thing does your life lie?" Then the Princess, spell-bound, answered: "In the life of your eldest son. Kill him and I too will die." So the wicked queen went next day to where her young son was sleeping, and killed him with her own hand. Then she sent the slave girl to Princess Aubergine's apartments to see if she too were dead, but the girl returned, saying "She is alive and well, reading her *Kalâm-ul-lâh*."[‡]

Then the wicked queen was greatly incensed, and laid stronger spells on the princess, asking her again—"Now tell me true, in what thing does your life lie?" And she answered, "In the life of your second son. Kill him, and I too shall die." So the queen next day killed her second son with her own hands, and sent the slave girl to see if Princess Aubergine was also dead. But the slave girl returned, saying "She is alive and well, reading her *Kalâm-ul-lâh*." Then the queen was enraged and threw stronger spells on the poor princess, and this time when the queen asked, "Now tell me true, in what thing does your life lie?" she answered "In the life of your third son," and so it happened every day, till all the queen's seven young sons were killed.

Then the queen summoned up all her art, and laid such strong spells on the Princess Aubergine that she could no longer resist them, but when the queen asked, "Now tell me true in what thing does your life lie?" she sobbed and moaned—"In a river far from here, lives a fish red and green. Inside the fish you'll find a humble bee, inside the humble bee there is a

tiny box, and in that box is the 'nine lakh' necklace." Put it on and I shall die."

So when the king returned from hunting, and came to visit the queen, she began to sob and cry.

"What is the matter, my queen?" asked he.

"Oh my life is wasted. I had better die," sobbed she.

"Not so," answered he, "tell me what it is you want."

Then she told him her life was bitter to her unless she possessed the "nine-lakh necklace."

"But where is it to be found," said he.

So she said: "In a river far from here lives a fish. In the fish is a humble bee, in the bee a box, and inside the box the nine lakh necklace."

Now the king was kind to his wife, and grieved sincerely for the loss of his seven young sons, who, the queen said, had died suddenly of an infectious disease, and being anxious to comfort her, he ordered all the fishermen in the kingdom to fish for the queen's red fish. And when it was caught he had it opened, and sure enough inside was the humble bee, and inside the bee was the box, and inside the box the nine-lakh necklace. So the queen put it on and was happy.

Now when Princess Aubergine had told her secret, she knew her life was gone, so she returned sadly to the Brahman's hut. She told the kind old people she would soon die, and begged them not to burn or bury her body. "This is what you must do," she said, "dress me in my finest clothes, scatter flowers on my bed, and carry me to the wildest jungle. Place the bed on the ground, and build a mud wall round it so high that no one can see over. And leave me there."

So when she died (which she did at the very moment the wicked queen put on the nine-lakh necklace) the old Brahmins did what Princess Aubergine had told them. Then the queen sent the slave girl to the Brahman's house to see if Aubergine were really dead and buried. She returned saying "she is dead, but not burnt or buried; they have carried her out to the jungle, and built a mud wall round her bed

* Amongst the women of the Panjab a formal exchange of veils and drinking milk together from one cup is the common way of sweetening friendships.—F. A. S.

† آدم زان *Adam-zan*, descended from Adam (آدم) human.—R. C. T.

‡ *كَلَامُ اللَّهِ* *Kalâm-ul-lâh*, that is God's word, the *قرآن* *Qur'ân*. This is another proof of the mixture of Hinduism and Muhammadanism in the Panjab among the lower

classes before noticed, for here we have a girl brought up in a Brahmin's house reading the *Qur'ân*.—R. C. T.

نولکھار *Nau-lakhê hâr*, the nine-lakh necklace, this fabulous necklace of nine lakhs of rupees appears to have no particular story attached to it, and is used in a vague way as we would use the "philosopher's stone." The necklace is well known in the Panjab and occurs in many of the folk tales.—R. C. T.

and there she lies beautiful as the moon." The queen was not satisfied, but she could do no more.

Now the king grieved for his five young sons, and every day to try and forget his grief he went out hunting. Then said the queen, "Oh my lord, hunt if it pleases you to the east, and to the west, and to the south, but towards the north do not hunt or evil may befall you." This she said for fear he should find the dead Princess Aubergine who lay towards the north. Now one day the king hunted to the east and the west and the south, but no game was to be found, so, without thinking of what the queen had said, he wandered alone to the northwards. Soon he saw a curious high coolamere with no door, and he wondered what it was; he climbed over, and lo! there on a bed decked with flowers lay the Princess Aubergine beautiful as the moon, or lovelier than any living woman. He could not believe she was dead, he became so enamoured of her beauty that he stayed beside her all day, praying and beseeching her to open her eyes. At night he returned to the palace, but with the dawning he took his bow, saying he was going out hunting alone, and ran to Aubergine. So he passed day after day kneeling by her bed, weeping and beseeching her to rise. Now after nine months had gone by, he one day found the most beautiful little boy imaginable lying by the side of the dead Aubergine. He was astonished, but taking the infant in his arms, he cared for it all day, and at night gave it back to its dead mother. After some time it began to talk, and one day the king said to it "Is your mother always dead?" Then the child answered "No! at night she is alive, and cares for me as you do in the day." Then the king bid the child ask his mother what made her die. The next day the boy answered "It is the ugly black necklace which the queen wears. At night she takes it off, and hangs it up beside her. Then my mother becomes alive again, but dies when the queen puts on the necklace next morning." At this the king was puzzled, and said, "Ask your mother to-night whose son you are."

Next day the boy answered "Mother bids

me say I am your son, sent to console you for the loss of the seven fair sons the queen badly murdered for the sake of Princess Aubergine." Then the king was very wroth, and said to the boy, "Ask your mother to-night how I am to recover the necklace from the wicked queen, and punish her."

Next day the boy said—"Mother says I am the person to take the necklace from the queen, only do you carry me to the palace to-night." So the king carried his little son back to the palace, and told all the courtiers that the child was his heir. Then the queen became mad with jealousy, especially when she thought of her own seven dead sons, and she determined to poison the child. So she prepared some beautiful poisoned sweetmeats, and crossed the boy, saying, "Here my son, eat these." But the child said "No, I will not eat them unless you let me play with that beautiful necklace you wear round your neck."

The queen was determined to poison the child, and seeing no other way of inducing him to eat the sweetmeats, she gave him the necklace; no sooner had he got it than he fled away so fast that no one could catch him. He ran to where the Princess Aubergine lay dead, and threw it round her neck; she immediately became alive again, lovelier than ever. Then the king came and asked her to go to the palace as his wife, but she said—"I will never come until the wicked queen is dead; she would only murder me and my son. This is what you must do. Dig a deep ditch on the threshold of the door, fill it with scorpions and snakes, fling the wicked queen into it, and bury her alive. Then I will walk over her grave and be your wife."

So the king had the ditch dug and filled with scorpions and snakes. Then he went to his wife, and said, "Come and see something wonderful," but she suspecting a trick would not come. Then they seized and bound her and flung her into the ditch amongst the scorpions and snakes, and covered her over with earth. Then Princess Aubergine and her son walked over the grave, and lived happily ever after.

WESTERN CHALUKYA GRANT OF AMBERA.

At p. 96 of Vol. VIII is given a transcription and translation of a grant of Amhera. By an oversight the facsimiles of the plates were not

lithographed in time for that volume. They are now given in the accompanying plate for purposes of paleographic comparison.—Ed.

[illegible][illegible]

THE KĀSIKĀ.*

BY PROFESSOR P. MAX MÜLLER, OXFORD.

The publication of this ancient commentary[†] on Pāṇini's grammar has long formed a desideratum of Sanskrit scholarship, and it reflected great credit on the editors and publishers of the *Prati* that they resolved on bringing out this text in the numbers of their journal. We are surprised that their journal, which contained so many valuable articles and *admirable principles* of Sanskrit texts, should have met with so little support in India and Europe that it had to be discontinued. It may be said that the Sanskrit texts were not always edited according to the strictest rules of European criticism, and that some of them hardly deserved to be drawn from the shelves of native libraries. Nevertheless, the *Prati* was a truly useful journal, well-suited to Sanskrit scholars, and its discontinuance is deeply regretted by those who have the progress of Sanskrit scholarship at heart.

The text of the *Kāśikā* was one of the last works published in the *Prati*, and it has since been issued by Boht in two volumes. There are few grammatical works which have been edited with greater care than has been bestowed on the *Kāśikā* by Pandit Bālāśāstrī; and he deserves the thanks of all scholars in India and Europe who look on a right understanding of Pāṇini as the only real foundation of Sanskrit scholarship. Perhaps the best return we can make to him is a slight contribution towards fixing the date of this important grammar, the authors of which have been referred by different writers to dates varying from the seventh to the fourteenth centuries A.D.

Prof. Bohtlingk, in the Introduction to his edition of Pāṇini's Grammar (p. li.), referred the *Kāśikā* *Prati* to about the eighth century, on the supposition that Vāmana, the author of the *Kāśikā*, could be proved to be the same as the Vāmana who is mentioned in the *Chronicle of Kashmir* (iv. 496). The evidence on which that careful scholar relied was as follows:—Kāśhapa Paṇḍita, the author of the *Ucatanupīṣṭhā*, is evidently anxious to do full justice to Jayāditya, who, after the battle of Paṇḍitabātra, recovered the throne of his father, and became a patron of literature. He mentions, therefore, in full detail his exertions for the restoration of grammatical studies in Kashmir, and particularly the interest he took in a new edition, as we should call it, of Pāṇinī's *Muktābhāṣya*. He then passes on to give the names of other learned men living at his Court, such as Kaśhapa (author of *Abhidhānī*) according

to Bāddi-er, Damodaraṅgaṇa, Maneratha, Saṅkha-datta, Chātaka, Saṅkhaśat, and Vāmana. This Vāmana was supposed to be the author of the *Kāśikā*. But if this Vāmana had been the author of the *Kāśikā* *Prati*—that is to say, of a complete commentary on Pāṇini's Grammar—would not Kāśhapa have mentioned him as connected with the revival of grammatical learning in Kashmir, instead of putting his name casually at the end of a string of other names?

It might be stated that Prof. Bohtlingk has himself surrendered this conjecture. There is no better foundation for another conjecture, first started by Wilson (*Asiat. Res.* vol. XV, p. 52), that the Vāmana here mentioned at the Court of Jayāditya was the author of a set of poetical *Sūtras* and of a *Prati* or gloss upon them. The untenability of that view has been fully shown by Dr. Cappeller in the Introduction to his edition of Vāmana's *Kāśikābhāṣya-prati* (Jena, 1875). Vāmana, the author both of the text and of the gloss of this work, quotes Sūtras, the author of the *Myśābhāṣya*; Kāśhapa, the author of the *Sakuntalā*, *Urvashī*, *Mānasa*, *Myśābhāṣya*, *Kāśikābhāṣya*, and *Paṇḍitabātra*; Ananta, Bhāṣyaśāstrī, Māgha, the *Paṇḍitabātra*, the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, *Kāśikābhāṣya*, *Vāṭsyaśāstra*, and *Kavirāja*. Now if this Kavirāja is intended for the author of the *Abhidhānī*, this would be sufficient to place Vāmana at least after 1000 A.D., while Jayāditya, his supposed patron, died in 775 A.D.

After having assigned to Vāmana, the author of the *Kāśikābhāṣya*, his date in the twelfth century, Dr. Cappeller proceeds to identify this Vāmana with Vāmana, the author of the *Kāśikā* *Prati*. His arguments, however, are hardly convincing: he relies chiefly on a statement of Bālāśāstrī, in the Introduction to his edition of the *Kāśikā*, where that scholar speaks of a third Vāmana, a poet, who wrote the *Jayādityābhāṣya*, in *Maṇḍarāstra*, and places him in Sakā 1395, i.e., 1673 A.D., adding that the grammarian Vāmana lived 500 years earlier, i.e., 1173 A.D. If Prof. Weber states that Bālāśāstrī assigns the grammarian Vāmana to the thirteenth century (*Hind. of Sansk. Lit.* p. 226) this must refer to some other paper which has escaped my notice. Bālāśāstrī, however, gives no evidence in support of his statement, nor does he, so far as I am aware, ever hint at Vāmana, the grammarian, being the same as Vāmana, the rhetorician.

* This paper appeared in *The Academy* of Sept. 25, and Oct. 2, 1880, and is reproduced here as revised by the Author.—Ed.

† *Kāśikā*, a Commentary on Pāṇini's Grammatical

Apollonius, by Pandit Vāmana and Jayāditya. Edited by Pandit Bālāśāstrī, Professor of Hindu Law in the Sanskrit College, Benares. (Benares, 1876, 1875.)

Prof. Goldstücker, in a similar manner—that is, without producing sufficient evidence—referred Vāmana, the grammarian, to the same recent period as the *Siddhanta-Kaumudi*, Nāgaśa, Puraṣottama, and other grammarians (Goldstücker, *Pāṇini*, p. 83)—therefore to a period later than the thirteenth century.

Before we try to fix the date of Vāmana, the author of the *Kāśikā* *Pratī*, it will be necessary to determine, first, whether he was the only author of that book. Colebrooke, *Sanskrit Grammar*, p. ix, spoke of the *Kāśikā* as the work of Jayāditya, or Vāmana Jayāditya. Bālaśāstrin, the editor of the *Kāśikā*, thought likewise at first that Vāmana and Jayāditya, who are mentioned as the authors, were one and the same person (*Pāṇini*, June 1878, p. 20, l. 9). He found, however, afterwards that Bhaṭṭojidhikṣita, the author of the *Siddhanta-Kaumudi*, clearly distinguishes between the opinions of Jayāditya and Vāmana (*Sūtra* v. 4, 42; ed. Tarkavachaspati, vol. I, p. 727); and he might have learnt the same from Prof. Aufrecht's excellent edition of the *Uṇḍī Sūtra* (Prof. p. xv; *Sūtra* i. 52). Bālaśāstrin afterwards assigned the first, second, fifth, and sixth books to Jayāditya, the rest to Vāmana, while in an ancient MS. of the *Kāśikā*, discovered by Dr. Bühler in Kāśmīr (*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R. A. S.*, 1877, p. 72), the first four *adhyāya* are ascribed to Jayāditya, the last four to Vāmana. (See also Kailāsa, *Kāśikā* and *Pāṇini*, p. 12, note.) The evidence is therefore decidedly in favour of Vāmana and Jayāditya being two different persons and joint authors of the *Kāśikā*. The next question is, can we determine their date, or at least the date of one of them?

In the Preface to the sixth volume of my edition of the *Rig-Veda* (p. xxix), I endeavoured to show that the statement made by Bhaṭṭojidhikṣita in the *Siddhanta-Kaumudi*, and by the author of the *Menorand*, viz., that Vāmana, whose fame had been eclipsed by Vopadeva, had been brought forward again by Mādhyama, was so far confirmed by the commentary on the *Rig-Veda*, that Vopadeva is nowhere quoted by Mādhyama, while Vāmana is quoted at least once in the commentary on the *Rig-Veda*, and more frequently in Śāyana's *Bhāṣya*. Bālaśāstrin concluded rightly from that verse that Vāmana must be older than Mādhyama, 1360 A.D., and older than Vopadeva, twelfth century. I added that Śāyana quotes both Haradatta, the author of the *Padamāṇḍ*, an exposition of the *Kāśikā*, and Nyāśaka, i.e., Jinendra, the author of the *Nyāsa* or *Kāśikā-vṛtti-pāṇikā*. This last book is likewise quoted by the author of a commentary called the *Kāśikā-madhya*, probably the work of Vopadeva,

so that the interval between the authors of the *Kāśikā* and those who could quote from commentaries on their works must be extended accordingly.

This was the state of uncertainty in which the date of the *Kāśikā* had to be left. "It must be earlier than the twelfth century" (Barnell, *Āindra School of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 92); "it is not a modern work" (Bühler, *loc. cit.*, p. 73). Such were the last utterances of two of the most competent judges.

One other argument in favour of the comparatively early date of Vāmana and Jayāditya should not be passed over. It was produced by Bālaśāstrin, who showed that both were evidently Jains, or, what is the same with him, Bauddhas. Like the *Amarakośa*, the *Kāśikā* begins without any invocation or exposition of the character of the book, a custom always observed by orthodox writers. Secondly, the authors of the *Kāśikā* actually alter the text of Pāṇini, which no orthodox Brāhman would venture to do. In *Sūtra* iv. 2, 43, they insert *śaṅḍa*, writing *grāmaśaṅḍaśāstrīyasya* *śa* instead of Pāṇini's *grāmaśaṅḍaśāstrīyasya* *śa*. Thirdly, they quote instances referring to Buddhist literature, which, again, no respectable writer would do. When giving an instance of the use of the verb *śa*, in the *Atmanepada*, meaning "to be honoured," they say, "Chārvā is honoured in the Lokāyata school." This Chārvā (Chārvāka ?) is said to be a name of Buddha, and means here a Buddhist teacher, who is honoured in the Lokāyata school. An orthodox writer would have quoted authorities from orthodox, never from nihilistic, schools. And Bālaśāstrin adds that there were other distinguished grammarians too at that time who were Jains—for instance, the author of the *Nyāsa*, Jinendra-buddhi—but that their works were afterwards eclipsed by those of orthodox grammarians, such as Bhaṭṭojidhikṣita, Haridikṣita, Nāgaśaṅkṛāṇa, &c.

After thus having established two points—viz., that Vāmana and Jayāditya were joint authors of the *Kāśikā*, and that they were Jains or Bauddhas, we return to the question as to their probable age. Much light on Indian chronology has been received, as is well known, from Chinese writers, whether from translators of Sanskrit texts, or from travellers, such as Fa-Hian, Sung-yun, Hsien-Tsang, and others. Meeting in Mr. Beal's *Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripitaka* (p. 94) with the title of a work called *Nan-kao-ki-kwei-chowen*, being "Records concerning Visits and Returns to the Southern Sea," I consulted Mr. Kasswara on the contents of the work. He informed me that it was written by I-tsing, one of the best-known Chinese pilgrims, who left Guanchau, in China, in the eleventh lunar month

of the year 671 A.D., arrived at Tāmralipti, in India, after a long voyage, in the second month of 673, and started from that place for Nālanda in the fifth month of the same year. After the lapse of some years, he returned to Tāmralipti, and sailed to Si-ri-fa-an, in the Southern Sea countries.

It seems that he wrote his book, "The Accounts of Buddhist Practices sent, being entrusted to one who returns to China, from the Southern Sea Countries," in Si-ri-fa-an, for he generally compares the practices of India with those of the Southern Sea countries. His work consists of two volumes, containing four books and forty chapters. Though he does not mention how long he was in India, yet, as he refers to the usurper Queen, Tsak-tin-mo-han, whose date is 690, we see that he must then have been absent from China twenty years, and have spent eighteen years in India. We may gather, in fact, from remarks occurring in his work that he was born about 635, that he left China in 671, arrived at Tāmralipti in 673, and was still absent in 690, at the time of the usurpation of Queen Tsak-tin-mo-han. That usurpation lasted till 705, when the Tung dynasty was restored. It is stated elsewhere that I-tsing died in 713, 79 years old, and that he had returned to China in 695.

In the thirty-fourth chapter of his work I-tsing treats of learning in the West, and chiefly of grammatical science, the *Śābdarśat*, one of the five *vidyā* or sciences. He gives the name *Pyāṭarṇava*, grammar, and then proceeds to speak of five works, generally called grammar in India.

I. The first is called elementary *śābdarṇava*, and begins with *śābdarṇava*. It was originally taught by Mahāśvara, and is learnt by heart by children when they are six years old. They learn it in six months.

Most likely this refers to the *Śān Sātra*, granted by the favour of Mahāśvara. But, from the description given, this *śābdarṇava* must have contained much more than the famous *Śān Sātra*. "There are forty-nine letters," I-tsing writes, "the compounds of which are divided into eighteen sections, and of which altogether more than 10,000 words are formed. These words are arranged in 300 ślokas, of thirty-two syllables each."

II. The second grammatical work is called *Sātra*, the foundation of all grammatical science. It is the work of Pāṇini, and contains 1,000 ślokas. He was inspired by Mahāśvara, and is said to have been endowed with three eyes. Children begin to learn it when they are eight years old, and learn it in eight months.

III. *Dhātva*. This consists of 1,000 ślokas,

and treats of grammatical roots. Evidently a *Dhātupāṭha*.

IV. Three so-called *Kāśikā*—(1) *Aśṭaśādhya*, consisting of 1,000 ślokas (on declension and conjugation); (2) *Man-śā*, consisting of 1,000 ślokas (on Kṛt suffixes &c.); (3) *Uṇādi*, consisting of 1,000 ślokas (on Uṇādi suffixes).

Boys of ten years learn these parts of grammar, and finish them after three years.

Without dwelling on some difficult questions connected with these *Kāśikā*—which are rightly rendered by "uncultivated pieces of land"—we proceed at once to No. V., which is called *Vṛtti Sātra*, a commentary on the foregoing *Sātra*. We are told that "it is the best among the many commentaries. It contains 18,000 ślokas, citing the words of the *Sātra*, and explaining intricate matters very clearly. It exposes the laws of the universe and the precepts of Heaven and man. Boys of fifteen begin to study this commentary, and understand it completely in five years. This commentary is the work of the learned Jayāditya, who was endowed with great ability. His literary talent was so excellent that he understood matters of literature hearing them once, and did not require to be told twice. He revered the three venerable ones, and performed all religious duties. Since his death it is nearly thirty years."

If we take the lowest date for I-tsing's work, viz., 690 A.D. (because he mentions the usurpation which took place in that year), he would have been four years, as he says, in Si-ri-fa-an, and thirteen in India, when he wrote the thirty-fourth chapter of his work; and there is no reason why he should not have known, and, if he cared, have been able to ascertain the exact date, of the death of the author of one of the most famous grammars of that time, moreover a grammar which he recommends all true students, coming from China to India, to learn by heart. On the whole, his description of that grammar agrees well with the *Kāśikā Vṛtti*, and it is almost impossible to imagine that he should have fixed by accident or fraud on the real name of one of the authors of that grammar, Jayāditya. Unless the whole of I-tsing's work be shown to be a spurious compilation, we are justified in assuming that he knew a commentary on Pāṇini's *Sātra* by Jayāditya, and that he believed Jayāditya to have died not later than 660 A.D.

I do not wish to disguise some difficulties connected with I-tsing's accounts of grammatical literature in India. After having mentioned the five principal works on grammar, he mentions what he calls a commentary on the *Vṛtti Sātra*, in 24,000 ślokas. The title seems to be *Janī* or *Chūṇī*, and the author's name Patañjali. This,

therefore, could only be Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, which may, in a certain sense, be called a commentary on the *Kāśikā Vyākhyā*, because it is a fuller commentary on the same text. But why should it be called *Juṣi*? Is this possibly a name connected with Gonikā, the mother of Patañjali, who calls himself Gonikā-putra (Goldstücker, *Pitaval*, p. 235), or with Gonarda, his supposed birth-place, from which he takes the name of Gonardīya? (Goldstücker, *loc. cit.*, pp. 235, 236).

Equally difficult is the next statement, viz., that he knows a commentary on the *Juṣi* by Bhartṛihari, in 25,000 śloka. He calls it Bhartṛihari-discourse.* Is this meant for Bhartṛihari's *Kīrtikā*? It cannot be meant for the *Vākyapadīya*, because that is described afterwards. I-tsing speaks of Bhartṛihari as a Buddhist. After stating that this work of his in 25,000 śloka treats of the principles of human affairs and of grammar, and also gives a history of the rise and decline of many families, he adds that Bhartṛihari "was familiarly acquainted with the principles of the doctrine of 'only mind,' and a student of logic. His name and virtues were very famous throughout the five divisions of India and every neighbouring country. He believed deeply in the Three Ratnas, and meditated on the Two Sānyas. He was a follower of the strictest religion, and belonged to the priestly order. But overcome by worldly desires, he became seven times a priest, and seven times returned to the laity. He was a contemporary

of Dharmapāla, and forty years had elapsed since his death."

The next work mentioned is "the Vākya-discourse, in seven hundred śloka and seven thousand words, treating of observation and inference, according to the scriptures." As it is likewise a grammatical work, we can hardly be wrong in taking it to be Bhartṛihari's *Vākyapadīya*.

The last grammatical work defines, as yet, all identification. It is called *Pīṣa*, or *Pīṣa*, or *Pīṣa*, or *Pīṣa*. It contains three thousand śloka by Bhartṛihari and fourteen thousand in prose by Dharmapāla. It fathoms the deep secrets of heaven and earth, and treats of the philosophy of man (Vinaya?).

This must suffice for the present, but I hope that the work of this Chinese traveller which has helped us to fix the date of the *Kāśikā* will soon be rendered generally accessible by a translation which is now being prepared by Mr. Kasuware, and which will throw an unexpected light, not only on the life of the Buddhists in the famous colleges of Nālanda and Hālabhī, but likewise on Buddhism as established at that time in the "islands of the Southern Sea." It was in one of these islands that I-tsing spent a number of years and composed his works on the manners of the Buddhists on the continent and on the islands, and it is important to observe that those islands of the Southern Sea do not include the island of Ceylon.

MISCELLANEA.

SOLAR ECLIPSE OF FEB. 10, 780 A.D.

This eclipse, referred to ante p. 254, as possibly being that mentioned in the Morvi plate (vol. II, p. 258), has been computed by a correspondent with the following results. The eclipse was an annular one (the sun's semidiameter being 16' 9" and the moon's 14' 54"·7), and was central at noon in Arabia, a little to the south-west of the Persian Gulf, Lat. 24° 45' N. long. 49° 11' E.¹

Greenwich mean time h. m. a.m.	Long.	Lat.
Partial beginning ... 5 33·1	9° 38' E.	4° 53' S.
Central eclipse began 6 49·6	6 27 W.	7 57 N.
" middle 8 29·2	42 33 E.	17 22 N.
" 8 58·2	48 52 E.	24 24 N.
" 9 28·2	57 8 E.	33 21 N.
" 9 58·2	75 1 E.	40 45 N.
" ended 10 68 101	20 E.	58 32 N.
Partial ended 11 23·2	89 51 E.	44 42 N.

The line thus traced passes close to El Katif on

the Persian Gulf, Shiraz, Yezd, Meshet, Merv, and Bokhara, and the eclipse would be central in Arabia, Persia, and Turkistan, while it would be seen as a large partial eclipse in the Punjab and Western India.

In long. 71° E. lat. 25° N. it began at 6h. 55m. p.m. (local time); the greatest obscuration was at 2h. 21m. p.m. when the magnitude was 0·569 of the sun's diameter, and the end of the partial eclipse was at 3h. 47m. p.m. J. B.

NATIVE HISTORIES OF INDIAN STATES.

Sir Salar Jung has furnished to the Government of India a list of 224 historical MSS.² of which copies are found at Hyderabad, and of which transcripts are procurable for Prof. Dowson's supplementary volumes to Sir H. M. Elliot's *History of India*, in which he is to give the history of the Mussalman dynasties of the Dekhan.

* Dr. Bühler informs me that fragments of Bhartṛihari's commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya* exist in the Royal Library at Berlin and in the Dekhan.

¹ The statement in note 2 p. 254 is in error owing to

the ecliptic conjunction having been used by mistake for the conjunction in R. A.

² February 23, 1880; see Allen's *Indian Mail*, Oct. 20.

In doing so, Sir Salar Jung requests, in return, to be furnished with a list of all similar works obtained elsewhere by Prof. Dowson, and of all the Oriental historical works which are found in the libraries of the different Native States in India, and in European collections.

This is a step in the right direction to revive an interest in the past history and local annals of Native States, which we hope may be followed up by all of them. Much has been done by Government for the cataloguing and transcription of rare Sanskrit MSS., and the results have been important and valuable. May we not hope that an effort will also be made to catalogue the valuable libraries of Persian and Arabic works in India, and to secure copies of the most important and least known historical MSS.?

AN APPARITION SEEN BY THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF INDIA.

The Rev. Bouchier Wrey Savile has issued a second edition of his valuable and interesting book on "Apparitions," (published by Longmans and Co.) and in it he gives fresh instances of the seeing of spontaneous apparitions by persons not Spiritualists. In the preface he says:—

"I am indebted to the kindness of George Spence, Esq., of Bromley, Kent, for the following very singular incident connected with that eminent statesman, Warren Hastings, who together with Lord Clive and the recently deceased Lord Lawrence have done more than any other of our great men to found and preserve to our descendants the finest empire in British India, which the world has ever seen. Mr. Spence informs me that one evening, when his great-nephew, Joseph Cater, Esq., then secretary to Warren Hastings, was sitting with the Supreme Council of India in the Council Chamber of Calcutta, Mr. Shakespeare, one of the members, suddenly looked up, exclaiming, 'Good God, there is my father!' The whole Council then saw a figure of an unknown person glide through the chamber into another room which had no outlet, and disappear. What particularly attracted the attention of the Council was the fact that the figure appeared with a hat of unusual shape, commonly known in our day by the name of 'chimney-pot.' The Governor-General was so struck with the occurrence that he ordered a minute to be made of the matter, and placed in the record-chest; and where it may possibly still remain. In course of time a ship from England arrived, bringing the news of the death of Mr. Shakespeare's father; and likewise a cargo of 'chimney-pot hats,' the first ever brought to India.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

2. *Proven Names* (*ante*, p. 229).—In addition to the *Note on Proper Names* by Mr. G. A. Grierson in the *Ind. Antiquary*, *ante* p. 141, I beg to state that the following names are given in the Canarese country of Malabar, to children born after the death of two or more immediately preceding, and if not already published, the information may be of interest:—

Tippā—from *tipā*, meaning dung-hill,—a coincidence with "Gobardhan" in vogue in similar cases in Bengal.

Giriappā—from *giri*, a mountain.

Ganāpappā—from *ganā*, a rock.

Kallid—from *kallid*, a stone.

Kalappā—from *kalā*, wilderness, jungle, or forest.

Kappā or Kappanna—from *kappā*, blackness.

Besides this, parents and relatives call children also by affectionate terms which in course of time are generally adopted instead of their proper names. Such terms are—

Chikā—from *chikā*, small.

Puttā or Putta Rāo—from *putta*, small.

Appannā or Appā Rāo—from *appā*, father.

Thannā—from *thannā*, younger brother.

Annā or Annappā—from *annā*, elder brother.

Nannappā—from *nannā*, small.

Doddappā or Doddannā—from *doddā*, large.

I may add that these names are also made use of by females, when their husbands go by the same names as the children, and which they are precluded from uttering.

7. *Chowki*.—For long my attention has been drawn to the custom of *Chowki* so rigidly observed by the Hindostani or Northern Brāhmins and they thus explain its significance. In preparing his meals the Brāhmin cleans the ground (or gets it cleaned), draws lines to form an oblong or square figure wherein he must place every article of food to be cooked, including firewood, and when he bathes and has once got into the *Chowki*, he is not to come out of it until he has finished his meals; but if he is compelled to come out, the food is given away to a *Sādā*, and everything is prepared afresh.

They say it is a custom corresponding with *Sanyasiddhā* in Sanskrit, but the Brāhmins in this country take this term to mean "to prepare his own meals," and *Chowki* does not occur in their observances. I shall be glad if any up-country or Bengal Brāhmin will kindly enlighten me (one of them) as to the full object and observances of *Chowki*.

M. R. TIVIAI.

Chikmagalur, 22nd July 1880.

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. X, No. II.—Besides an interesting account, by Mr. J. H. Hall, of a collection of some thirty Cypriote inscriptions belonging to the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York, with facsimiles of these documents, this number contains two papers of considerable importance to Sanskrit scholars. Professor John Avery, of Iowa College, in his "Contributions to the History of Verbal Inflection in Sanskrit," proposes to furnish a general view of the development of the system of verbal inflection in Sanskrit, based on a critical analysis and tabulated statement of the verbal forms of representative works of the three successive periods of Sanskrit literature, viz., the Vedic, the Brāhmanic, and the classical periods. The works selected for the purpose are the *Rigveda*, the *Āitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, and the *Nala* and *Divyavādī*. The verbal forms quoted from these works include 18,216 from the *Rig*, 7,120 from the *Brāhmaṇa*, and 2716 from the two remaining works. The current arrangement of the present stems or 'special forms' in ten classes has rightly been discarded and a more scientific one has been adopted; viz., I. Simple Root class (2nd Indian class); II. Reduplicating class (3rd Indian); III. Nasal classes (5th, 8th, 9th, and 7th Classes); and IV. the *a*-classes (1st, 6th and 4th Indian classes). The tenth Indian class has been thrown together with the causatives. The author also gives a list of the roots found in these works.

A still more elaborate paper is the one by Professor C. B. Lammie of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, which contains a 'Statistical Account of Noun-Inflection in the Veda.' The nominal forms (not including, however, the infinitives, the verbal absolutes, and the pronominal forms) of the *Rigveda* are here put together and scientifically classified in the most complete and exhaustive manner. The nominal bases or stems are grouped by the author in three classes, viz., 1. Stems whose suffixes end in vowels; 2. Suffixless stems (including however, for convenience sake, some bases formed with such suffixes as -*aj*, -*ij*, -*it*, -*id*, -*ut*); and 3. stems whose suffixes end in -*t*, -*n* and -*s*. The nominal forms, brought together under these groups, and further classified according to the respective suffixes as well as to gender, number and case, amount to upwards of 26,000. In additional notes, interesting inferences are drawn from these results in regard to the relative ages of different Vedic texts and the different *Maṇḍalas* of the *Rigveda*, on the whole bearing out the views on these points prevalent among Sanskrit scholars. The authors of these papers deserve the heartiest thanks of all

Sanskrit and linguistic students for the able manner in which they have carried out their laborious researches.

The *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society* No. 2, 1880, opens with a long paper by Dr. A. F. Rudolph Hoernle containing a collection of Hindi Roots with remarks on their derivation and classification. The collection was originally intended for the author's *Comparative Grammar of the Indian Languages*, and the introductory remarks to this paper give the substance of the chapter on 'Roots' (pp 160-179) of that work. The root of *dr̥k* has been a subject of controversy; in Kāśmiri it is *dr̥k*, Gipsy *dr̥k*, and Singalese *dr̥k*. Childers derived the Pali *dr̥k* from the Sanskrit *dr̥k* the future from the root *dr̥k*, of which the present is not in use; and he showed that in earlier Pali writings it is always used in a future tense, and only in later times as a present. Pischel supports the views of Childers; but Weber controverts them and derives *dr̥k* from the desiderative *dr̥k*. P. and S. Goldschmidt explain it as a denominative from the past participle *dr̥k*. Dr. Hoernle agrees with Childers and Hoernle that the original form *dr̥k* was, in course of time, changed to *dr̥k* in order to assimilate it to another very common root *pek*, also meaning "see." From the transitive pair of roots *pek* and *dr̥k*, another similarly assimilated pair *pek* and *dr̥k* are derived with meanings generally intransitive "be seen," "appear." Two instances of a similar process of derivation from the future base of a Sanskrit root are adduced in O. Hindi *dr̥k* or *dr̥k* "destiny," or "throw away," Skr. *dr̥k* (fut. of *dr̥k*); and O. Hindi. *dr̥k* "draw," and H. *dr̥k*, *dr̥k* or *dr̥k* "draw," Skr. *dr̥k* (fut. of *dr̥k*). The Sanskrit future *dr̥k* would be *dr̥k*, *dr̥k* or *dr̥k*, whence in Hindi *dr̥k* or *dr̥k* with a present meaning, while it is to be noted that the sense of the root has become transitive.

The Sanskrit root *pek* "see," becomes *pek* or *pek* in Prakrit; the Skr. fut. base *dr̥k* "will see," becomes *dr̥k* or *dr̥k* in Prakrit, and similarly the Skr. fut. base *dr̥k* or *dr̥k* in Prakrit would become *dr̥k* or *dr̥k*; and the Sanskrit compound future base *dr̥k* (i + *dr̥k*) would become *dr̥k* or *dr̥k*. With the insertion of the usual euphonic *y*, the latter would become *dr̥k* or (with the not unusual nasalization instead of the reduplication) *dr̥k*; and, on Childers' theory, this might be used as a present, equivalent to Skr. *dr̥k*. Hoernle in his Grammar (iv. 187) gives *dr̥k*, *dr̥k*, *dr̥k* as equivalents of

kāśhāṭī : Hindi has *aiśchāṭī* or *aiśchāṭī*. Now the root *aiśch* would yield a Prakrit form *kāśchāṭī* or *kāśchāṭī*, which, in Hindi, by transferring the lost aspiration of *ch* to *k* and by assimilation to *aiśchāṭī* and *aiśchāṭī*, would result in the modern forms *kāśchāṭī* or *kāśchāṭī* and *kāśchāṭī* or *kāśchāṭī*.

The lists of Roots are arranged in two parts, the first contains the primary, and the second consists of secondary roots.

The second paper is on some Coins supplementary to Thomas's *Chronicle of the Pathan Kings*, by U. J. Rodgers, and gives an account of about forty previously undescribed coins with two plates.

The third and last paper is a memorandum on Coins of the Sunga dynasty by H. Rivote-Carnac, C. I. E., supplementary to Mr. Carileyle's paper in the previous number, with 3 plates representing 20 of these coins, belonging to Bhānūmītra, Agnīmītra, Bhūmimītra, Phāgumītra, Bhadrughosha, Sāryamītra, and Indramītra. Those of Agnīmītra seem to be the most plentiful. Bhadrughosha, Mr. Rivote-Carnac suggests, may be the *hushayash* whom Wilford supposes to be interpolated as the father or predecessor of Vikrama, and the Bhūmimītra of the Puranic lists of the Kāṇva dynasty may be the same as the king of that name on his coins.

The corresponding part on "Physical Science" is chiefly occupied by a paper on the Water-supplies of Calcutta. We wonder the many students of Physical science in its various branches have not established for themselves a separate journal. Many of them can have as little interest in Hindi roots, and Sanskrit literature, as the Orientalist has in Calcutta Water-supply or *Indian Revenue*. Were those interested in Geography, and the Natural and Physical sciences all over India to form a Society (it might still continue in connexion with the Bengal Asiatic) with branches in Bombay, Madras, Ceylon, Poona, and the North-West, each with an energetic Secretary, it might do immense service to science. The branches would help and incite one another to work, and instead of several ill-supported journals, they would be able to publish regularly one really good one, representing the work of all, and forming a medium of communication between them. Each local secretary would be a sort of joint editor under the guidance of the working editor, who would be responsible for the printing and publication. A journal of the kind is needed and would be supported by numbers who care little for the contents of Part I of the *Journal of the A. S. of Bengal*, and who are not members of that Society. An Indian journal of Physical and Natural Science is a want that might and ought to be supplied.

In the *Journal Asiatique* for August-September 1889, M. Harlez gives his sixth and last article on the sources of Zoroastrianism. The paper, like those that have preceded it, is scholarly, searching, and satisfactory. His conclusions are supported by the most cogent reasoning, while he shows that the early Zoroastrian writings contain no trace of a knowledge of a resurrection of the body,—*frashokereti*, which some authors have translated in that sense, meaning properly 'the act producing immortality,'—he points out that they do speak of immortality itself and the restoration of the world at the end of time; and that, while there are points of apparent resemblance between some Zoroastrian doctrines and certain leading tenets in the Jewish religion, the resemblances only help to show how independent and essentially different were the views of the early Magians and the Hebrews. The real though imperfect monotheism of the Zoroastrians differed in kind and in its place in the system from the absolute monotheism of the Jews, which was the very principle of the constitution of their system; creation *ex nihilo* was the necessary result of the fundamental principle of the Jews, while by the Iranians it was attributed to other spirits besides Ahuramazda; and finally, M. Harlez shows, has a very subordinate place in the one system to that of Angra Mainyu in the other. The whole paper deserves to be translated into English.

M. Gattegny gives a translation, from the Armenian, of an History on the sufferings of Armenia and the martyrdom of St. Vahan of Kephthén. M. Sarrailh follows with a continuation of his study of the inscriptions of Pisidias, giving the fourth and fifth edicts, accompanied by a copy of General Cunningham's two plates of the Kapur-di-giri inscription. To the miscellany, M. Imbault-Huier contributes translations from the Chinese of apophthegms, anecdotes, bon-mots, tales, maxims, and aphorisms. The part concludes with a notice of the *Annales arabes Abu Ja'far Mohammed ibn Jarir at-Tabari*, published under the supervision of M. de Goeje.

The *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for Oct. 1889 commences with a long paper (pp. 435-541) on the early history of Tibet by Dr. S. W. Bushell of Peking, being a literal translation from the official histories of the Tang dynasty which was founded in 618 A.D. The annals contained in this paper cover the period from 634 to 806, and give us the names of the Tibetan sovereigns in their Chinese forms, differing considerably from those in the lists of Georgius, Schmidt, Csoma de Koros, and E. Schlagentweit. The following is the list,—

A.D. 634. Ch'itangliant'san sent the first mission to China.

650. Ch'itapapu, his grandson.

679. Ch'itangchailung, his son, aged 8.

705. Ch'itangchailung, son, aged 7, killed on an expedition against Nepal and India.

— Ch'itangchailung'san, Khri-ang-fo-fo-fo.

755. Sokhanglich'san, son.

— Ch'itangchailung'san, reigning in 780.

797. Tanchihahien, eldest son.

798. — second son of Ch'itangchailung'san, died 804.

810. K'otik'otik'san, who reigned under the title of Yit'ai.

838. Tamo (Dharma) brother of K'otik'otik'san.

842. Ch'itangchailung'san, a nephew of the consort of Tamo; civil war.

849. Shangk'angjia, declared himself emperor; killed by the Uighur Turks, 869.

In an appendix, Dr. Russell gives rubbings and a restoration of an inscription from a stone monument in front of a large temple in Lhasa, dated in the 2nd year of the Ch'ang-k'ing period (922), and engraved both in Tibetan and Chinese.

Mr. G. Le Strange contributes 'Notes' on some mediet coins from a collection he made in Persia in 1877-1879. Among them is a triobol of Seleukos Nikator, on the reverse of which is a horse drinking or feeding in front of Zoroaster's hut. A drachm of Seleukos III (he thinks), bears on

the exergue of the reverse the letters ΕΦ; and on the reverse of a drachm of Antiochos III, Great, above the head of the seated Apollo, are the letters ΜΕΝ.

In Khormasan he obtained three copper coins of Sasanabars, on which he reads—BACTARIC CANABARIC, instead of Sasanabars. Among about seventy Parthian drachms, is one, apparently of one of the satraps of Mithridates I; on the obv. is a head to the right (usually to the left), bearded and bound by a diadem; on the rev. is the usual king seated on a stool, and round him is written ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΤΑΛΛΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΚΟΥ. On a drachm of Artabanus II. (like pl. ii, No. 13 *Nouveau Orient*; *Parthian Coins*), the inscription reads—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΤΑΛΛΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΚΟΥ ΣΑΝΑΒΑΡ.

Among dinars and dirhems of the Khalifate he found a much-clipped dinar of Al-Muwawwakel, dated A. H. 237 and minted at Samarra; also a rare dinar of Beni Aghlab of A. H. 290; and a unique dinar of Al-Hasan ben al-Kasim the Aids. At Tehran he bought a dinar which proves to be a well executed forgery, dated A. H. 314, coined at 'Ans, and bearing on the reverse—

أبو العباس بن العتذر بالله أمير المؤمنين

Among others are three dinars of Nuh ibn Nu'ar, the Samanide Amir, of A. H. 331, 333 and 337, all differing; a beautiful dinar of Majid al-Dawleh Buyeh of 398, coined at Muhammadiyeh; and a dirhem of A. H. 431 coined at Ash-Shamiriyeh.

The third and last paper consists of three Pali stanzas on the Buddhist *Niruddha* and 'the Noble eightfold Path,' by Dr. O. Franckfurter.

BOOK NOTICES.

Die Kirche der Thomaschristen. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Orientalischen Kirchen, von Dr. W. Ger- mann. (Göttingen, 1877.)

MEDICAL MISSIONS (Duff Missionary Lectures—First Series) by Thomas Smith, D.D. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1880.)

The Syrian Church of Malabar has often attracted attention, and has been the subject of numerous papers and even of separate volumes.¹ In the first of the works named above Dr. Ger- mann has done good service by going over the whole ground again, and collecting into a volume of 792 pages all the information available on so interesting a subject, and presenting a detailed history of these Christians from the earliest times till the present day.

The vexed question of the origin of the Church

and the visit of the Apostle Thomas is discussed afresh with all the evidences from Syrian and other sources, some of which will be new to the English reader. For example, from Dr. Land's *Anecdota Syriaca* (vol. I, p. 123) he derives this — "In the year 52 of our Lord Jesus Christ the lord Thomas came into India and arrived at Malapur. Here he preached the gospel to many whom he made disciples and baptized in the name of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit. Thence he set out and travelled in Malabar, where he reached Moljokare.² He preached also to the people of this district and there set up an altar to the Lord, to whom moreover he gave two presbyters. From thence he went to Kuzkayot,³ where he founded

¹ E. g. Geddes's *History of the Church of Malabar*, 1864; La Croix, *Hist. du Christianisme des Indes*, 1733; Bonatti, *Hist. of Christianity in India*, 1833, vols. I and II; Roulman, *Hist. Eccl. Malab.*, 1745; Lou's *Brief History*; and Whitehouse's *Livings of Light*, 1878; J. W. Etheridge, *The Syrian Churches*, London, 1840; see

also *Ind. Ant.* vol. III, p. 305, vol. IV, pp. 153, 181, 311; *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. I, p. 176; Leason, *Ind. Ant.* Bd. II, p. 1119.

² Elsewhere spelt Maljokare; this is Malankara, a small island in the lagoon S. E. from Kodungalūr. — Ru.
³ Evidently Kōtakkayal.

a church, as he also did at Trappoli⁶ and Ankamangalam⁷ and Nernan⁸ and Tirubakut. Next he returned to Malabar, where he was stabbed with a spear by the unbelievers" (p. 13).

Dr. Smith in the 7th lecture of his popular little volume has made large use of Dr. Germann's work, and gives the following version of another quotation from the same source (vol. I, p. 124):—"Afterwards, when 160 truly Christian families of Malabar Christians were so long without presbyters and leaders, a dissension arose among them, for what cause I know not, but some of them renounced the catholic faith, and others did not. Those who renounced it were 86 families, and those who retained it were 64. At the same time a vision appeared by night to the metropolitan of Edessa, who arose in the morning and went to the Catholics of the East, and told him of the vision which he had seen, and when the Catholics had heard it, he sent messengers to all the churches and monasteries and cities of the diocese, and convoked an assembly. And when many flocks had met, with their bishops, and with merchants belonging to them, he told them what the bishop had seen, and related to them his words. Then one of them arose, viz., a merchant, whose name was Thomas of Jerusalem, who answered, saying, 'I have ere now heard from foreign places and travellers a report about Malabar and India.' When the patriarch heard this answer, he rose from his seat, went to Thomas, embraced him lovingly, and thus addressed him, 'I entreat thee my very dear son, to go to Malabar, to visit the inhabitants of the country, and to bring me back word as to what has befallen them.' Therefore Thomas of Jerusalem set out for Malabar, and coming to Maljankara he saw the Thomas-Christians; and they were mutually pleased, the Christians telling him of the state of their affairs, which when Thomas had heard, he gave them courage and exhorted them with kind words, and straightway he embarked and returned into his country. On his return he went to the patriarch, and said to him, 'Lo! I have seen with my eyes the Thomas-Christians, and we have spoken together with mutual satisfaction, and I left them hopeful and returned.' The patriarch answered, 'Although I was ready to lay down my life for them, I ask you to be pleased to point out what these my children would have me do for them.' Then he stated to the patriarch what the

Malabarian brethren desired. Therefore, not long after, you in those very days, with the help of the adorable God, and by order of the patriarch of the East, Thomas of Jerusalem, the merchant went forth again, and with him the bishop who had seen the vision, and at the same time presbyters and deacons, and also men and women, young men and maidens, from Jerusalem and Bagdad and Nineveh, and they entered into a ship and set sail for Malabar, and arrived at Maljankara the year of the Lord 345."

Germann devotes the 2nd chapter of his work to Pantaenus and his mission; the 3rd to Theophilus and this Thomas of Jerusalem; the 4th to the Manichæans and their connection with Malabar; the 5th to Kosmas Indicopleustes and his mission in 520 A.D.; another to the Jewish Indians;—and the early history is brought down, in the first division of the work, to the close of the middle ages. The second division (pp. 315—770) gives a careful history of the church from 1499 to 1875, and is followed by a useful chronological table, of which we give the first portion:—

- B.C. 159. Hindus visit the valley of the Euphrates.
31. Alexandria taken by the Romans, a centre of communication.
20. Nicholas of Damascus met with an Indian embassy at Daphne of Antioch.
- 30 to A.D. 14. Embassies of the Tamil Pândyas of Madurâ and of the ruler of Malabar, to Augustus.*
- Hippalus discovers the south-west monsoon.
- 79 Jewish trading colonies in India. The Black Jews. The Beni-Israel.¹²
- A.D. 40. King Yudopherus in the India valley.
- cir. 52. The Apostle Thomas in India.
55. King Gondopherus or Gondaphorus.
- 41—54. Claudius receives an embassy from Ceylon.¹¹
- 7 Heilman pilgrims to the Island of the Whites (Svetadvipa).
- cir. 60. Emigrant white Jews build Mahâdeva-pattanam (Kodângalûr).
200. Pantaenus in north-western India.
233. Request of the Edessans for the transfer of the bones of the apostle Thomas from India.
- Thomas the Manichæan sent to India; he returns back.

⁶ Yernapalli near Eldrapalli, N. E. from Cochin.—Ed.

⁷ Probably the modern Kottayamangalam in Cochin, or possibly Kojunkumbalam at Udumalpet.—Ed.

⁸ The modern Nernam S. W. of Cochin called Narnam by Menzies, and Nurnam by DuRoi.—Ed.

⁹ Germann, pp. 84, 85, in Smith's *Hist. Miss.* pp. 255, 256; Mar. Gabriel in the account given to the Rev. J. C. Vischer, a Dutch chaplain, *Letters from Malabar* (1743) makes a similar statement; see Whitelock's *Leop. of*

Light, p. 612.

¹⁰ This seems to be a mistake; Strabo speaks of only one embassy from India; Ptolemy (XV, i. 4); and Florus says it was four years on the road (*Hist. Rom.* IV, 12); see Pringle's *Apoll. of Tyros*, p. 65.—Ed.

¹¹ Probably about A.D. 47; conf. *Ibid.* vol. VIII, p. 335.—Ed.

¹² See *Jad. Ant.* vol. III, p. 322.

¹³ Pringle (n. s. p. 50) indicates 48-47 A.D.

- cir. 302. Controversy on religion between Hindus and Christians in the Euphrates valley.
- " 325. John Bishop of Persia and Greater India at Nioca.
- " 340. Theophilus of Dia visits the congregations of the Indian continent.
- " 345. Thomas of Jerusalem takes a Christian colony to India. The first native Indian bishop Joseph or Italocho (Alutalla) of Edessa.
- " 364. Theophilus of Dia banished and employed beyond the Roman territories.
- A.D. 369. Theophilus condemned by the Arians at Constantinople.
- " 361-363. Embassy to Diva and Serendiva under Julian.
- " 364-378. Valens, at the Tomb of Thomas in Edessa.
- In the 4th century, privileges to Rabban Joseph. Rule of the Anjavanians.
- ? 369. Jewish colony to Majora.
- ? 489. New Jewish emigration to Kodungalur.
- Quarrel of the White and Black Jews in the 5th century.
- " 498. Synod of Seleucia, the Persian church under Babouas separates from the orthodox church.
- " 500. Temptation and apostasy through Māulika-javāchaka.
- " 508. Syriac version of the Bible. The Philoxonian version for the Jacobites.
- Privileges granted to Ravi Kottian. Rule of Manigramam.
- " 520. Kosmas Indikopleustes returns from India.
- " 550. The bones of the apostle Thomas brought to the great church in Edessa.
- " 550. Attempt of the sect to get the Indians to have a Monophysite bishop.
- " 570. Bad Periodontes visits the Indian Christians.
- " 580. Theodoros visits the cloister and church of the Apostle Thomas in India.
- " 636. The Nestorian Patriarch Jussabius Gadalesis sends missionaries to India and China.
- 650-660. Simon of Persia sets himself free of Seleucia and neglects the Indians.
- cir. 690. Embassy of the Indian Christians to the Julianist Bishop Theodoros at Alexandria.
- " 750. Persian Christians at Mailapur. The Pahlavi Cross.¹²

- A.D. 778. Before this year the Indians had an independent Metropolitan.
- " 780. Repeated schisms of the Persians of the Patriarchate of Seleucia.
- " 800. The Patriarch Timotheos sends Bishop Thomas to the Indians.
- In the ninth century, Persians at Kottayam. Pahlavi Cross.
- " 823. Separation between the Christians at Kodungalur.
- " 825. Era of Qailon. Marcia Saper Ién obtains a grant to the Tarsipalli. Saper and Peron.¹³
- " 841. Shortly before this year the Arab merchants (Sulaiman) visit Beit-toma—House of Thomas.
- " 878. Massacre of foreigners in Kanfu in China.
- " 883. Mission from Alfred the Great to the Thomas Christians.
- " 980. A Nestorian missionary sent through India to China.
- " 1122. John of India (?) at Rome.
- " 1143. The Catholics of Honggyri in India, mentioned by Nilus Dasapatrias.¹⁴
- " 1151. Edict: mandum Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans in India.
- " 1173. Somewhat before this year, Benjamin of Tudela at Oineala (Kodungalur).¹⁵
- " 1223. Establishment of the Pilgrim societies.
- " 1274. Kazvini mentions Jews and Christians at Salmar.
- " 1288. The Indian governor occupies the building of the Church of St. Thomas, Mailapur a place of pilgrimage.
- " 1290. Marco Polo's first visit to India.
- " 1291. Theodosius Doris and the brothers Viyaldi seek a sea-route to India.
- 1291-1292. John of Montecorvino in India. Nikolaus of Pistoia killed.
- Marco Polo's return through India.
- cir. 1300. Hatto Armenus on the decline of the Indian Christians.
- A.D. 1307. John of Montecorvino, first bishop of Cambalik; seven suffragan bishops appointed.
- " 1308. Andreas of Perugia and Peruginus pass through India to China.
- " 1310. Menestillus of Spoleto in Upper India and Santo Tamen.
- " 1320. Four Franciscans martyred at Thānā.
- 1320-23. Missionary visit of Jordanus to Thānā, Supārā, and Bhuroch.
- 1324-25. Odoricus of Pordenone and James of Ireland in India, Mandaville.

¹² See Burnell's *S. Ind. Palaeog.* 2nd ed. p. 57; and *Ind. Ant.* vol. III, p. 313 ff.

¹³ *Ind. Ant. Socy.* t. I, p. 125. Visscher, *Letters from Malabar* (Madras, 1862), p. 197.—Ed.

¹⁴ Conf. Weber in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. III, p. 49.—Ed.

¹⁵ Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, vol. II, p. 678; Güldenstädt, *Script. Arab.* p. 125.—Ed.

- A.D. 1328. Jordanus consecrated as Bishop of Colombo, i.e. Ceylon.
- " 1330. Bishop Jordanus a second time in India. Prince of the Nairas (Nairites).
- " 1332. The preaching friars restored by the Pope and organized.
- In the 14th century Antonius and Thomas in India.
- 1348-50. John of Marignola in India.
- ca. 1370. Cessation of the Romish missions to China and India.
- Bakkaraya of Vijayanagar grants land to the Church of St. Thomas at Malapur.
- " 1440. Nicola di Conti at Malapur.
- " 1455. Quarrels between the Christians and Muhammedans at Malapur.
- " 1464. Pius II. renews the missionary society for India.
- " 1487. Pedro de Covillán as Portuguese Ambassador in India.
- " 1490. George and Joseph of the Thomas Christians sent to the Patriarch. Mar Thomas and John sent to India with Joseph.
- " 1492. Joseph accompanies Thomas back to Mesopotamia.
- " 1493. Joseph returns back to India.
- " 1497. Vasco da Gama sails for India in July.
- " 1498. In April finds Thomas Christians (?) at Melinda.
- 1490-1503. Parashurama of Orissa overruns the Coromandel Coast, destroys Malapur before 1500.

This work is by far the fullest yet written on the subject, and forms a valuable contribution to our knowledge.

The seventh lecture in Dr. Smith's little volume is a popular résumé of the history of the same sort, and of the missions to India in the middle ages, in which he has made use of Dr. Germain's work; his sixth lecture is on the missions to Central Asia and China; the others relate to the more notable missionaries and their work in Extratropical Africa. They are addressed to the general reader, and are vigorously written.

CHINESE HERMITS: a volume of Sketches, Historical, Descriptive, and Critical, by Rev. Joseph Edkins, D.D. London: Trübner & Co. 1880.

This new volume of Trübner and Co.'s *Oriental Series* is one of considerable value, and, as the author remarks, "there is room for new information on the entrance, progress, and characteristics of Chinese belief in the religion founded by Sakyamuni." It is "the fruit of many years' studies. Some parts of it were written nearly twenty-five years ago; nearly all is the fruit of Chinese reading." And whilst Dr. Hibel of Hongkong and Mr. T. Watters have in this interval written on the same

subject, the author's mode of treatment is different from theirs, and in his revision he has had the advantage of studying their researches, whilst his stock of information has been steadily augmented. Exclusive of the indexes, &c. the body of the work contains 419 pages, and is divided into an introduction and 26 chapters; the first four are devoted to a life of Buddha; the 5th to the Patriarchs of the northern Buddhists; the 6th to the history of Buddhism in China; the 7th and 8th to Schools of Buddhism; the 9th to its moral system; the 10th to the 13th, to the Calendar, Hindu mythology, and Buddhist cosmogony; the 14th to the 16th, to Images, Monasteries, and Ceremonials; the 17th to the 19th, to Buddhist Literature, with specimens; the 20th, to the effect of Buddhism on the Seng philosophy; the 21st, to the Wind and Water superstitions; the 22nd, to Buddhist phraseology in relation to Christian teaching; the 23rd, is a notice of the Wu-wei-kiang, a reformed Buddhist sect originated about 270 years ago; the 24th, is on the popular aspects of Buddhism and Taoism; the 25th, on Sanskrit words in Chinese literature; and the 26th, on some of the books and papers which have been published in Europe on Chinese Buddhism. These subjects are not all treated with equal fulness and accuracy, but on most of them there is more or less of new information drawn from original sources. In the 5th Chapter (pp. 63-88) the information respecting the Patriarchs is much fuller than we have met with elsewhere. As Mr. Edkins has given a list (note p. 118), compiled chiefly from Théodonin, and Mr. Rikins's differs in some names, and gives long details about many of them we extract here, for purposes of comparison, little more than the bare list, completing it from Régnier's and Lassen's *Ind. Alt. Bd. II.* 2nd ed. S. 1200ff:—

1. Kāśyapa, a Brahman: to him, the Chinese allege, was entrusted the deposit of esoteric doctrine, the symbol of which, communicated orally without books, is the *śūtra*. He taught for 20 years.

2. Ānanda, the son of Śakladana, the uncle of Buddha. According to Tārnātha, he presided 40 years.

3. Śāṅghavāsa, Śāṅgavāsa, or Śāṅghavāsika of Rājagṛha. Some say he was a Vaiśya born at Mathurā. He went to Mauda mountain and thence to Kipin (Kandahar), propagating the doctrines of Buddhism, about 80 years before the conquests of Alexander.

4. Upagupta was a native of the Mathurā country. Some say he was a Śāṅgha.

5. Dhrikāśa or Dhṛitika, a native of Central India, was given by his father to Upagupta as a disciple, and received to the vows at 20 years old.

6. *Mihakā* or *Kala* was born in Southern India. By Etel he is called *Mihakā*, and in the *Sau-ki-mi-yi-shi*, *Mihachaka*.

7. *Vasumitra*, who is omitted by Edkins's authority¹ (see ante p. 149 also). He was president of the synod under Kanishka of Kāśmīr a.d. 153 (?).

8. *Buddhanandi*, a native of Northern India.

9. *Buddhamitra*, converted the king and a Nirgrantha.

10. *Pāṇva*,

11. *Paṇḍaraja* or *Paṇḍarāśa*—the *Pa-ma-yu-shi* of Wong-puh.

12. *Āryagostha* or *Ma-ming*, born at Bandura, but taught chiefly at Pāṭaliputra. In his time the king of the Getas led an army to besiege Pāṭaliputra, but was brought off, and got Ma-ming, Buddha's vice-bowl, and a rock that would not drink water having insects in it. The king of the Getas was afterwards attacked by the Parthians but defeated them.

13. *Kapimāra* spread the Buddhist religion in Southern India. Remusat (*Mé. asiat.* tom. I, p. 122) calls him *Kāśimāra*.

14. *Nāgārjuna* or *Long-shu*, born of a Brahman family in Southern India (*Ind. Ant.* vol. IV, p. 141), was one of the most prolific writers of the Mahāyāna school.

15. *Kaṇadeva*, a native of South India, murdered by the disciple of an opponent. This is the *Āryadeva* of other lists (*Ind. Ant.* vol. IV, p. 142); Lassen calls him *Kaṇadeva*, and a *Vaiśya*.

16. *Rāhulāśa* or *Rāgarāśa*, a native of Kāpila.

17. *Saṅghasāndi* of Śrāvastī, the son of a king.

18. *Saṅkhyasheta* or *Gayaśāśa*, a native of northern India. He died a.d. 13; Julien (*Mém. sur les Cost. Occid.* tom. II, p. 346) places this a.d. 74.

19. *Kumārada* or *Kumārata*, died a.d. 23.

20. *Jayana*, born in northern India, died 74 a.d.²

21. *Vasubhāṇḍa*, generally made contemporary with Prāditya the son of Vikramāditya (*Ind. Ant.* vol. IV, p. 142 ff.); he died a.d. 175.³

22. *Manuśa* or *Manorata*,—was well skilled in the analysis of alphabetic sounds, and was recommended by a learned Buddhist, named *Yuja*, to proceed to Western and Southern India to teach Buddhism; and Dr. Edkins thinks he would aid in giving alphabets to the Tamil and

other languages. He found Western India under the control of king Teda. He afterwards went "to the kingdom of the Indian Getas, who, retreating westward before the Hiong-nu, a.d. 180, conquered the Punjab and Kāśmīr in a.d. 126. Manuśa taught in Western India and Persiana in the third century a.d. He is the author of the *Vikāśa Sūtra*." Others place his death in 167 a.d.

23. *Hakiena* or *Padmarata* of the country of the Getas (*Yue-ti*—*Kandahar* ?); he went to Central India and died 200 a.d.

24. *Śiṅghalapatra*, a native of Central India, the *Āryasīṅha* of other accounts (*Remusat*, *op. sup.* p. 121; and Lassen; see also ante p. 149). He went to Ki-pin (*Kāpi* ?) where he was beheaded by the king. Lassen places his death between 240 and 283 a.d. Some terminate the list of great teachers here.

25. *Hāsiāśa* or *Nāśāśa*, a Brahman and native of Kandahar; he travelled in Central and Southern India, and died a.d. 328.

26. *Paṇḍomita* or *Paṇḍamitra*, a Kshatriya of Southern India. He visited Eastern India, and died a.d. 388.

27. *Prasāśaśa*, a native of Central India, who travelled in the south and instructed Buddhists the second son of the king. He ascended the funeral pile a.d. 457.

28. *Bodhidharma* left Southern India for China in a.d. 526, where he died (see ante p. 149).

This list was the founder of the contemplative school in which the distinction of virtue and vice is lost. The teaching of this school, so prevalent in China, says Dr. Edkins, "has failed to produce high morality among its votaries. The mass of the people have gained from Buddhism the notion of a future retribution, but what is the use of this when the promised state beyond death consists merely of a dreamy fiction? The mesompsychosis, administered by a moral fate, has only provided them with a convenient means for charging their sinfulness and their misfortunes on a former life. What virtue the people have among them is due to the Confucian system. Buddhism has added to it only idolatry, and a false view of the future state, but has not contributed to make the people more virtuous" (p. 200). "Though the Buddhists have good precepts they are very much neglected even in the teaching." Its moral code "is feebleness itself compared with the Confucianist."

The educated Chinese despise the popular development of Buddhism, "as consisting of image worship and procuring for money the protection

¹ The *Fa-tsu-fung-ti*, which, to fill up the vacancy, mentions *Madhyantika*, a disciple of *Aranda* who converted *Kāśmīr*.

² The 20th and 21st are omitted by the *Fa-tsu-fung-ti* followed by Dr. Edkins.

of powerful unseen beings." The "Sacred Edict" cites the judgment pronounced by Chu Hi, the philosopher and critic of the Sung dynasty, saying, "that the Buddhists care nothing for heaven or earth, or anything that goes on around them, but attend exclusively such to his single mind. They are then condemned for fabricating groundless tales of future happiness and misery. They are charged with doing this only for gain, and encouraging for the same object the large gatherings of the country population at the temples ostensibly to burn incense, but really to practise the worst forms of mischief" (p. 152).

Such being the Chinese opinion of Buddhism, we can easily understand that the intellectual vigour once connected with it is now dead, past all hope of resurrection.

The work of Dr. Edkins will be found replete with information respecting the history and tenets of Buddhism in its northern form of development. It is somewhat defective in parts, from the incompleteness of the author's knowledge of Southern Buddhism; but this will hardly mislead the reader.

LES RELIGIONS ET LES LANGUES DE L'INDÉ ANCIENNE, par Robert Coet (Bibliothèque Orientale Indochinoise, Paris: E. Leroux, 1890).

A SKETCH OF THE MODERN LANGUAGES OF THE EAST INDIES, accompanied by two language-maps. By Robert N. Coet. (London: Tribner & Co. 1874.)

Mr. Coet is an old Indian of superabundant energy if not of accurate scholarship. The first of the works before us is a tersely written little volume, not very learned, but pleasant reading for any spare hour. The author's long residence in India has given him opportunities, of which he has availed himself, to become acquainted with the present popular religious beliefs of the country, and the first part of the volume contains many remarks and suggestions founded on personal observation that thoroughly deserve the attention even of advanced students of the history of the development of the religious sects in India, while the book as a whole will supply a good deal of information in a popular form. It is not, however, in all cases as accurate as references to the latest authorities might have enabled the author to make it.

The chapter or section on the languages is of the most popular character, and reads like a magazine article. There is no index, and the only two foot-notes in the book are at the beginning of each part, give an undigested list of books and authors on the subject of each; had these lists been given in more detail they would have been useful to the student in looking for what he might want. Among the authorities on page 2 is "Tree and Serpent Worship, by John Fergusson"—we do not know "John." References might also have been given either as foot-notes, or at the end of each part to the authorities for important state-

ments, and to fuller discussions on points of interest which there was not room to do more than refer to in so small a volume.

The volume of Trübner's Oriental Series on the Modern Languages has already been some time before the public. It is a much more ambitious performance, but like the other its value is much less than it might have been from the want of references. The subject is much too large to be discussed satisfactorily in a volume of 200 pages, inclusive of seven appendices; and the class of students to which a book on the languages of India would be really useful, want not merely a brief general outline of the various families of languages and their branches and subordinate dialects such as could be compressed into a volume like this, but also full details of the literature of the subject as connected with each branch and dialect. This is all the more needed as many statements in this volume seem much in want of verification or correction.

We can only afford a short specimen of Mr. Coet's style and mode of dealing with the separate languages. After giving the boundaries of the Marāṭhi language, according to the late Dr. John Wilson, he says (p. 58):—"Of this language there is a Dictionary by Molesworth and Candy with a Preface by Wilson. Of ordinary Primers there are many, and in 1868, a Student's Manual has been published by a native of India anonymously, based on scientific principles, and with a Preface of importance. . . . Although it possesses 20,000 words, it has admitted a great many loan-words from Arabic, Persian, as well as Sanskrit. No inscriptions are found in it. The Orthography is unfiged. It is described as copious without order, energetic without rule, and with no fixed standard of classical purity. . . . The dialects of the tableland are opposed to those of the coast below the Ghāts or the Konkan. I have tried in vain to get possession. . . . The tableland round Poona is the centre of the Dakh, and to the South is the Dakshin. The Dialect of Nagpuri is separate." The Konkanī of the Goa territory, he adds, "known as Goudak or Gomantaki, is illustrated by a large Literature formed by the Jesuits, consisting of a Grammar in Portuguese, and a Christian religious book called *Purda*, the work of a Jesuit named Estava, said to have been Stephens, an Englishman."

Now this might all be retailed table-talk: the high character of Molesworth and Candy's Dictionary ought to have been indicated; some of the best of the many Marāṭhi Grammars in English, and Kṛishna Śāstri Godbole's excellent scientific one in Marāṭhi, might at least have been named; some of the statements following are incorrect and others sadly want precision, while the vagueness of the information about Father Thomas Estevaō (+1619)¹ is hardly creditable to the author.

¹ See Ind. Ant. vol. VII, p. 117.

We are glad to see a first attempt at a handbook on so interesting a subject, and hope it may yet be revised and thoroughly corrected so as to be a trustworthy guide to the student, supplying him with a basis of fact, and directing him to the best information on all details, while mapping out clearly the many blanks that have to be filled up by future labourers.

THE COMMENTARIES OF THE GREAT AFOSSO DALHOQUERQUE, second Viceroy of India, translated from the Portuguese edition of 1774, with Notes and an Introduction by W. de Gray Birch, F.R.S.E., vols. 1-8. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1875-80.

The volumes of the Hakluyt Society, established for the purpose of printing rare or unpublished voyages and travels, are not offered for sale in the usual way, and it may not be out of place here to inform our readers that the volumes issued for the year are only obtainable by subscribers who pay a guinea per annum in advance.¹ Usually two volumes are published annually, so that since 1848, sixty-two have been issued, including such valuable works for Indian readers as the *Marala described by Peter Jordanus*; *Travels of Ludovico di Varthema*; *Yule's Cathay and the Way Thither*; the *Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama*, &c.

The *Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque* were compiled by his natural son, from the despatches forwarded to the King D. Manuel, and were first published in 1557. A second edition corrected and augmented by the author was issued in 1576², and the third, which is the text here translated, was prepared by Nicolao Pogliarini and published in 1774, containing several original despatches and letters written by the hero himself. It was intended that the translation should have been contained in three volumes, but a fourth will be required to complete it, as the third, which was to have contained Parts III and IV of the Portuguese edition, only brings us down to the end of Part III, which concludes with the departure of Afonso Dalboquerque for the Straits of the Red Sea in pursuance of his intention of conquering Ormuz and establishing Portuguese rule in that part of Persia.

The translator prefaces each volume with lengthy and most valuable introductions on the character of Dalboquerque, the foundation, rise, progress, and decay of the Portuguese empire in India, and bibliographical information in reference to the Indian cycle of Portuguese literature. And the volumes are illustrated with valuable facsimiles of old maps and portraits from MSS. in the British Museum.

"There is no doubt," says Mr. Birch, "that whoever will give some time and attention to the learning of Portuguese will find his labour amply requited by the advantages to be derived from the great mass of literature which the language

possesses." And we heartily join with him in the desire to see more translations of standard Portuguese historical works. "The true position of the English rule in India," he adds, "and the traditions it maintains, the point of view from which it is looked upon by the native races, can never be rightly understood until a better knowledge is acquired concerning the first impressions conveyed to, and made upon, the minds of the inhabitants by the first European nation which effected any extensive settlement among them. This fact alone, one out of many quite as pertinent which might be adduced, ought to convince us of the importance of examining the classical literary productions of a nation justly celebrated at all times for enterprise and military prowess."

We trust the publication of the concluding volume of these most instructive *Commentaries* will not be long delayed. They form a very valuable addition to the history of the Western Coast of India. Any attempt to analyse their contents would occupy more space than we can spare; we must refer readers to the book itself.

KAVYAKOŚHARĪNĪ, by Rāmachandra Bhāṣṭ Guejar and Kāśīnāth Pāṇanāg Puroh. (Parts I-6.) Bombay, Nityasādhak Press.

This publication, when complete, is to contain the text of the *Siddhanta-Kaṇvaṇī* with a Marāṭhī commentary by the first named editor; further Pāṇini's *Sūtras* printed continuously, and a second time with the *anupādā* for words supplied from preceding *sūtras* compiled by the same scholar; the *Gaṇa* and *Dhātupāṭha*, the *Pāṇinīya Śikṣā* and the *Upeśādhikā* ascribed to Śāntāyana (edited, with Ujvaladatta's commentary, by Anandak); Śāntarava's *Pratīkṣas* (edited by Kāśhān); Kāśhān's *Vārtikā*; and indexes by Kāśhān. Though all these works are already accessible to scholars in one form or another, it will no doubt be useful to native students to have them combined in a cheap and handy volume. Most of the works mentioned are already finished, and a few more parts will complete the compilation. In the place of the first reprint of Pāṇini's *Sūtras*, the editors would have done better to have given them in alphabetical order, with the *Vārtikā* in smaller type, worked into the same list. In the *Gaṇa-pāṭha*, various readings are given in brackets after the respective words; but the list is apparently a mere reprint of the one contained in Boehlingk's edition of Pāṇini, a semblance of originality being effected by the rather ingenious expedient of an interchange of Boehlingk's various readings with his respective *gana*-words. Though we are far from imputing to the editors any intention to mislead others in this respect, we think it would have been as well if they had explained the nature of this part of their publication. E.

¹ The Society's agent is Mr. Richards, 37 Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London.

² This was translated into French by J. Marnel, Paris, 1576.

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* Abbreviations :—

Andh.—Andhra dynasty.	Early Chal.—Early Chalukya.	Pall.—Pallava.	L.—Lava.
c.—city.	g.—god, goddess, or supernatural.	q.—queen.	tr.—tribe.
ca.—caste.	k.—king.	r.—ruler.	v.—village.
Chā.—Chāli.	Using.	Rāk.—Rākshakūta.	Va.—Vahli.
co.—country.	l. m.—land-measure.	ac.—act.	Vi.—Vijayanagara.
d.—district.	mh.—mountain.	Sū.—Sūtra.	W. Chal.—Western Chalukya.
E. Chal.—Eastern Chalukya.	Nd.—Nāda.	Sin.—Sinda.	W. Chā.—Western Chāli.
	o.—official.		

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ADDITIONAL ERRATA.

- p. 218, l. 2, for *Along Goa* read *Alun Goa*.
 p. 218, l. 4, for *Bugontai* read *Begontai*.
 p. 315a, l. 12, for *Bakharaya* read *Bakkaraya*.



